

Socio-cultural factors and school engagement

A study among Turkish, Moroccan, Assyrian and native Dutch youth in the
Netherlands

Sociaal-culturele factoren en schoolse inspanningen
Een studie naar Turkse, Marokkaanse, Assyrische en Nederlandse jongeren in
Nederland
(met een samenvatting in het Nederlands)

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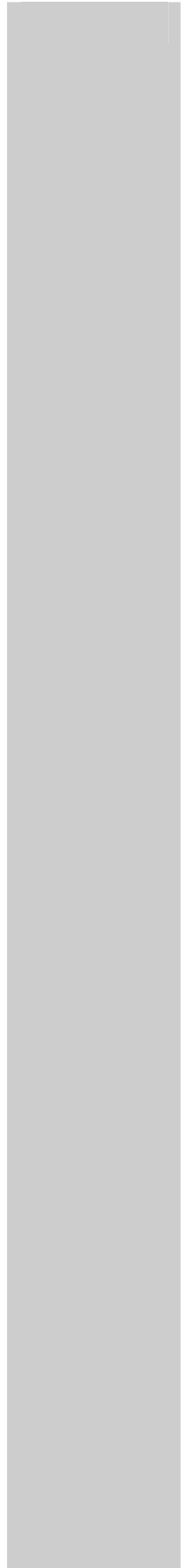
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Chapter One



Chapter One

General Introduction

Introduction

In contrast with the present social-political climate in the Netherlands, which focuses mostly on the negative aspects of immigration and integration¹, data on school achievement show educational progress of minority groups over the recent years. Academic results of Turks and Moroccans, which traditionally lagged seriously behind, have improved on most indicators of school achievement over the past 10 years. Their relative position compared to native Dutch students has however not improved, as Dutch students have also increased their own academic performances (Herweijer, 2003). Less data are available on refugee students, due to a lack of targeted national policies. However, monitoring the educational results of refugee students seems warranted, as demographic figures suggest that their numerical presence in classrooms will increase in the near future (Dagevos, Gijsberts & Praag, 2003).

Research on school achievement of ethnic minority children has focused on four types of factors to explain their academic achievements: structural factors, social factors, cultural factors and institutional factors. Structural factors refer to conditions through which individuals and groups obtain positions within the social structure of a society (Sackmann, 2003; Vermeulen, 2000). More specifically, we refer to family resources, such as the socio-economic status of minority families and migrants' social capital. Social factors refer to the degree and quality of social interaction between minorities and natives (van Tubergen, 2004). Cultural factors consist of identifications, patterns of orientation and self-conceptualization, feelings of belonging, and perception of symbolic boundaries (Sackman, 2003). For example, we make a distinction between orientations towards maintenance of ethnic culture and adaptation to the Dutch culture. Institutional factors refer to characteristics of the school, such as the material conditions of schooling (for example, school funding), the composition of the student population, the school climate and the school culture (for example, teacher expectations). The distinction of factors into categories should not be taken too rigidly: some variables may fit into more than one category and often variables within categories influence each other (Vermeulen, 2000).

A large part of Dutch educational research has focused on structural factors, such as the socio-economic status of the parents (e.g. Driessen, 1993; Roelandt, Martens & Veenman, 1991), and increasingly also on institutional variables, such as the ethnic composition of the school and/or teacher expectations (e.g. Jungbluth, 2003). This study will focus on social and cultural factors (socio-cultural factors), controlling for relevant structural and institutional factors. In this sense, it aims to unpack the ambiguous 'ethnic residual' that remains in many sociological studies after controlling for structural factors (Driessen, 1993, 1995; Kalmijn & Kraaykamp, 2000; Leseman & De Jong, 1998; Martens, Roelandt & Veenman, 1991; Sijsling, Jap-A-Joe & Sahin, 1995; van 't Hof & Dronkers, 1994). Most often this residual is

post-hoc related to socio-cultural factors without a solid explanation of how such factors impact on school achievement. This dissertation will test specific hypotheses as to the role of socio-cultural factors in minority students' school engagement. To this aim, we will take a micro-perspective, zooming in on factors, such as the personal goals students bring into the classroom, their acculturation orientations (a preference for ethnic culture maintenance and/or adaptation to the Dutch culture), and their perceptions of ethnic relations at schoolⁱⁱ. As the data used in this dissertation is correlational in nature, we cannot make claims about the direction of causality. We assume that socio-cultural factors impact on minority school engagement, but the opposite effect cannot be rejected (Hagendoorn, Veenman & Vollebergh, 2003).

School engagement in this dissertation was approached through an adapted concept of motivated learning (Pintrich, Smith, Garcia, & McKeachie, 1991) and through measures of students' position within the educational system, which is measured by their track positions and their educational progress through tracks. The Dutch secondary educational system can be divided into two parallel streams of vocational and non-vocational educational tracksⁱⁱⁱ. Both types of education consist of lower and higher levels of education. Generally, non-vocational tracks are considered as higher forms of education, such that a student attending lower vocational training receives a lower score on the variable 'educational track' than a student in lower non-vocational training. Students are recommended to a particular educational track by their primary school teachers, who base this 'school advice' on the students' score on a national standardized test (CITO-toets) in combination with their own personal opinion of the student's capacities and potentials. Most students attend the recommended educational tracks. We will refer to 'educational progress through tracks' as the progress that students have made relatively to the school advice they received. Motivated learning refers to motivational processes and learning processes that stimulate (or retard) school achievement. Generally, research on motivation and learning has focused on (white) western students (Graham, 1992; Pintrich, 1999). Cross-cultural validation of dominant motivational frameworks is therefore needed in contexts that include western and non-western students alike, such as multi-ethnic schools.

To summarize, the two major aims of this dissertation are:

1. *To determine the impact of socio-cultural factors on minority students' school engagement;*
2. *To test for the cross-cultural validation of motivated learning in the classroom.*

Motivated learning

Sociological studies most often focus on academic results. This study pinpoints on psychological factors which explain why as well as how students engage in classroom tasks: the motivational and learning processes that determine educational outcomes. To this end, we used the Motivated Strategies for Learning Model (MSLM: Pintrich et al., 1991). The Motivated Strategies for Learning Model is a theoretical framework for student motivation and learning in the classroom (McKeachie et al., 1986; Pintrich, 1989; Pintrich & De Groot, 1990; Pintrich, Smith, Garcia & McKeachie, 1991).

In the MSLM, students' individual motivational orientations and beliefs about learning are considered relevant for cognitive engagement and classroom performance (e.g. Nolen & Haladyna, 1990; Pintrich & De Groot, 1990). Motivation is viewed as a critical determinant of student's classroom learning and achievement in part because highly motivated students persist more and tend to invest greater effort into academic tasks than less motivated students (Pintrich & Schunk, 1996). The model makes a distinction between two separate domains: motivation and learning strategies. The model proposes within the motivation domain three components: (a) an expectancy component (students' belief that they are able to perform a task), (b) a value component (including students' goal orientations and beliefs about the importance and interest of the task), and (c) an affective component (including students' emotional reactions to a task). In this sense the model is an adaptation of a general expectancy-value model, where it is believed that motivation is a function of what one desires and the likelihood that one will get it (e.g. Feather, 1992). The second domain of the Motivated Strategies for Learning Model is students' self-regulated learning, which is defined as the strategies that students use to regulate their cognitions, as well as the resource management strategies they use to control their learning (Pintrich, 1999) This domain also consists of three components: (a) students' metacognitive strategies for planning, monitoring, and modifying their cognitions; (b) students' management and effort control in achieving classroom tasks, and (c) actual cognitive strategies that students use to learn, remember and understand academic material (Pintrich & De Groot, 1990).

The motivational components are related to the learning strategies in the sense that students' involvement in self-regulated learning is closely tied to their belief in their own capability of performing classroom tasks (efficacy), and to their belief that such tasks are interesting enough and worth learning (Elliot & Dweck, 1988; Greene & Miller, 1996; Meece, Hoyle & Blumenfeld, 1988; Middleton & Midgley, 1997; Nolen & Haladyna, 1990; Pintrich & De Groot, 1990).

Both learning strategies and motivational beliefs are related to academic performance (Greene & Miller, 1996; Miller, Greene, Montalvo, Ravindram & Nichols, 1996; Pintrich & Garcia, 1991; Pintrich, Smith, Garcia & McKeachie, 1991; Pintrich & De Groot, 1990), although learning strategies are better predictors of academic performance than motivational beliefs (Pintrich & De Groot, 1990; Wolters & Pintrich, 1998). Whether learning strategies mediate the relationship between motivation and academic performance remains unclear (Elliot, McGregor & Gable, 1999).

The Motivated Strategies for Learning Model will be our basic model for learning processes in the classroom throughout this study. However, we will use the model in a specific way. Firstly, we will focus on the value dimension of motivation, and not on the affective and expectancy dimension. The value dimension reflects students' beliefs about the interest, importance, and utility value of the task (Pintrich, 1999). Studies have shown that the value dimension alone is related to the use of learning strategies (Meece, Hoyle & Blumenfeld, 1988; Pintrich, 1999; Pintrich & De Groot, 1990; Pokay & Blumenfeld, 1990; Richardson, 2004; Wolters & Pintrich, 1998; Wolters & Rosenthal, 2000), independently of the expectancy and the affective dimension (Pintrich & De Groot, 1990). This is true regardless of other motivational beliefs (Wolters & Rosenthal, 2000) and across different subject areas (Wolters &

Pintrich, 1998). Secondly, while the Motivated Strategies for Learning Model focuses exclusively on cognitive, metacognitive, and resource management strategies that are effective for learning, we will include also classroom behavioural patterns that interfere with the learning process. Examples are maladaptive classroom behaviours such as 'lesson rejecting' and 'lesson evading'. These behaviours are associated with school disengagement and increased dropouts among minority students (Connell, Spencer & Aber, 1994; Hansen, 1989).

To summarize, measures of school engagement will be our dependent variables. This refers to measures of students' position within the educational system (track position and educational progress through tracks) and to motivated learning (students' task motivation (cf. value component), as well as cognitive and behavioural learning strategies). We will consider the impact of two clusters of independent variables: acculturation orientations and achievement goals.

Acculturation

Acculturation refers to how individuals change after coming into contact with a new socio-cultural environment (Berry & Sam, 1997). Several studies on acculturation orientations of minorities support a bi-dimensional model of orientations towards acculturation, in which a focus on the host society is independent from a focus towards the ethnic culture (Nguyen, Messe & Stolak, 1999; Ryder, Alden & Paulhus, 2000).

John Berry's approach to acculturation is perhaps the most widely studied bi-dimensional approach (Berry, 1980; Berry & Sam, 1997). According to Berry, two issues predominate in the lives of most acculturating individuals: the first is the extent to which they value and wish to retain the cultural characteristics of the minority culture, and the second issue involves the desirability of interethnic contact. In this study, we reformulate the second issue in a more demanding version for minorities in that we now refer to how much minorities value adopting the culture of the host society (Bourhis et al, 1997; Snauwaert, Soenens, Vanbeselaere & Boen, 2003). The combination of the two issues results in four types of acculturation orientations: integration, separation, assimilation and marginalization. Integration refers to minorities' desire to both maintain ethnic cultural characteristics and adopt the dominant culture. Separation implies that minorities wish to maintain ethnic cultural characteristics while they consider adopting the host society culture undesirable. In opposition, assimilation refers to culture adoption without any wish to preserve ethnic cultural characteristics. Finally, marginalization applies when neither culture adoption nor culture maintenance is deemed important.

Minority acculturation orientations may differ in value and strength between private and public contexts (Phalet, van Lotringen & Entzinger, 2000). In the public domain, norms of the dominant group are most salient and influential. Conversely, as family and community contexts are predominantly co-ethnic, ethnic in-group norms are most salient and more easily enforced within the private domain. This explains why minorities apparently attach more importance to culture adoption within the public domain, while cultural maintenance is valued in the private domain (Phalet & van Lotringen, 2001). Accordingly, the majority of Turkish and Moroccan youth in the Netherlands prefers a separation type of acculturation in the family context, and an integration type in the school context (Phalet, van Lotringen &

Entzinger, 2000). The question may arise whether these preferred acculturation orientations are also the most adaptive for minorities' school engagement (cf. chapter two).

Studies have shown that acculturation orientations of minorities are closely linked to the (perceived) treatment of these minorities by the host society. They apparently relate to integration policies of host countries (Jasinkaja-Lahti, Liebkind, Horenczyk & Smith, 2003), as well as to majority acculturation attitudes (Bourhis Moïse, Perreault & Senécal, 1997), and to perceived discrimination and prejudice (Moghaddam & Taylor, 1987; Verkuyten & Thijs, 2002). In their research, Bourhis et al. (1997) argue that the host population's orientation towards minorities generally varies from very accepting to not at all accepting of the minority culture, and from very demanding to not at all demanding of cross-cultural adaptation. In parallel to this, co-ethnic orientations within migrant communities seem to vary between more or less accepting of adaptation and demanding more or less culture maintenance. Hence, the models of Berry and Bourhis taken together map all possible combinations of host population and minority group orientations towards acculturation. Subsequent interactive acculturation studies have shown that host communities overall value cultural maintenance less, and conversely, culture adoption more than migrant communities. For example, the Dutch (as a host community) are divided between integration and assimilation as the most preferred acculturation type in the school context, whereas a majority of Turkish and Moroccan youth prefers integration, and hardly values assimilation (Phalet, van Lotringen & Entzinger, 2000). Acculturation orientations of minorities thus develop within a majority society that is more or less accepting of them and their preferred acculturation strategies. A question to consider is how preferences in acculturation orientations interact between the host community and ethnic minorities within Dutch society (cf. chapter three).

Achievement goals

In goal theory, students' achievement goals are viewed as critical determinants of their motivated learning. Students' achievement goals are cognitive representations of why students engage in achievement situations, such as making progress, outperforming others, or avoiding showing lack of ability. The basic tenet of goal theory is that the quality of learning and achievement depends crucially on the types of goals students bring into the classroom. Mastery goals, for example, relate systematically to more effort and persistence by students, to more effective study strategies and better school performance, whereas the goal of avoiding showing lack of ability leads to more negative motivational outcomes (Ames & Archer, 1988; Dweck & Leggett, 1988; Elliot & Dweck, 1988; Greene & Miller, 1996; Meece, Blumenfeld & Hoyle, 1988; Middleton & Midgley, 1997; Nolen & Haladyna, 1990; Pintrich & De Groot, 1990).

However, most research on achievement motivation in academic settings has limitations. One is the one-sided focus on immediate goals in the present task situation and consequently, the neglect of personal and instrumental relevance of delayed goals in the near or distant future. Several studies show that the instrumental value of school tasks enhances student motivation and contributes to more effective learning strategies and better school results (Lens, Simons &

Dewitte, 2001, 2002; Simons, Dewitte, & Lens, 2004; Simons, Vansteenkiste, Lens, & Lacante, 2004). The role of the future in the educational investment may be especially relevant for minority students. Research on minority school achievement suggests that a strong and positive future orientation (focusing on future progress in spite of present failures) may be crucial to protect minority students from disengagement from learning in the face of repeated failures (Meece & Kurtz-Costes, 2001). It is therefore worthwhile to examine when and how the future can motivate minority students' achievement in school, promoting adaptive learning and protecting the students from disengagement (cf. chapter four).

The second limitation of goal theory is an overly narrow conceptualization of academic motivation (McInerney et al., 1997), in which individual goals alone remain the focus, omitting the social reasons that might affect motivation for school achievement (Phalet & Lens, 1995). A recent reformulation of goal theory acknowledges the importance of social goals for students from non-western backgrounds to engage in school tasks (Maehr & Nicholls, 1980; McInerney et al., 1997; Urdan & Maehr, 1995). We believe, however, that social goals may be an important motive for western and non-western students alike to engage in schoolwork (cf. chapter five).

Minorities in the Netherlands

Several ethnic minority groups shape up the Netherlands into a multi-ethnic society. Ethnic minorities, in a Dutch policy context refer to those groups that share an ethnic identity and have a relatively large chance to be socio-economically disadvantaged (van Praag, 2003). Target groups can be divided into two main groups: those considered ethnic minorities on the basis of their country of origin (former labour migrants and inhabitants of former colonies), and those who are or refugees, asylumseekers or Moluccans (van Praag, 2003). Among the Netherlands' 16 million people, 10% belongs to the so-called non-western minorities^{iv} (CBS, 2002). However, the proportion of minorities in the population is on the increase. Immigration and high fertility rates among minorities are responsible for half of the annual increase in the Dutch population.

Migrants from Turkey and Morocco form a rather large part of the non-western minorities in the Netherlands, although their relative share will decrease in the future in favour of other non-western minorities, such as refugees (Dagevos, Gijsberts & Praag, 2003). Non-western minorities constitute a rather young population: 40% is younger than the age of 20 years, against almost 20% of native Dutch population. Roughly a third of the Turks and Moroccans in the Netherlands is younger than the age of 15 years, and another third is younger than 30 years of age (Tesser & Veenman, 1997). As people enter the labour market between the ages of 15 and 30, we can conclude that a significant part of these groups remains in school.

For the purposes of this study we have selected three ethnic groups: Turks, Moroccans and Assyrian refugees. Moreover, a control group of native Dutch classmates is included. Turkish and Moroccan students in this study are the children of former labour migrants who came to the Netherlands between the 1960's and 1980's. To provide the expanding Dutch economy with sufficient labour force, the Dutch government signed a treaty with Turkey in 1964, and one in 1969 with Morocco, enabling Dutch companies to recruit workers in those countries. After the

oil crisis of 1973, the need for a foreign labour force declined and the Dutch government announced a stop to recruitment. In 1980, a visa requirement was established for Turkey and one in 1983 for Morocco. After this date, Turks and Moroccans could only enter the Netherlands as tourists for a short period of three months, or as family members of settled migrants, as asylumseekers, or they entered the country as illegal migrants (Böcker, 1992).

The Assyrians are an ethnic group, originally from the southwest of Turkey. They are a Christian minority in a predominantly Muslim environment, sharing a history of oppression and violence (Schukkink, 2003). The climax of this history evolves around the mass persecution and killings of Christian minorities between 1915 and 1918 by Muslims. This event led to a Diaspora of Assyrians in Western immigration countries (Australia, Canada and the United States of America), and in remote areas now belonging to Syria, while other Assyrians withdrew to the caves of the mountainous surroundings. Thereafter, a modernization of the agriculture resulted in an explosion of population growth leading to internal competition with the Kurds. In the 1960's, contacts with Western Europe intensified through labour recruitment and the first Assyrians took this opportunity to leave their country. The political crisis of Cyprus in 1974 and the Lebanese civil war (1975-1990) worsened the relationships between Muslims and Christians, resulting in fierce and ongoing attacks of Assyrian villages by Kurds, attacks over which the Turkish government did nothing and remained silent. A large number of Assyrians left their villages, either moving to large Turkish cities or going to relatives in Syria, or left for Western Europe as labour migrants. After the Dutch government declared a stop to the recruitment of a labour force in Turkey in 1973, Assyrians had to resort to other ways to flee from interethnic tensions. From 1975, they entered the Netherlands as asylumseekers, and many obtained a refugee status with the help of Dutch churches and refugee organizations (Schukkink, 2003; Phalet, 1998). The Dutch government declared a visa requirement for all Turkish citizens in 1980, putting a stop to Assyrian migration. Today, an estimate of 10.000 Assyrians are living in the Netherlands, mostly concentrated in the North-Eastern areas of the country (Schukkink, 2003).

Rationales behind the choice for groups

We selected these three specific minority groups for several reasons. First of all, Turks and Moroccans form the largest non-western minority groups in the Netherlands, constituting significant proportions of ethnic minority students in Dutch classrooms. Secondly, Turkish and Moroccan adolescents struggle with a serious educational disadvantage (see next paragraph), therefore studying factors which contribute to school achievement may be helpful in improving their educational position. In addition to Turkish and Moroccan adolescents, we wanted to include a group of refugee adolescents. According to van Praag (2003), the relative proportion of refugees will rise compared to the proportion of Turks and Moroccans in the Netherlands. Therefore, Dutch classrooms will include an increasing number of refugee children in the future.

Assyrians were chosen because of their comparability to Turks and Moroccans. Firstly, Turkish and Moroccan labour migrants came to the Netherlands in the same time period as the Assyrian refugees. The second generation of Turkish and Moroccan migrants is therefore more or less of the same age as the children of

Assyrian refugees. Secondly, like Turks and Moroccans, Assyrians come mostly from rural areas and have a low education background. Differences between the Turkish and Moroccan migrants on the one hand, and Assyrian refugees on the other hand, are their religion background and migration status. The Turkish and Moroccan migrants are predominantly Muslims, whereas the Assyrians are a Christian minority. Furthermore, Moroccan and Turkish migrants came to the Netherlands as labour migrants, aspiring to improve their living conditions in their homelands. Assyrians, being refugees, share no ideas of returning to their original lands.

Educational disadvantage of Turks and Moroccans

The documentation of school achievement in secondary school in sociological research focuses on school advice at the end of primary school, the level of education that students attend (track positions), the participation in school tracks, and the drop-out percentages. We will briefly describe the recent trends and findings in school achievement among Turkish and Moroccan students based on these indicators.

In the Dutch school system, primary school students receive an advice at the end of primary school, as to which educational track will best fit their talent in secondary education. Most often this advice is a combination of a standardized school test (CITO), and a teacher opinion on the capacities and potentials of the pupil. The school advice is increasingly used as a selection criterion. Secondary schools do not readily accept students whose advice does not match the track level of the school. In general, native Dutch students obtain a higher school advice than Turkish and Moroccan students: Dutch students less often obtain an advice for the lowest educational tracks, and they are more often given an advice for the highest educational tracks (Herweijer, 2003). Nonetheless, there is an increase in the advice for higher educational tracks for Turkish and Moroccan students between 1994 and 2000 (Herweijer, 2003; BOPO, 2001). For Turkish students the share of the highest educational tracks increased from 10% to 16%. For Moroccan students the share rose from 13 to 15%. In comparison, Dutch students with low socio-economic backgrounds remained stable at about 20% of advice for higher educational tracks.

Another source for describing the relative educational position of Turkish and Moroccan students is the distribution of students over the various educational tracks after one or more years of secondary training. Longitudinal data show an increase in the percentage of secondary school students (regardless of ethnic background) in the lowest educational tracks in the first year of secondary school between 1988 and 2000 (BOPO, 2001). This increase was the steepest for native Dutch students whose parents have had little formal education, and for students whose parents are foreigners with no or very little formal education, such as the majority of the Turkish and Moroccan students. At the same time and in accordance with the trend in school advice, the percentage of ethnic minorities attending schools with the highest educational tracks in their first year of secondary school has also increased between 1988 and 1996, with a slight decrease between 1996 and 2000 (BOPO, 2001). About 15% of ethnic minority students attended the highest educational tracks in 2000, a figure comparable to the percentage of Dutch students with low education backgrounds. Among Dutch students whose parents received intermediate to high

education, 39% were following a high educational track.

Herweijer (2003) reports that the educational positioning in the third year of secondary schooling has increased for Dutch, Turkish and Moroccan students between 1995 and 2001: the number of students attending schools with the lowest educational tracks has decreased, while there is a slight increase in the attendance within schools with the the highest educational tracks. About 10% of Turkish and Moroccan students and about 20% of native Dutch students attended schools with the highest educational track (vwo) in 2001. The difference in attendance of the lowest educational tracks between the Herweijer (2003) study and the BOPO (2001) study may be due to the particular school career pattern of Turkish and Moroccan students, who tend to take indirect routes to higher educational tracks via lower tracks (Crul, 1999; Ours, Veenman & Verhoeven, 2002). Alternatively, secondary schools may be more lenient in their judgment of minority students: given the same achievement scores, minority students occupy a higher position in the educational system than Dutch students after three years (Herweyer, 2003)^v. Tesser, Merens and van Praag (1999) conclude that secondary school teachers are more reluctant to direct ethnic minority students with poor results to lower streams, leading them instead into higher educational tracks, but, at the same time, also causing weaker achievement of minority students within the tracks.

Furthermore, Turkish and Moroccan students drop out of school without a diploma more often than native Dutch students. There is however an improvement over time of this measure. The percentage of Turkish and Moroccan students who drop-out of school has decreased between 1998 and 2002 from 25% to 20% for Turkish students, and from 22% to 17% for Moroccans students (Herweijer, 2003). In comparison, the percentage of drop-out for native Dutch students in 1998 was 6%^{vi}.

With regard to school achievement, we shall conclude that Turkish and Moroccan adolescents are enduringly disadvantaged despite their educational progress over the years. Whereas native Dutch students are improving their educational results, ethnic minorities should progress at a faster pace than their native Dutch classmates in order to close the educational gap.

Educational disadvantage of refugee children

Research on school achievement of refugee students is scarce. Dutch policies do not specifically target refugee students and therefore no representative data have been gathered. Moreover, there is a wide diversity in the geographic origin of asylumseekers and refugees, from Africa to the Middle-East, to Eastern Europe and the former USSR. The academic performance of pupils from African countries is the lowest, the performance of refugee children from the Middle-East is similar to that of the Turkish and Moroccan youth, while refugee children from Eastern Europe and former USSR are the most successful in school (Hulsen & Uerz, 2001; Mulder, 2000). Yet, the distinction in global regions overlooks the diverse backgrounds, situations, cultures, religions and histories of children, and therefore is too broad to relate to the school achievement of particular refugee groups.

There are two relevant studies on refugee children in secondary education (Hulsen & Uerz, 2001; Mulder, 2000). It must be noted that these studies involve first generation refugee children, whereas the refugee children in the current study

are all second generation. Moreover, both studies are based on a rather small and non-representative sample^{vii}. The studies show that 17% of the refugee children from Afghanistan, Iran and Iraq obtained an advice for the highest educational tracks. This is comparable to the same percentage for Turkish and Moroccan children. Refugee children from Africa obtained an advice for the highest educational tracks in only 7% of the cases. Children from refugees from the former Soviet Union and former Yugoslavia obtained an advice for the highest educational tracks in 33% of the cases, which comes close to the percentage of Dutch children obtaining such an advice (39%).

After the first year of secondary school, 13% of refugee children from Afghanistan, Iran and Iraq are in highest educational tracks, as are 14% of African refugee children and 30% of children of refugees from the former Soviet Union and former Yugoslavia. In comparison, about 40% of native Dutch students attend the highest educational tracks in the first year of secondary school. In the second year of secondary schooling the figures are different: 17% of refugee children from Afghanistan, Iraq, and Iran are now in the highest educational tracks (as opposed to 13% in the first year), and 20% of refugee children from Africa are in the highest tracks (as opposed to 14% in the first year). In contrast, for refugee children from the former Soviet Union and former Yugoslavia the figures have deteriorated: only 23% is now in the highest educational tracks in contrast to 30% in the first year. Hulsén and Uerz (2001) suggest that the decrease in educational positioning of this last group may be due to their choice to attend higher educational tracks than is advised to them. The studies do not report on drop-out figures.

Educational disadvantage policies

One of the core targets of minority policies in the Netherlands is to improve the socio-economic position of minorities to meet that of the native Dutch population (Guiraudon, Phalet & ter Wal, 2005). The goal of Dutch government's educational disadvantage policy (Onderwijsachterstandenbeleid) was exactly that. The policy on educational disadvantages was decentralized from a regional to a communal level (Gemeentelijk Onderwijsachterstanden beleid – GOA) in 1998, in order to improve academic achievements and career prospects of children and youngsters from targetgroups specified in the educational disadvantage policy. These target groups were identified through a national scoring system within the primary schools. In secondary schools, students from cultural minorities (cumi-leerlingen) were attributed a special status. These pupils received a score that also took into account the socio-ethnic characteristics of their parents. Children from parents of Dutch origin, who have lower secondary qualifications, or less, received a score of 1.25. Children from ethnic minority parents who have lower educational qualifications received a score of 1.9^{viii}. Schools received funding on the basis of this system, proportionally to these scores. Schools with more ethnic minority children received more funding than all-white schools (Bosker & Guldmond, 2004). Actual funding was based on the total score of all pupils within a school minus 9% of the total school population (Van Oosterhoudt & Van der Vegt, 2004). Thus, for example, a school with 25 students with a score of 1,25; 135 students with a score of 1,9 and 45 students with a score of 1,0 received an initial score of 323 ($25 \times 1.25 + 135 \times 1.9 + 45 \times 1.0$). This initial score was then corrected by the 9% rule, meaning that 9% of the total 200 students was subtracted from the initial score, leading to a final

score of 305. Therefore, the funding for this multi-ethnic school was 1,5 times higher than what a school with only native Dutch students whose parents have intermediate or high educational qualifications received.

The Educational Council (Onderwijsraad) advised to change the existing scoring system in 2002. Schools with many pupils with a score of 1,25 were disproportionately disadvantaged in the funding due to the 9% rule and the evenly spreading of 1,25 pupils in rural areas. The current government has announced a replacement of the scoring system by an individual test at the start of primary school (begintoets) that should indicate the actual educational disadvantage of a pupil. The cumi-regulation for secondary schools will also be changed (Bosker & Guldemon, 2004). Thus, ethnic minority status will no longer be a criterion for targeted funding.

Outline of the study

The first empirical chapter (Chapter 2) presents a contextual model of minority school engagement. We will investigate in this chapter the impact of acculturation orientations, as well as the structural, situational, and personal incentives to achieve on educational progress of minorities. We will first argue that cross-cultural research on minority engagement in schools yields mixed findings on the impact of acculturation orientations. Classical assimilation theory expects that cultural adaptation benefits upward mobility, but some studies on segmented assimilation also reveal positive effects of ethnic cultural maintenance. We want to find out whether or not an acculturation-in-context approach, where acculturation orientations fit the prevailing context, explains students' actual success in school. In addition, we will investigate the impact of the structural, situational, and personal incentives to achieve in school (D'Amato, 1993). Structural incentives are the perceived function of schooling for future upward mobility. Situational incentives refer to the social costs or rewards attached to motivated learning, such as the quality of ethnic relations in school. Personal incentives, finally, refer to a student's achievement goals and motivated learning in school. By including these factors within the model, we will provide a stringent test of the power of acculturation and achievement orientations to explain educational outcomes. We will show that those acculturation attitudes, as well as structural and personal incentives to achieve, contribute to minority educational progress.

Chapter 3 focuses on the interactive approach to acculturation orientations. The thesis is that acculturation orientations of minorities relate to perceived discrimination and prejudice among the host population (Moghaddam & Taylor, 1987; Verkuyten & Thijs, 2002). Therefore, acculturation depends on the combined effect of the way minorities (try to) fit in to a given society, and the way the society reacts or is perceived to react to the presence of these minorities (Berry & Sam, 1996; Hagendoorn, 1995; Phalet & Swyngedouw, 1999). Combining the adaptation side of acculturation with the perceived treatment side will result in distinct patterns of interethnic relations, which are validated by expected associations with ethnic group identification, social contact, and school engagement.

In chapter 4, we examine the structural incentives to achieve academically. Previous studies among non-minority students found that an orientation towards the future is crucial for school achievement. Future goals sustain the achievement motivation in the face of failure by directing the attention away from past or present

setbacks towards possible progress in the future (Nuttin & Lens, 1985). Especially for minority students, who tend to start their school careers with an initial disadvantage, a persistent motivation to achieve is important to catch up with their native Dutch classmates. However, cross-cultural research on school achievement of minority students produces mixed findings on the motivational impact of future goal setting for students from disadvantaged minority groups. Particularly, high aspirations, and future expectations of minority families appear to predict educational attainment (Clifton, Williams & Clancy, 1991; Okagaki & Frensch, 1998; Steinberg, Dornbusch & Brown, 1992; Vallet & Caille, 1996), except under conditions of severe disadvantage and discrimination (Mickelson, 1990; Phalet & Claeys, 1993; Okagaki, Frensch & Dodson, 1996). Therefore, we will test the motivational benefits of the future goal setting on motivated learning across ethnic groups.

We will examine the motivating impact of social and individual achievement goals for minority (Moroccan) and majority (native Dutch) students on motivated learning in Chapter 5. Some authors claim that the mainstream motivational theories, such as goal theory and the MSLM, have a Western bias. Motivation is defined as an individual pursuit in these theories (McInerney, Roche, McInerney & Marsh, 1997). Cross-cultural research shows that group goals and affiliation may also contribute to motivation and learning in school (Iyengar & Lepper, 1999; Maehr & Nicholls, 1980; Urdan & Maehr, 1995). This may be particularly the case for persons who place an emphasis on ingroup needs and a sense of obligation towards the in-group (Triandis, Leung, Villareal & Clack, 1985; Westerhof, Dittmann-Kohl & Katzko, 2000).

In the last chapter we will draw conclusions about the role of socio-cultural factors for minority students' school engagement and the cross-cultural validity of motivational theories.

The data

The data for this project was gathered in 1997 at 14 secondary schools in medium-sized communities within the Netherlands (Gouda, Den Bosch, Boxtel, Oss and Enschede)^{ix}. Paper-and-pencil questionnaires were completed in class in the presence of a teacher and a researcher. Within classes, participation was obligatory for all students in order to avoid self-selection. Students were categorized into ethnic groups on the basis of ethnic self-identification. In total 229 native Dutch, 179 Moroccan, 102 Turkish and 103 Assyrian students participated in the project. Respondents are not representative of the Dutch, Turkish, Moroccan, and Assyrian populations in Dutch schools. Special care was taken to include sufficient numbers of minority and non-minority respondents in higher as well as lower tracks of secondary education for reasons of optimal comparability. The strong point of this study is that acculturation and learning processes are situated within local school and community contexts, and that multiple perspectives from students, parents and teachers were included within the same context.

Most minority students belong to the second generation of immigrants: they migrated to the Netherlands before the age of 6 (Moroccan: 84%, Turks: 88% and Assyrian: 71%). Boys and girls are evenly represented in the total sample. Students' age ranges from 12 to 20 years, the majority being between 15 and 17 years of age.

Assyrian students (16 years) in the sample are significantly older than native Dutch students (15.4 years), but not older than Moroccan (15.8) and Turkish students (15.8), even after controlling for a combination of school track and grade-level (educational ladder). Boys (15.8) are a little older than girls (15.4), $F(1,598)=12.92$, $p=.00$.

By design the total sample is evenly divided into students who attend vocational tracks (51.3%), and those who attend non-vocational tracks. This evenly split enables comparison of the samples in relationships between variables. Representativity of the samples was not the purpose. Differences exist across groups, with native Dutch and Assyrian students attending higher tracks, and Moroccan and Turks attending lower tracks ($F(3,712)=27.82$, $p=.00$). After controlling for educational status of the mother and ethnic composition of the school, Assyrian students attend highest tracks, and Turkish students are found in lower tracks ($F(3,427)=4.23$, $p=.01$). Dutch mothers have received more education than mothers of the minority students ($F(3,491)=102.02$, $p=.00$). Especially, the mothers of Assyrian and Moroccan students have a low education: 80% of the Assyrian mothers and 69% of the Moroccan mothers did not finish primary school, against 7% of native Dutch students mothers and 38% of Turkish mothers.

In addition to the student interviews, data was also gathered from the students' mothers during at-home interviews conducted by an interviewer of the same ethnic background as the mother. The interviews were in Dutch or the mother tongue, in accordance with the preferences of the mother. A total of 281 mothers were interviewed (99 Moroccan, 91 Turkish, 91 Assyrian). Lastly, the students' teachers (math or Dutch language teachers) were asked to rate every student in their class on performance, motivation, social acceptance and behaviour.

Chapter Two

Karen Phalet & Iris Andriessen (2003)

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Chapter two

Acculturation, Motivation and Educational Progress: A Contextual Model of Minority School Engagement

Introduction

As a consequence of post-war migration and family reunion, school populations in the Netherlands, as in other West-European countries, have become increasingly multi-ethnic. Migration conditions in general, and labour migration in particular, are most often associated with social disadvantage in the host society. This initial disadvantage is to some extent reproduced in the second generation through an emerging ethnic stratification in West-European school systems. In the Netherlands, consistent reports of academic underachievement in minority youth, Turks and Moroccans in particular, have caused concern that a home made form of ethnic educational inequality has emerged (see Veenman, 2001). The main aim of this chapter is to explore the precise nature of the relationship between ethnic minority status and school engagement, and to uncover the connecting mechanisms that may account for this relationship.

To this end, we examine the impact of personal acculturation and achievement orientations on more or less successful school performance in Turkish and Moroccan youth. Following a Lazarsfeldian approach of causality as robust dependence (see Cox & Wehrmuth, 2001), exploratory graphic chain models are used to test whether personal orientations make a difference in minority school attainment and progress after conditioning on differential family resources and social opportunities. In line with a contextual approach of acculturation and achievement, we allow for different pathways towards school success to be specified within family and school contexts. Firstly, we argue that distinct acculturation orientations may be supportive of educational investment in home and school contexts. More precisely, our first hypothesis predicts that a combination of ethnic culture maintenance at home with adoption of the dominant culture at school will be the most adaptive. Secondly, we argue that a strong motivational drive to achieve will further enhance school engagement, over and above a smooth acculturative adjustment. As achievement pressures may differ between home and school contexts, our second hypothesis predicts that minority school engagement is a joint function of structural, situational and personal incentives to achieve in migrant families and in multi-ethnic classrooms.

The data used are drawn from our study of acculturation, motivation and achievement among 100 Turkish and 174 Moroccan adolescents in 11 multi-ethnic Dutch schools. Both core hypotheses are simultaneously tested. More precisely, acculturation and achievement orientations in family and school contexts are specified as separate pathways to school success. On the independent side of the models, family and school based pathways are conditioned on family resources and school composition as preceding variables. Three important considerations have

entered into the construction of the model. Firstly, acculturation and motivation processes are conceived as mediating processes between minority status and school careers. They connect minority educational choices and outcomes on the dependent side of the model with family resources and opportunities on the independent side. Secondly, acculturation and achievement orientations in the family context are modelled as preceding acculturation and achievement in school. While we acknowledge the bidirectional nature of cultural flows between families and schools, it is assumed that primary transmission in minority families mostly precedes cultural transmission through schooling (Phalet & Schönplflug, 2001a & b). Lastly, our prime research aim is not to document ethnic group differences but to explore the common processes of acculturation and motivation that direct minority school careers. Accordingly, Turkish and Moroccan minorities are analysed here as 'most similar cases'. Looking beyond educational disadvantage, the (post)migration trajectories of both minorities exemplify very similar structural and cultural conditions. In both communities, a large initial distance between the heritage cultures and the dominant culture is coupled with marked social inequality and ethnic prejudice in Dutch society (Hagendoorn, 2001; Phalet, Van Lotringen & Entzinger, 2000).

Explanandum

In Europe as in the US, the phenomenon of 'ethnic' educational disadvantage is open to debate, due to conflicting findings of negative, zero or positive net ethnic effects on educational attainment. Thus, German and Dutch findings of an ethnic disadvantage among Turkish and Moroccan youth (Alba, Handl & Müller, 1994; Van 't Hof & Dronkers, 1994; Kalmijn & Kraaykamp, 2000) stand in sharp contrast with French findings of ethnic advantage among Moroccan youth and a zero ethnic effect among Turkish youth, as compared to native youth from similar social and family backgrounds (Vallet & Caille, 1999). From a substantive viewpoint, the unexplained ethnic residual lies at the origin of our search for additional explanations of minority school engagement. Our central research question is whether acculturation and motivation processes in families and schools can make the difference between ethnic advantage or disadvantage. From a more methodological point of view, specification of explanatory models should address any issues of spuriousness and reversed or lagged causation.

An ethnic effect is revealed as partly or wholly spurious, if it changes or disappears after conditioning on one or more variables that are seen as logically prior to ethnic minority status (Lazarsfeld & Rosenberg, 1955). Hence, the size and sign of a net ethnic effect depend crucially on which preceding variables are included in the model and in which order. Commonly included preceding conditions refer either to family resources—in the broad sense of family based human, social and cultural capital (see Dronkers & Ultee, 1998)—or else to educational opportunities in more or less effective schools (see Bosker Van der Velden & Hofman, 1985). Under the heading family resources, the factors consistently found to affect minority school careers are: parental literacy, education and occupational status, as well as length of residence and family structure, and, in particular, the presence of a successful older brother or sister (e.g., Alba, Handl, & Müller, 1994; Clifton, Williams & Clancy, 1991; Kalmijn & Kraaykamp, 2000; Van 't Hof & Dronkers, 1994; Portes & MacLeod, 1996; Smith & Tomlinson, 1989; Vallet & Caille,

1996). Gender may also be a significant factor, in that younger generations of minority women make greater progress than men (e.g., Veenman, 1996). Turning to the role of educational opportunities, classroom and school composition is commonly used as a proxy for educational opportunities. In addition to limited family resources, high degrees of social disadvantage and ethnic segregation in classrooms and schools often, though not always (see Vallet & Caille, 1996), interfere with minority school success (e.g., Portes & MacLeod, 1996; Tesser et al., 1995). In line with these findings, we have entered family resources and school composition as preceding variables in our explanatory models of Turkish and Moroccan school careers. Thus, associations between acculturation, motivation and achievement are conditioned on more or less limited resources and opportunities in families and schools.

Due to the path-dependent nature of school careers, past educational choices and outcomes are the best predictors of current and future choices and outcomes. By implication, the direction of causation in acculturation and motivation based explanations of school achievement is open to discussion. For reversed causation, adaptive acculturation and achievement orientations are themselves caused by previous school success rather than being the cause of current success. For lagged causation, acculturation and achievement motivation are the causes of future rather than current school success. Such lagged effects may not be detected in cross-sectional studies due to truncation of the school career at the time of measurement (see Neels & Stoop, 1998). Given converging findings of delayed attainment in minority school careers (see Crul, 1999; Smith & Tomlinson, 1989; Vallet & Caille, 1996), the neglect of lagged causation casts serious doubt on much evidence of ethnic educational inequality.

In an attempt to gauge the seriousness of causality problems, we have specified two types of dependent variables in our explanatory models of Turkish and Moroccan school careers. In Model 1 the overall level of educational attainment given the student's age is regressed on all explanatory variables of interest^x. Attainment levels are a combined function of the number of years in secondary school and the current school track, expressed as a student's rank on the educational ladder, and controlled for the student's age (see Bosker, Van der Velden & Hofman, 1985). In Model 2, the educational progress given a student's age and initial school advice is regressed on the same explanatory variables^{xi}. Model 2 is a more stringent test of the causal impact of acculturation and motivation processes because the model is corrected for the dependency of current school careers on past school success, as reflected in the school advice. Even if the school advice of minority students does not fully reflect past performance or predict future progress (e.g., Bosma & Cremers, 1996; Koeslag & Dronkers, 1994), controlling for it is equivalent to equalising the initial track positions of all students at the start of secondary school. In as far as acculturation and achievement motivation are themselves consequences of past educational decisions and outcomes, their effects on current school engagement should be significantly reduced in Model 2. Still, the possibility of undetected lagged causation cannot be excluded. Hence, both models are only informative of the associations—or the absence of associations—between acculturation, motivation and attainment or progress at the moment of measurement.

Theoretical Expectations: Cultural Assimilation and Schooling

Sociological and anthropological studies of minority educational attainment have documented all four logical combinations of high or low degrees of acculturation—in the original sense of cultural assimilation or a gradual cultural shift from heritage to host culture—with upward or downward mobility (see Table 2.1). Viewed broadly, the diverse schooling experiences of minority youth in the US gave rise to two main strands of theorising, under the respective headings of ‘classic’ and ‘segmented assimilation’, which have informed most European research until today. Gordon’s (1964) classic assimilation theory captures the quintessential experience of early European immigrants in the US, whose offspring were generally successful in climbing the educational and occupational ladders. The negative mirror image of this upward assimilation of European immigrants was the urban ghetto. The ghetto epitomises the historical experience of southern blacks in the making of North American cities. Their predicament of enduring racial segregation and social exclusion gave rise to, endlessly criticised and recycled, concepts such as urban underclass, culture of poverty, caste formation, adversarial culture and oppositional identity (see Steinberg, 2000).

Classic assimilation and urban ghettoisation reflect the up and downside of pre-war immigrant experience in North America. Both sides have in common the connection between acculturation or ‘Americanisation’ and upward mobility, and between ethnic segregation and downward mobility. More recently however, the tenability of this vital connection has been questioned by alternative conceptualisations, such as ‘bumpy line assimilation’ (Gans, 1992), ‘hybridisation’ (Alba & Nee, 1997), and ‘segmented assimilation’ (Portes, 1996; Rumbaut, 1996; Portes & Zhou, 1993). The latter typologies were developed to account for the divergent social mobility experiences among what Portes (1996) called the ‘new second generation’ of non-European immigrants in the United States. Depending on the degree to which immigrant communities are granted opportunities and endowed with ethnic resources, the segmented assimilation model postulates a bimodal pattern of assimilation into white middle-class or non-white underclass segments of North American culture and society. Thus, case studies of ‘downward assimilation’ into the limited social and cultural horizons of inner city ghettos form a dramatic counterpoint to the classic success story of ‘upward assimilation’. Alternatively, successful cases of upward mobility through ethnic enclave formation, capitalising on strong family and community ties, offset the somber prospect of ghettoisation (see Table 2.1).

Table 2.1 Theoretical Expectations of Cultural Assimilation and Social Mobility

	Upward Social Mobility	Downward Social Mobility
High Acculturation	Classic Assimilation Model → upward assimilation	Segmented Assimilation Model → downward assimilation
Low Acculturation	Enclave Formation → upward ethnic mobility	Urban Ghettoisation → enduring ethnic exclusion

According to classic assimilation theory, ethnic educational disadvantage is due to a lack of acculturation, and will disappear with spontaneous upward assimilation in the second and third generation. In contrast, the segmented assimilation model associates ‘resistance to schooling’ in the second generation with spontaneous downward assimilation, and foregrounds the pivotal role of cohesive ethnic communities in turning the tide of school failure and dropout. How serious is the challenge of the segmented assimilation model as an alternative explanation of ethnic educational inequality? US census and survey data demonstrate an overall positive impact of length of residence as well as language and identity assimilation on minority status attainment (Alba & Nee, 1997; Rumbaut, 1996). Nevertheless, classic assimilation theory leaves much to be explained. Clearly, some minority families and communities are more resourceful than others in overcoming race and class barriers, as is evident from significant ethnic residuals and ethnographic case studies (Portes, 1996). It is less clear however, whether Portes’ bimodal typology can be generalised to a European context. Firstly, the notion of segmentation is tied up with North American race relations and urban poverty. In European welfare states, inclusive social provisions and policies may take on much of the supportive function of ‘ethnic’ solidarity in the US. Secondly, the typical emphasis on strong family and achievement values in successful ethnic communities in the US resonates with the proverbial American dream, but may lack normative appeal in more egalitarian European societies.

In the absence of a prolonged time perspective in European migration research, existing findings must remain inconclusive. Still, comparative case studies offer only weak support of segmented assimilation in European host societies (see Vermeulen & Perlmann, 2000). In particular, the evidence of an ethnic type of upward mobility in cohesive Turkish communities is mixed, and the fate of more permeable Moroccan communities in Europe does not (yet) confirm North American experiences of downward assimilation. In a nutshell, Turkish families in the Netherlands have been relatively effective in protecting their children from dropping out of school early. At the same time, they have discouraged more risky choices for higher education, especially for girls (Böcker, 2000; Lindo, 1995). In spite of more loose family and community ties, Moroccan students in Dutch schools are not much worse off than their Turkish peers (Crul, 1999). Also in Belgium, avoidance of social demotion in cohesive Turkish communities has come at the cost of delayed upward mobility. Conversely, the payoff of more ambitious educational choices among Moroccans is limited by more frequent school failure and dropout, as compared to Turks (Neels & Stoop, 1998).

Towards a Contextual Model of Acculturation and Achievement

To throw new light on conflicting theoretical expectations and inconclusive findings of educational progress with or without acculturation, our aim with the present study is to refine the concept and measurement of acculturation. In particular, we propose a contextual model, which extends current bidimensional and interactive models of acculturation in cross-cultural psychology.

Firstly, classic as well as segmented models of assimilation are premised on a unidimensional conception of cultural change, equating acculturation with a gradual loss of the ethnic culture and conversely, ethnic culture maintenance with 'resistance to acculturation' ^{xii}. Increasingly, however, migrants and post-migration minorities prefer to maintain core elements of their heritage culture while also valuing key features of the host culture. Accordingly, a bidimensional acculturation model is now widely accepted as more appropriate (Ryder, Alden & Paulhus, 2000). Currently, the most popular two-dimensional model in cross-cultural acculturation studies has been proposed by Berry (see Berry & Sam, 1997). Berry's model distinguishes between more or less positive orientations towards ethnic and dominant cultures. Specifically, post-migration minorities have to deal with two key questions. First, do they want to establish good relationships with the host community or, in a more demanding variant (see Sayegh & Lasry, 1993), are they willing to adopt elements of the dominant culture? This is the culture adoption dimension of acculturation. And second, do they want to maintain good relations with the ethnic culture and community? This is the cultural maintenance dimension. Combining culture adoption and maintenance, minorities typically prefer what is referred to as an 'integration' type of acculturation (Berry & Sam, 1997). One-sided acculturation orientations are generally less popular, either favouring cultural adaptation without maintenance (i.e., 'assimilation'), or else cultural maintenance without adaptation (i.e., 'separation'). Across cultures, integration is revealed as the most adaptive type of acculturation, in that it is most often associated with high levels of psychological adjustment and achievement (e.g., Phalet & Hagendoorn, 1996). A similar two-dimensional structure has been documented for various aspects of acculturation, including cultural customs, norms and values, social networks, and ethnic identifications (see Van de Vijver & Phalet, 2004).

Secondly, sociological models of upward or downward assimilation focus primarily on minority efforts and strategies such as culture learning and social mobility. However, minority culture learning and social mobility are closely related to their (perceived) treatment in the host society. Working on this premise, Bourhis et al.'s (1997) interactive extension of Berry's bidimensional model examined converging or conflicting minority and host acculturation orientations (Bourhis et al., 1997). In line with Berry's model, host acculturation-orientations vary between very accepting to not at all accepting of the minority culture, and from very demanding to not at all demanding of cross-cultural adaptation. In parallel, co-ethnic orientations within migrant communities vary between more or less accepting of culture adoption and demand either more or less maintenance. In interactive acculturation studies, host communities were, on the whole, found to value cultural maintenance less and culture adoption more than migrant communities (e.g., Phalet, Vanlotringen & Entzinger, 2000). The degree of perceived acceptance by the host community of cultural maintenance was positively related to acculturative adaptation in migrants (e.g., Bourhis & Bougie, 1998; Lalonde & Cameron, 1993; Piontkowski, Florak,

Hölker & Obdrzalek, 2000).

Thirdly, classic and segmented assimilation models do not clearly distinguish private, communal and public contexts of acculturation. Most often, social mobility in the public domains of school and work is related to acculturation in the private life of minority families and communities (see Portes, 1996; Portes & Zhou, 1993). Yet, minority acculturation orientations are likely to differ between private and public contexts. In the public domain, for instance in multi-ethnic schools, dominant group norms are most salient and influential. Conversely, as family and community contexts are predominantly co-ethnic, ethnic ingroup norms are most salient and most easily enforced in the private domain. Thus, a contextual model (see Phalet & Van Lotringen, 2001) predicts that minorities attach more importance to culture adoption in the public domain, while cultural maintenance is valued mostly in the private domain. Accordingly, a majority of Turkish and Moroccan youth in the Netherlands prefer a separation type of acculturation in the family context, along with integration in the school context. The Dutch (as host community) are divided between integration and assimilation as their most preferred acculturation types in the school context (Phalet, Vanlotringen & Entzinger, 2000).

Considering the bidimensional structure and the interactive and contextual nature of acculturation processes, cultural explanations of minority school engagement that fail to distinguish distinct acculturation dimensions and contexts, are bound to yield conflicting results. From a contextual approach, the same acculturation orientation may be adaptive in one context but maladaptive in another, depending on the presence or absence of person-environment fit (Ward & Kennedy, 1993). In the face of conflicting acculturation pressures from the ethnic community and the host society, an optimal person-environment fit requires some degree of alternation from minority youth between ethnic and dominant cultures in family and school contexts. Therefore we expect that, when applied to school achievement, cultural maintenance will have a supportive impact in the family context, whereas culture adoption will be required for adaptive learning in the school context.

The supportive impact of cultural maintenance in minority families is in line with positive associations of ethnic cultural attachment, identification and family values with sustained psychological well-being and health in minority youth (e.g., Phalet & Hagendoorn, 1996; Verkuyten & Kwa, 1994). In parallel, the role of culture adoption in the school context receives support from studies of culture learning, which relate cross-cultural openness and social contact to enhanced self-competence and skills (e.g., Phalet & Hagendoorn, 1996; Ward & Kennedy, 1993). Separate research streams in educational anthropology and psychology have shown that family support and school belonging have parallel context effects on minority achievement and engagement with schoolwork (see Okagaki, 2001). Specifically, students who are highly involved with the ethnic culture and identity in co-ethnic contexts are most likely to mobilise social support and protect their self-worth within the family and community. At the same time, actively engaging in cultural contact with the majority group and learning across ethnic boundaries facilitates the acquisition of knowledge and skills in multi-ethnic classrooms. Overall, complementary findings from cross-cultural studies of minority acculturation and education support the expected association of an alternation pattern of acculturation with minority school engagement.

Immigrant Aspirations and Schooling

A separate strand of sociological and anthropological research has looked for explanations of minority achievement in the domain of aspirations and future expectations. In support of this line of inquiry, ethnic minorities in the US and in Europe have been revealed as strong believers in self-improvement through school achievement. Compared with native parents of the same social class, migrant parents tend to exhibit higher academic aspirations and expectations for their children (e.g., Müller & Kerbow, 1993; Vallet & Caille, 1999). Typically, minority parents perceive educational investment as the primary means of improving the family's socio-economic conditions, while minority youth tend to perceive educational progress as a family obligation and a precondition for a prosperous future (e.g., Matute-Bianchi, 1986; Zéroulou, 1988). Not only are minority families and youth more aspiring than their native counterparts, these aspirations are also found to improve educational attainment. Indirect evidence from national panel studies of school achievement show that sustained motivation in the face of failure enables at least some portion of minority youth to catch up with native classmates (e.g., Clifton, Williams & Clancy, 1991; Smith & Tomlinson, 1989; Vallet & Caille, 1999). Added to which, motivational variables, including academic aspirations of parents, peers and teachers along with academic self-esteem, explain a significant part of the ethnic residual in educational attainment, after controlling for social and family background (Clifton, Williams & Clancy, 1991; Vallet & Caille, 1999).

The close links between migration, aspirations and achievement gave rise to the well-known 'immigrant optimism hypothesis', which attributes educational attainment in minority youth to parental expectations of intergenerational mobility through education (Kao & Tienda, 1995). Three mechanisms may contribute to this self-fulfilling prophecy of immigrant optimism (see Vallet & Caille, 1996). For a start, migration is associated with the positive selection of more aspiring persons, since persons with a weak motivational drive are less likely to leave the comforts of home behind in search of a better life. Then there is the fact that the lack of schooling in most migrant families is due to failing school systems in the countries of origin. In the absence of a history of school failure, migrants with little or no schooling are more likely to hold positive attitudes towards school engagement than similarly low-schooled sections of the host population. Finally, the relative over-investment in education that sets migrants apart from the native working classes, may also be motivated by the realistic anticipation of ethnic discrimination in the labour market.

The immigrant optimism hypothesis has been challenged on two accounts. Firstly, minority parents are more aspiring and youngsters tend to achieve more highly in some ethnic communities but not in others. While the notion of immigrant optimism attributes high academic aspirations to the motivational drive of individual migrants in search of a better future, alternative folk models of success ascribe high aspirations to shared cultural ideals. Hence, ethnic mobilisation is seen as the driving force behind school achievement in 'successful' migrant communities (Ogbu & Simons, 1998). Secondly, a more direct challenge is known as the 'attitude-achievement paradox' (Mickelson, 1990). Whereas immigrant optimism predicts that more aspiring minority parents have more achieving children, the paradox refers to repeated findings of high motivation together with low achievement in African American youth. These paradoxical findings have been replicated in other disadvantaged minority groups. They suggest severe limits to the explanatory power

of immigrant optimism in the absence of sufficient opportunities for upward mobility.

How well does the immigrant optimism hypothesis explain motivation and achievement among Turkish and Moroccan students in a European context? In line with theoretical expectations, anthropological and psychological studies have revealed high parental aspirations, together with high achievement motivation in most migrant children (e.g., Phalet & Schönflug, 2001a & b). Especially Turkish families in Turkey and in Belgium are strongly committed to a combination of family and achievement values (e.g., Phalet, 1996; Phalet & Claeys, 1993; Phalet & Lens, 1995). On the other hand, Turkish and Moroccan migrant parents are generally less well-equipped to actively encourage and support school work (e.g., Kalmijn & Kraaykamp, 2000; Nijsten, 1998; Pels, 1998). Moreover, German and Dutch evidence of persistent under-achievement in spite of high achievement motivation, is reminiscent of the North American attitude-achievement paradox (e.g., Alba, Handl & Müller, 1994; Van 't Hof & Dronkers, 1994). Current findings are inconclusive, however, as they do not directly relate motivational orientations to educational outcomes.

Structural, Situational and Personal Incentives to Achieve

To account for the competing motivational explanations of minority school success, we elaborate a contextual model of achievement motivation in this study. Taking a contextual approach, conflicting messages in family and school contexts can be seen to engender ambivalent attitudes towards schooling. If the school environment fails to support academic achievement, expectations of upward mobility through schooling within minority families are frustrated by situationally induced disengagement from learning, such as negative peer pressure on adolescent boys. Conversely, if minority youth feel accepted and motivated to achieve in school, positive situational incentives may help to overcome instances of limited parental support, such as with aspiring migrant girls. In addition to family and school context effects, the personal level of achievement motivation also plays a role. In short, a contextual approach allows minority school achievement to be viewed as the joint product of personal motivation and positive or negative achievement pressures from families and schools. We have found that our understanding of achievement-in-context is supported by parallel findings on minority motivation and achievement in educational anthropology and psychology (for an overview; see Table 2.2). Some major findings will be discussed below.

In order to account for conflicting achievement pressures in minority families and schools, D'Amato (1993) introduced a key distinction between 'structural' and 'situational' incentives to achieve (see Table 2.2). Structural incentives stem from conditions in the larger society that cause minority students 'to play by the rules' or not. They are typically centred on the perceived function of schooling for future upward mobility. Do youngsters believe in the future benefits of doing well in school, such as access to desirable jobs, or prestige for one's family or community? The assumption is that students with a strong structural incentive to achieve are more likely to persist in their school work, even if they have to endure the discomforts of ethnic discrimination or negative peer pressure in school. There are three sources of evidence from educational research, which associate minority school success with structural incentives (see Table 2.2).

Table 2.2 Structural, Situational and Personal Incentives in Family and School Contexts

Context	Structural Incentives	Situational Incentives	Personal Incentives
Family	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Parental Expectations 	–	–
School	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Future Expectations: Peer Pressure Perceived Instrumentality 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • School Adjustment: Perceived interethnic relations Personal Belonging 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Achievement Motivation • Learning Styles: Disengagement Self-handicapping

Firstly, intergenerational mobility expectations in minority families most often provide a strong structural incentive to achieve. Accordingly, parental mobility beliefs, academic aspirations, and direct or indirect parental support are found to enhance the school performance of minority children (Okagaki & Frensch, 1998; Schneider & Lee, 1990). In addition, successful co-ethnic role models outside the family are a significant source of structural incentives to achieve in school. In general, the peer network of adolescents contributes to their school achievement, over and above parental educational support (Fletcher, Darling, Steinberg & Dornbusch, 1995). Thus, generally less successful African and Hispanic youth in the US are less likely to receive active support from both parents and peers than more successful Asian and white youth (Steinberg, Dornbusch & Brown, 1992). Lastly, the presence or absence of structural incentives to achieve is reflected in more or less positive future expectations of the students themselves (Lens & Rand, 1997). Specifically, students who believe that doing well in school is instrumental for future career goals, are generally more successful (Steinberg, Dornbusch & Brown, 1992). In the case of minority students, the perceived instrumentality of schooling is closely tied up with experiences of ethnic discrimination. Hence, sustained school engagement depends crucially on the belief that schooling may—or may not—help to overcome ethnic barriers (Gibson, 2000).

When minority students do not perceive a sufficient structural rationale to engage with school work, their performance hinges upon the presence of situational incentives in the classroom environment (see Table 2.2). D'Amato (1993) defines the immediate social costs or rewards attached to school engagement as situational costs. The role of situational incentives has mostly been studied under the rubric of minority school adjustment (see Andriessen & Phalet, 2002). Two parallel strands of evidence relate minority achievement to situational incentives in the classroom environment. At the level of ethnic relations in school, experiences of negative interethnic relations with peers and teachers are found to predict impaired school adjustment and increased resistance to school work among minority children (Okagaki, Frensch & Dodson, 1996). At the personal level, perceived teacher support and cooperative peer interactions generate positive feelings of school

belonging, which in turn enable sustained school engagement and achievement (e.g., Goodenow & Grady, 1993; Voekl, 1996).

Finally, in addition to structural and situational incentives, personal incentives to achieve in class also make a difference (see Table 2.2). More precisely, personal achievement goal orientations and learning styles are revealed as robust predictors of school performance. All else being equal, students who are highly motivated by academic task motivation tend to outperform those with a weaker task motivation (Phalet & Lens, 1995). In addition, in the eyes of minority students, school achievement is most often supported by strong social achievement goals, such as upholding family pride and/or gaining teacher approval (Phalet & Lens, 1995; Urdan & Maehr, 1995). Second, more or less adaptive learning styles have a decisive impact on minority school performance. Thus, maladaptive classroom behaviours, such as 'lesson rejecting' and 'evading' behaviours, have been associated with school disengagement and dropout in minority students (Connell, Spencer & Aber, 1994). A more subtle form of disengagement is known as 'self-handicapping'. Self-handicapping behaviour is typically demonstrated by a lack of effort, for instance hanging out with friends instead of preparing for an exam. It can be interpreted either as a self-protective strategy—protecting or enhancing self-worth—or, as a self-presentation strategy—managing a favourable impression in the eyes of peers. While disengagement and self-handicapping behaviour in achievement situations are commonly attributed to 'the burden of acting white' (Fordham & Ogbu, 1986), concerns with self-worth and self-presentation are associated with resistance to learning in adolescents of all social and ethnic backgrounds (Arroyo & Ziegler, 1995).

Hypothetical Models of Acculturation, Motivation and Achievement

Our two main hypotheses on acculturation and achievement motivation in family and school contexts are tested simultaneously in a hypothetical explanatory model across contexts (see Figure 2.1). Following a Lazarsfeldian approach (see Cox & Wehrmuth, 2001), acculturation and motivation based variables are specified as mediating variables, and conditioned on family resources and school composition as preceding variables. More proximal mediating variables in the school context are entered first, and subsequently conditioned on more distal variables in the family context. To this end, explanatory variables are grouped in boxes, which are then entered into stepwise regressions in reverse order of precedence. Variables within the same box are treated on an equal footing and entered simultaneously. The same explanatory model is tested twice: once with educational attainment (Model 1) and once with educational progress (Model 2) as a dependent variable. Since the hypothetical model is wholly theory-driven, other theoretical considerations may support a different placement of particular explanatory variable systems.

The first hypothetical pathway to minority school success is anchored in the family context, with family resources as preceding variables, and with acculturation orientations and achievement expectations in minority families as mediating variables. Specifically, parental education, age at migration and the presence of older brothers or sisters are included as indices of family resources. Also, school success is conditioned on ethnic origin, gender and age of the child as preceding variables (Box 1 in Figure 2.1). In addition, acculturation orientations in the family

context are measured by ethnic language use, identification and awareness, and by positive or negative attitudes towards cultural maintenance and culture adoption in the private domain. As a measure of structural incentives to achieve within minority families, the model includes perceived parental expectations of school achievement (Box 2 in Figure 2.1).

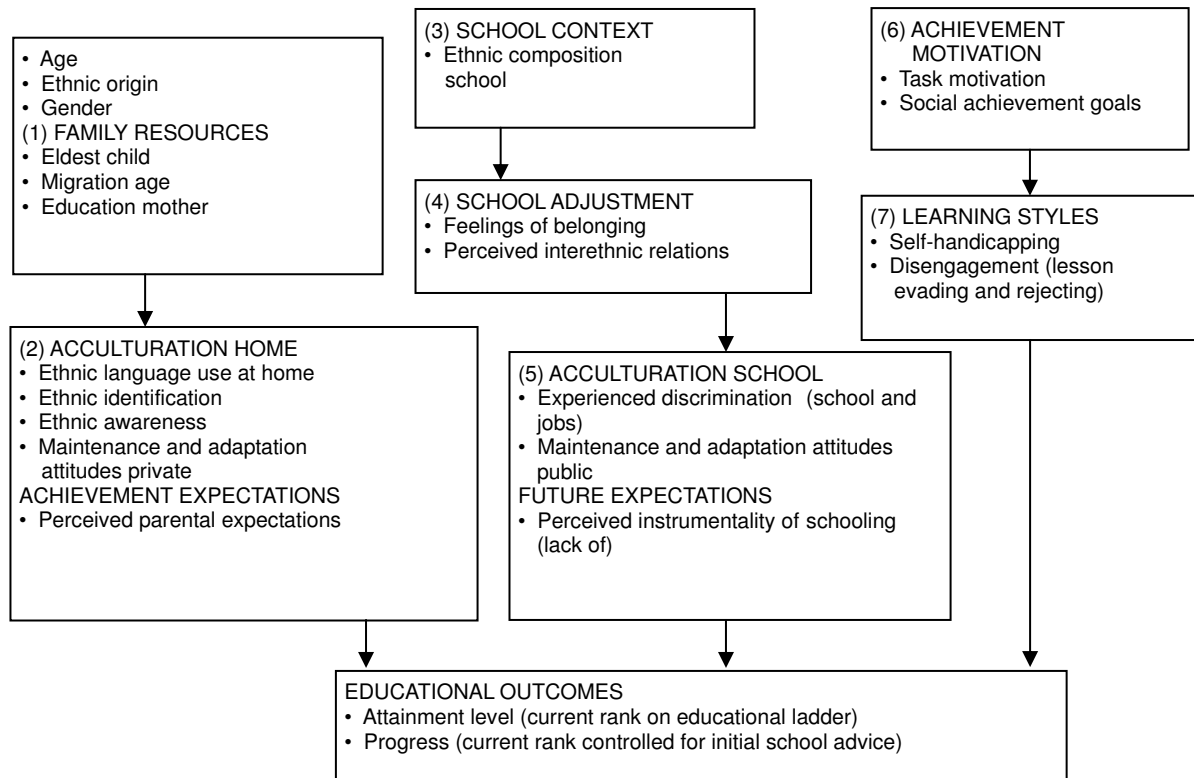


Figure 2.1 Hypothetical Explanatory Model of Acculturation, Achievement Motivation and Educational Attainment

The second hypothetical pathway is situated in the school context, with school composition as a preceding variable, and with acculturation orientations in the school context, school adjustment and future expectations as mediating variables. More precisely, the ethnic composition of the school refers to educational opportunities as a preceding variable (Box 3 in Figure 2.1). Next, situational incentives to achieve in school are introduced into the model under the general heading of school adjustment, and consist of the perceived quality of interethnic relations as a negative incentive, and personal feelings of belonging in school as positive incentives (Box 4 in Figure 2.1). Acculturation orientations in the school context are measured by positive or negative attitudes towards cultural maintenance and adaptation in the public domain. Positive and negative perceptions of the instrumentality of schooling are included as additional measures of structural incentives to achieve in school (Box 5 in Figure 2.1).

Lastly, personal achievement motivation and more or less adaptive learning styles are specified as the most proximal mediating variables of school success. Under the heading ‘personal incentives to achieve’, the model specifies task motivation and social achievement goals (Box 6 in Figure 2.1), as well as

maladaptive lesson evading, lesson rejecting and self-handicapping behaviours (Box 7 in Figure 2.1).

Following our first hypothesis about acculturation in context, we expect that minority students with a strong ethnic identification and awareness and with a positive attitude towards cultural maintenance in the family context will be more successful in school. Successful students are expected to show a positive attitude towards cultural adoption in the school context, thus combining an ethnic cultural orientation at home with openness to the dominant culture at school. In line with our second hypothesis about achievement-in-context, we expect that minority students will be more academically successful when there are strong structural incentives to achieve. Such as when their parents have high achievement expectations and/or when they perceive school success as instrumental in achieving a better future. In addition, situational incentives may also play a role. Thus, we expect that the more successful students will experience less negative interethnic relations and more feelings of belonging at school. Finally, turning to personal incentives, we expect that students who are strongly motivated for school tasks and by social achievement goals, will do better in school, while students who report frequent maladaptive (disengaging or self-handicapping) classroom behaviours, will do less well.

While the focus of this study is not on the preceding conditions of minority school success, it is expected that family resources contribute positively to educational outcomes, while ethnic segregation at the school level may—or may not—have a negative impact. It should be added, however, that the latter effects may be somewhat obscured by ‘restriction of range’ in the present samples. Thus, the ethnic minority status of Turkish and Moroccan students coincides with largely similar migration conditions and socially disadvantaged positions in Dutch society. Likewise, ethnic segregation overlaps greatly with school trajectory, so that vocational schools are much more ‘ethnic’ than non-vocational schools. Lastly, this study focuses on the cross-cultural replication of common processes. Hence, no hypotheses about ethnic differences or interactions with ethnic origin are specified.

Research Design and Analyses

Participants and Procedure

The comparative design includes 102 Turkish and 179 Moroccan minority students (Turks: 49 per cent girls, Moroccans: 51 per cent girls) in 11 multi-ethnic schools in four medium-sized Dutch communes. Most students are between 13 and 16 years of age and in their second, third or fourth year of secondary school (Turks: 75 per cent, Moroccans: 79 per cent). Most are second generation, who completed primary school in the Netherlands (Turks: 88 per cent, Moroccans: 84 per cent). The samples are not representative, but schools and classes have been sampled so as to include sufficient numbers of students in higher educational tracks. Of the Moroccan students 66 per cent and of the Turkish students 76 per cent are in vocational tracks; 24 per cent of the Moroccans and 12 per cent of the Turks are in intermediate tracks; and 10 per cent of the Moroccans and 11 per cent of the Turks are in higher educational tracks. Accordingly, 68 per cent of the Moroccan sample and 85 per cent of the Turkish sample received a school advice recommending vocational training at the end of primary school. Students filled out Dutch-language questionnaires in class or in small groups in the presence of the researchers and a

teacher. In addition to questions about social class, family composition and migration history, they rated scales measuring ethnic language use, identification and awareness, perceived ethnic discrimination, acculturation attitudes, parental expectations, future expectations, school adjustment, goal orientations and learning styles. The measures included in the hypothetical model are presented in more detail below. They are grouped in boxes and numbered from one to seven (see Figure 2.1).

Measures

Response and Control Variables: Educational attainment is scored on an educational ladder which indicates educational progress in the Dutch school system (Bosker, Van der Velden & Hofman, 1985). The maximum rank of 12 indicates completion of the last year of the highest track. First or second year students in double tracks are given the mean of their ranks in the two adjacent tracks. Age (from 12 to 18 years). School advice is categorised as follows: (1) preparatory year, (2) special vocational training, (3) double track, (4) lower vocational training, (5) double track, (6) lower intermediate training school, (7) double track, (8) higher intermediate training, (9) double track, and (10) Lyceum or Gymnasium.

Box 1: Family Resources and other Preceding Variables Ethnic origin is based on self-identification (0 = Moroccan; 1 = Turkish). Education: mother in Turkey or Morocco is as reported by the students and proved consistent with the parental self-reporting in a subsample with parent interviews: (1) no education, (2) primary school, (3) lower secondary, (4) higher secondary, (5) higher education or university degree. Migration age is dichotomised into second-generation (1 = primary school in the Netherlands) and in-between generation (0 = primary school partly or mostly in Turkey or Morocco). Gender (0 = boys; 1 = girls). Elders child (0 = at least one older brother or sister; 1 = none).

Box 2: Acculturation at Home and Parental Expectations: Ethnic language use at home is based on the language used with brothers and sisters (0 = mostly Dutch; 1 = mostly the ethnic language). Ethnic Identification is scored from (1) completely Dutch to (5) completely Turkish/Moroccan. A residual category 'neither Dutch, nor Turkish/Moroccan' is treated as an item non-response. Ethnic awareness refers to the degree of self-involvement attached to ethnic identities. Specifically, students are asked how often they feel personally hurt, when someone says something negative about Turks/Moroccans (from (1) never to (4) always). Acculturation attitudes at home refer to a generalized preference for culture maintenance and culture adoption in the family context. Students were asked to rate these items from (1) not at all, (2) partly, to (3) completely. Perceived parental expectations are measured by two parallel indices. 'What do your parents think of your school results?' (0 = that I work hard enough, 1 = that I should try harder) 'What would your parents think if you get a bad grade?' (0 = that the subject is too difficult for me, 1 = that I have not worked hard enough)

Box 3: School Context: Ethnic composition is based on estimates of the proportion of Turkish and Moroccan students in each school.

Box 4: School Adjustment: School adjustment is measured by eight items, including student feelings and perceptions of teacher support, tasks and rules, peer interactions and ethnic relations in school. Simultaneous Component Analysis (SCA;

see Kiers, 1992) yields two distinct factors, explaining 45 per cent of the variance in the Turkish sample and 44 per cent in the Moroccan sample. The first factor 'feelings of school belonging' focuses on interpersonal relations with teachers and peers at the individual level, while the second factor 'perceived quality of interethnic relations' refers to perceptions of ethnic relations at the group level. Perceived quality of interethnic relations are measured by three items about perceived ethnic closure and ethnic conflict between minority and native Dutch students in school. For example, 'In this school Turkish/Moroccan and native Dutch students belong mostly to separate peer groups.' (from 1 = completely disagree to 4 = completely agree). Higher scores indicate more negative perceptions (Cronbach's alpha .56 for Turks and .59 for Moroccans). Feelings of school belonging are measured by five items about students' feelings of satisfaction with the school environment and their experience of teacher support: e.g., 'Most teachers are understanding when I have a personal problem.' (from 1 = not at all to 3 = very much). Higher scores indicate more positive feelings (Cronbach's alpha .55 for Turks and .53 for Moroccans).

Box 5: Acculturation in School and Future Expectations: Acculturation attitudes in school refer to cultural maintenance and adaptation in the school context (see supra). Experienced discrimination is assessed by two indices of group-level discrimination in school and in the labour market: 'In comparison with native Dutch students, Turks/Moroccans are (1) equally welcome, (2) somewhat less welcome, or (3) much less welcome in my school.' 'In comparison with native Dutch youth, it is (1) just as hard, (2) a little harder, or (3) much harder for Turks/Moroccans to get a good job.' Perceived instrumentality is based on two indices of the perceived function of schooling. A positive index refers to co-ethnic peers who are successful in their career because they completed higher education. A negative index refers to co-ethnics with a successful career in spite of school failure (1 = nobody, 2 = few persons, 3 = many persons).

Box 6: Achievement Motivation The measurement of personal goal orientations includes task motivation and social achievement goals. Task motivation refers to students' motivation to engage with school tasks in general and in the present. Items were translated and adapted from Pintrich et al's Motivated Strategies for Learning Questionnaire (MSLQ: Pintrich, Smith, Garcia & McKeachie, 1991). Highest loading items in Dutch-language pilot studies of the MSLQ were selected. Five items for social achievement goals were included, referring to the approval of teachers and parents (scored from 1 = not at all like me, to 3 =very much like me). As expected, SCA reveals two distinct factors for task motivation and social achievement goals, which explain 40 per cent of the variance in the Moroccan sample and 36 per cent in the Turkish sample. An example of an item for task motivation is 'Most things we learn in school are important to me' (Cronbach's alpha .59 for Turks and .73 for Moroccans). An example of a social goal item is 'I work hard in school in order not to disappoint my parents' (Cronbach's alpha .62 for Turks and .75 for Moroccans).

Box 7: Learning Styles: School disengagement is measured by three items with self-handicapping behaviours (adapted from Midgley, Maehr, Hicks, Roeser, Urdan, Anderman & Kaplan, 1996) and five items with maladaptive lesson-evading and lesson-rejecting behaviours (scored from 1 = I never behave like this, to 3 = all the time). SCA reveals three distinct factors, corresponding to lesson rejecting, lesson evading and self-handicapping, and explaining 61 per cent of the variance in the

Turkish sample and 57 per cent in the Moroccan sample. An example of self-handicapping is: 'Some students go out late the night before they have to pass an exam' (Cronbach's alpha: .53 for Turks and .51 for Moroccans with three items); an example of lesson evading: 'Some students wait until others answer a question in class instead of thinking for themselves' (Cronbach's alpha: .65 for Turks and .48 for Moroccans with three items); and an example of lesson rejecting: 'Some students are looking for trouble in class, because they find the lessons boring' (inter-item correlation: .50 for Turks and .60 for Moroccans with two items).

Analyses

To test the effect of acculturation processes and achievement motivation on educational attainment, graphical chain models are specified using stepwise multiple regressions (Cox & Wehrmuth, 2001). Two basic models are tested, regressing the overall educational level given a student's age in Model 1 on all explanatory variables of interest. Model 2 considers the same independent variables, but explains the educational progress given a student's age and initial school advice. On the explanatory side, effects of proximal variables that disappear after conditioning on preceding variables are said to be spurious. Only effects that are still significant in the final step are reported as robust effects. In addition, to distinguish group-specific effects from common causal effects, additive models in the pooled Turkish and Moroccan samples are extended to include interaction terms with ethnic origin for all main effects of explanatory and control variables. If the interaction effect is non-significant, there is no reason to reject the assumption of cross-cultural equivalence (Van de Vijver & Leung, 1999). Finally, to identify mediated effects, a series of sub-models is tested, regressing each explanatory variable with a significant effect on educational attainment, on all preceding variable systems (Cox & Wehrmuth, 2001).

Results

Model 1 and Model 2

Model 1, with educational level as a response variable (controlling for student age only), explains 61.5 per cent of the total variance in educational attainment, which is 28 per cent more than the null model with student age only ($R^2 = .34$). In Model 1, the first pathway, including family resources, acculturation and expectations, accounts for 14 per cent of the total variance; the second pathway, with school composition, adjustment, acculturation and future expectations, explains an additional 10 per cent; and the third pathway, with achievement motivation and learning styles, adds another 4 per cent of explained variance. Model 2 with educational progress as a more stringent response variable (controlling for age and school advice) explains an extra 24 per cent of the variance as compared to the null model with age and school advice ($R^2 = .38$). Further decomposition shows that the three pathways explain 12 per cent, 9 per cent and 3 per cent of the total variance respectively. All significant effects in Model 1, are successfully replicated with a more restrictive variant of the same response variable in Model 2 (see Table 2.3). It is noteworthy that the variance explained by school advice drops when family context variables are entered into the model. The overlap suggests that school

advice may be used as a proxy for family based resources and orientations. As the educational progress of minority students is predicted by the same explanatory variables as their overall educational level, the impact of family and school acculturation and achievement orientations cannot be discounted as a consequence of past attainment, preceding the start of secondary education. The replication of the causal dependencies in Model 1, after controlling for initial school advice in Model 2, supports the overall robustness of our explanatory model of school success.

Table 2.3 Standardised Regression Coefficients in Model 2

Controls	Age	0.574****	0.590****	0.579****	0.574****	0.576****	0.597****	0.578****	0.672****
	School advice	0.178****	0.166***	0.152***	0.141***	0.145***	0.124**	0.077	0.030
Box 7	Self-handicapping	–	-0.159***	-0.173***	-0.170***	-0.166***	-0.170***	-0.215***	-0.155**
	Lesson evading	–	0.047	0.034	0.042	0.034	0.034	0.061	0.107
	Lesson rejecting	–	-0.005	-0.013	0.017	0.004	0.007	0.014	0.010
Box 6	Task motivation	–	–	-0.055	-0.088	-0.075	-0.077	-0.118*	-0.159**
	Social achievement goals	–	–	-0.081	-0.090*	-0.085	-0.083	-0.082	-0.060
Box 5	Maintenance: public	–	–	–	0.115**	0.111**	0.115**	0.100*	0.142*
	Adaptation: public	–	–	–	0.103**	0.111**	0.108**	0.136**	0.193***
	Discrimination: school	–	–	–	-0.109**	-0.111**	-0.105**	-0.114*	-0.051
	Discrimination: jobs	–	–	–	0.087*	0.081	0.099*	0.042	0.091
	Instrumentality: negative	–	–	–	-0.177****	-0.180****	-0.174****	-0.187***	-0.169**
	Instrumentality: positive	–	–	–	0.117**	0.123**	0.111**	0.135**	0.132*
Box 4	Interethnic relations	–	–	–	–	-0.022	-0.030	-0.086	-0.094
	School belonging	–	–	–	–	-0.074	-0.058	-0.013	0.016
Box 3	Ethnic composition	–	–	–	–	–	-0.071	-0.077	-0.128
Box 2	Ethnic identification	–	–	–	–	–	–	-0.061	-0.019
	Ethnic awareness	–	–	–	–	–	–	0.117*	0.122*
	Maintenance private	–	–	–	–	–	–	0.072	-0.034
	Adaptation private	–	–	–	–	–	–	-0.114*	-0.150**
	Ethnic language use	–	–	–	–	–	–	-0.042	-0.086
	Parental expectations (indices 1 & 2)	–	–	–	–	–	–	0.063	0.024
Box 1	Ethnic origin	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	-0.022
	Education: mother	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0.034
	Migration age	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0.046
	Gender	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	-0.003
	Eldest child	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0.027
R2		0.375	0.398	0.411	0.487	0.492	0.502	0.512	0.615

* p < 0.10, ** p < 0.05, *** p < 0.01, **** p < 0.001

Direct Effects on Educational Progress

Table 2.3 shows the standardised regression coefficients β for gross (first column) and net effects (last column) of all explanatory variables in Model 2 with educational progress as a dependent variable. Note that only direct effects are represented here. Starting with Box 1 at the bottom of Table 2.3, the family context variables have no significant direct effects on educational progress^{xiii}. In Box 2 with acculturation and achievement orientations in the family context, we find that ethnic involvement has a positive effect on progress, along with a negative effect of acculturation attitudes favouring Dutch culture at home. Parental achievement expectations show no significant effect. Boxes 3 and 4 with the school context and school adjustment variables add no significant effects on educational progress. In Box 5 with acculturation and future expectations in the school context, ethnic as well as Dutch acculturation orientations at school have positive effects on progress. In addition, the perceived instrumentality of schooling shows significant effects, so that negative perceptions have a negative effect, and positive perceptions a positive effect, on school success. A negative effect of experienced discrimination in school, and a weak positive effect of anticipated discrimination in the labour market are both revealed as spurious after conditioning on family resources. In Box 6 with personal achievement goal orientations, a net negative effect of task motivation emerges after conditioning on the family context, while a weak parallel effect of social goals is revealed as spurious. Of the disengagement variables in Box 7 only self-handicapping has a significant negative effect on educational progress.

Interaction: Cross-Cultural Equivalence

When Models 1 and 2 are extended to test interactions with ethnic origin, the analyses reveal significant interaction effects for age ($\beta = .25$; $p < .0001$) and school advice ($\beta = .20$; $p < .0001$) as control variables and for ethnic awareness ($\beta = .22$; $p < .05$) as an explanatory variable. Consequently, the effects of age, school advice and ethnic awareness on educational attainment and progress are not equivalent across cultures. Specifically, the associations of age and school advice with educational attainment and progress are stronger in Turkish than in Moroccan school careers. And the positive impact of ethnic awareness on academic attainment levels is limited to the Turkish sample. It is not replicated in the Moroccan sample. Finally, cross-cultural equivalence is sustained for the remaining significant effects of acculturation attitudes in families and schools, positive and negative instrumentality of schooling, task motivation and self-handicapping.

Mediation: Indirect Effects

With a view to identifying indirect effects on educational attainment, we modelled each explanatory variable with a significant direct effect as a response variable in a separate sub-model, and regressed these on all preceding variables. Only the sub-models with ethnic awareness and public cultural maintenance as response variables reveal one or more significant effects of the preceding variables (see Figure 2.2).

The same indirect effects are replicated in sub-models with educational attainment levels and progress as outcomes (see Models 1 and 2). Firstly, ethnic

awareness depends on ethnic origin ($\beta = -.13$; $p < .10$), gender ($\beta = -.29$; $p < .0001$), and migration age ($\beta = .16$; $p < .05$), so that Moroccan boys of the second generation are most likely to be highly aware of their ethnic identity. The interpretation of these indirect effects is complicated by a lack of cross-cultural equivalence of the direct effect of ethnic awareness on attainment. Secondly, attitudes towards public cultural maintenance depend on migration age ($\beta = .19$; $p < .05$), ethnic awareness ($\beta = .16$; $p < .10$), ethnic culture maintenance at home ($\beta = .18$; $p < .05$), ethnic composition of the school ($\beta = .18$; $p < .05$), and feelings of school belonging ($\beta = -.15$; $p < .10$). In summary, a longer school career in the Netherlands, more ethnic awareness and culture maintenance at home, more co-ethnic classmates, and a lesser degree of school belonging all contribute indirectly to minority school attainment and progress. The indirect effects of family resources and acculturation on the one hand, and of school composition and adjustment on the other, are all mediated by an increased support for cultural maintenance, favouring integration over assimilation in school.

Conclusion

Acculturation and achievement orientations in minority families and in multi-ethnic schools have been advanced as key processes mediating between family resources and educational opportunities on the one hand, and educational choices and outcomes on the other hand. By conditioning on objective constraints in family and school contexts, and by controlling for school advice in a most restrictive Model 2, the present study provides a stringent test of the power of acculturation and achievement orientations to explain educational attainment and progress. Our first hypothesis is based on a contextual model of acculturation. Overall, the findings support the expected achievement benefits of an alternation model of acculturation. The second hypothesis advances an alternative motivational explanation of school achievement. The contextual model, which combines structural, situational and personal incentives to achieve in families and schools, receives mixed support.

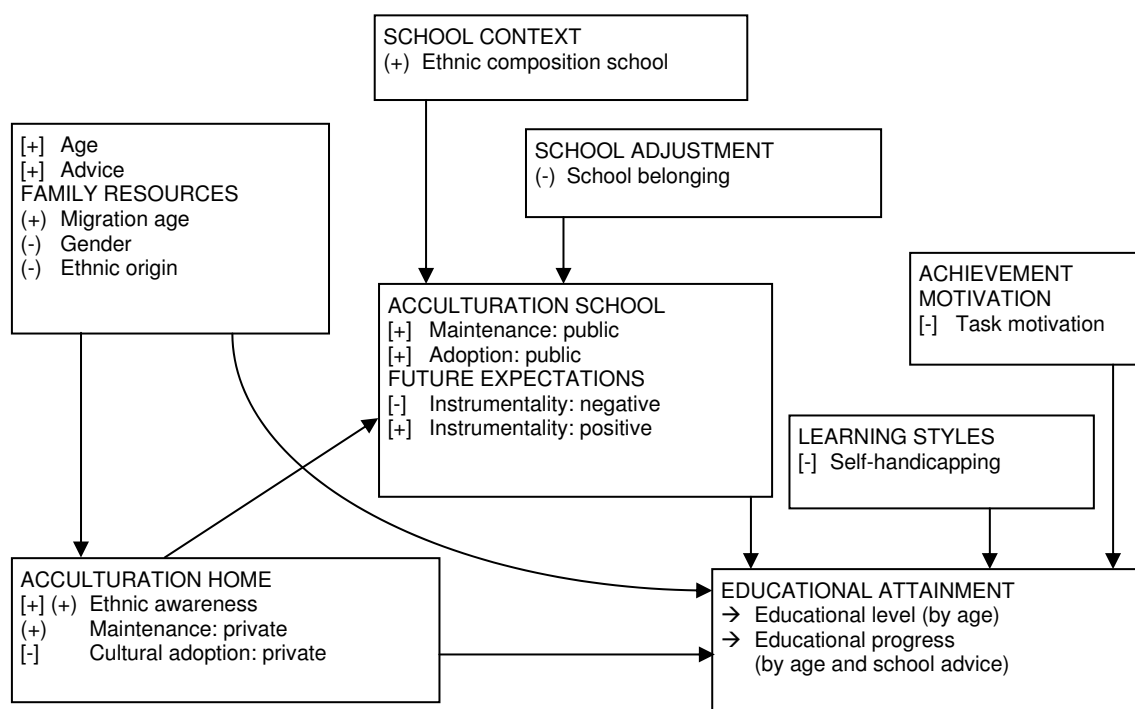
Acculturation: Alternating between Family and School Contexts

In a contextual acculturation model, the adaptive value of cultural maintenance and adaptation depends crucially on the divide between public and private domains. While cultural maintenance is valued most in the private domain of family and community life, adaptation to the dominant culture is valued more in the public domain of school and work. Consequently, optimal person-environment fit in minority youth requires some degree of alternation between ethnic and dominant cultures in private and public contexts. In support of our contextual model, the acculturation profiles of successful minority students showed the expected pattern of alternation between private-sphere separation and public-sphere integration. As the adaptive value of acculturation orientations is highly context-dependent, further comparative research is needed to test the generalisability of a most-successful alternation pattern of acculturation in more open migrant communities and/or less accepting host societies.

In the family context, the data document a most adaptive separation mode of acculturation. Specifically, high levels of ethnic awareness and low levels of cultural

adaptation in Turkish and Moroccan families were found to contribute positively to educational attainment and progress in the children. In comparison with less successful students, successful minority students are more keenly aware of their distinct ethnic identity, and also more strongly resistant to the dominant Dutch culture in private life. Our case is further strengthened by the additional indirect impact of ethnic awareness and cultural maintenance at home through acculturation processes at school. Specifically, students who are more attached to their ethnic identity and culture at home, are also more willing to maintain their ethnic culture in public, as part of a most-adaptive integration mode of acculturation in school.

Figure 2.2 *Direct and Indirect Effects of Acculturation and Motivation in Family and School Contexts on Minority Educational Attainment*



[+] or [-] signs indicate positive or negative direct effects on educational attainment, while (+) or (-) signs indicate positive or negative effects on mediating variables as part of an indirect effect on educational attainment.

A serious limitation is the failure to replicate a direct positive effect of ethnic awareness on school achievement in the Moroccan sample. How to explain this lack of cross-cultural equivalence? It is possible that higher degrees of ethnic retention and cohesion in Turkish communities, as compared to Moroccan communities, make ethnic investment more rewarding for Turkish youth. Further, ethnic awareness may have different meanings in the eyes of Turkish and Moroccan youth. Whereas it resonates with ethnic pride in Turkish youth, it takes on a primary meaning of ethnic assertion against negative stereotyping in Moroccan youth. The finding of a heightened ethnic awareness in second-generation Moroccan boys compared to the in-between generation, strongly suggests the latter meaning. However, taking direct and indirect effects together, we conclude that a separation mode of acculturation in Turkish and Moroccan families is most supportive of a

successful school career.

In the school context, the data support a most-adaptive integration mode of acculturation. Thus, positive attitudes towards both culture maintenance and adoption at school contribute positively to educational attainment and progress. More successful students are not only most willing to adopt the Dutch culture at school, they are also most attached to the ethnic culture. The superior adaptive value of the integration orientation rather than assimilation orientation may reflect overlapping co-ethnic and dominant group norms in multi-ethnic schools, so that assimilation would be more adaptive in schools with fewer minority students. In line with this interpretation of acculturation contexts, students with fewer co-ethnic schoolmates attach less importance to ethnic culture maintenance at school. Looking across contexts, attitudes towards the Dutch culture exhibit a clear subtractive pattern with opposite adaptive values in private and public contexts. Thus, successful students are more culturally closed at home and, at the same time, more open to the Dutch culture at school. In contrast, the adaptive value of attitudes towards one's ethnic identity and culture follows an additive pattern across private and public contexts. Successful students are not only more attached to their ethnic culture and identity at home but also at school. The additive pattern is further supported by significant positive links between ethnic awareness and cultural maintenance in families and schools. It is noteworthy that positive attitudes towards cultural maintenance are the only solid bridge between minority families and schools. Within the school context, cultural maintenance seems to function as a psychological buffer, as it was found to sustain school achievement in spite of poor school adjustment. In summary, our findings support our expectation that culture adoption within the school would have a promotional effect on minority school careers. At the same time, the data suggest a protective effect of cultural maintenance across family and school contexts.

Taken together, Turkish and Moroccan acculturation orientations in family and school contexts document the superior achievement benefits of an alternation pattern of acculturation. In light of our findings, it is not surprising that classic assimilation theory, which connects cultural assimilation with educational progress, seems to work much, but not all, of the time. The same is true of its competitor, the segmented assimilation model. Thus, the dependence of educational attainment in Turkish and Moroccan youth on dominant culture learning in the school context fits nicely with classic assimilation theory. In contrast, the associations between family acculturation and educational attainment seem to mirror a segmented pattern, where school success is tied up with ethnic mobilisation and 'resistance to acculturation'. Looking beyond competing schools of thought, the exploration of context-dependent associations between acculturation and attainment seems a promising way forward.

Incentives: Perceived Instrumentality and School Engagement

As minority students start their school careers from a disadvantaged position, they are more frequently faced with school failure than their native peers. Hence, sustained achievement motivation is a critical factor in minority school careers. Incentives to achieve may be situated in the context of minority families or schools or both, so that conflicting messages in families and schools may engender ambivalent attitudes towards school achievement in minority students. The findings

do not support the impact of situational incentives to achieve in school. But the directive force of structural and personal incentives in minority school careers, is highlighted by significant effects of the perceived function of schooling and school disengagement.

Structural incentives refer to the perceived function of school success as a path to intergenerational mobility in migrant families. Contrary to expectations however, parental achievement expectations had no significant impact on the attainment levels of Turkish and Moroccan youth. It is possible that low-schooled minority parents lack the necessary resources to effectively support the school achievement of their children. It could also be that parental support is more influential in primary than in secondary school, where educational support from outside the family may become more important. Thus, the peer network of adolescents exerts its influence on their future expectations by providing them with role models of future success or failure. Accordingly, for minority youth, the perceived function of schooling may be informed less by the mobility beliefs and aspirations of migrant parents, and more by the positive or negative examples of co-ethnic peers who succeed in life with or without doing well in school. In our study, the perceived function of schooling was found to have a decisive impact on educational attainment. Students who believe in the function of schooling for future success, do better in school. Conversely, minority school careers suffer from a lack of belief in the future benefits to be gained by doing well at school.

We found no support for the role of situational incentives in the school context. Specifically, educational attainment was not affected by personal feelings of school belonging, perceived quality of interethnic relations, or experienced discrimination in the school context. Apparently, school adjustment and achievement are disconnected in the schooling experiences of Turkish and Moroccan minority students. The implied dissociation of 'feeling good' and 'performing well' in school parallels a more general distinction between well-being and competence outcomes of acculturative transitions (Andriessen & Phalet, 2002).

With regard to personal incentives to achieve at school, the evidence is mixed. While most minority students appear to be highly motivated for school tasks and by social goals, the more successful minority students find the contents of the lessons less interesting and think that courses are less important than students who are less successful. One possible explanation of the unexpected negative effect of task motivation is that task motivation really measures maladaptive performance goals, which interfere with adaptive learning. Task motivation, however, shows no effect on maladaptive learning styles. Alternatively, the value of school tasks may resemble the abstract value of education in the eyes of disadvantaged minorities, which hides more ambivalent attitudes towards the concrete benefits of school work (Mickelson, 1990). Finally, given the evidence of delayed attainment in minority youth, increased achievement motivation in the face of failure may prove adaptive in the long run, so that high achievement motivation in low achieving students tells a success story that is yet to come. To clarify the complex connections between motivation and achievement, motivational measures should be included in longitudinal studies of minority school careers.

One final finding concerns school disengagement. As expected, students who report more self-handicapping are less successful in school. Self-handicapping is typically associated with self-protective or self-presentational concerns, reflecting

low academic self-worth and/or negative peer pressure. We conclude that self-reported disengagement with learning is a robust predictor of negative educational outcomes. Combining structural and personal incentives, the school careers of Turkish and Moroccan minority youth seem to be caught between opposite motivational forces. On the one hand, school achievement is driven by structural incentives, which centre on the perceived instrumentality of schooling for upward social mobility, while on the other, negative personal concerns in relation to self-worth or self-presentation in the face of failure may lead to school disengagement.

Turning to sociological theories on the role of aspirations in minority education, a focus on future expectations seems to support the 'immigrant optimism hypothesis'. Students who have a strong structural motive to achieve, i.e., students who believe in the future benefits of school success for upward mobility, are more likely to succeed. However, when we focus on task motivation in the classroom, our findings are more in line with the competing 'attitude-achievement paradox', as less successful minority students score more highly on task motivation than more successful students. Thus the contextual model of school achievement, that has guided the present study, is but a first step towards disentangling the conflicting motivational forces that direct minority school careers.

Chapter Three

Iris Andriessen & Karen Phalet

Chapter 3

Patterns of perceived interethnic relations among minority adolescents living in the Netherlands

Introduction

This study aims to explore and validate patterns of perceptions of interethnic relations in the Netherlands among three groups of minority youngsters: Turks, Moroccans and Assyrians. Turkish and Moroccan adolescents are the children of labour migrants who came to the Netherlands between the 1960's and 1980's and who have formed major ethnic minority communities through subsequent family reunion and family formation. Their religious background is predominantly Muslim. The Assyrian adolescents are the children of refugees, fleeing oppression in Turkey, Syria, Lebanon and Iraq and arriving in the Netherlands in roughly the same time period as the labour migrants from Turkey and Morocco. Assyrians have, in contrast to Turks and Moroccans, a Christian background. However, they are commonly mislabelled as Muslims, because the native Dutch mostly fail to distinguish between Turks and Assyrians.

Interethnic Relations

In interethnic relations between ethnic minorities and host society members the way minorities (try to) adapt to the host society is found to be related to the way the society reacts (or is perceived to react) to them (Berry & Kalin, 1995; Bourhis, Moïse, Perrault & Sénécal, 1997; Phaet & Swyngedouw, 2004). The adaptation side of interethnic relations has mostly been studied under the heading of minority acculturation, which refers to the way individuals orient themselves toward acculturative change, after coming into contact with a new socio-cultural environment (Berry & Sam, 1997). Several studies on the acculturation of minorities have supported a bi-dimensional model of acculturation, in which the orientation towards the host society forms a distinct dimension from the orientation towards the ethnic culture (Nguyen, Messe & Stollak, 1999; Ryder, Alden & Paulhus, 2000).

The most widely studied bi-dimensional approach to acculturation is Berry's acculturation framework (Berry & Sam, 1997). According to Berry, two issues predominate in the lives of most acculturating individuals: the first is the extent to which they value and wish to retain their own cultural characteristics, and the second issue involves the desirability of interethnic contact. For the purpose of this study, the second issue is reformulated into a more demanding version for minorities in that it now refers to how much minorities value adopting the culture of the host society (Bourhis et al, 1997; Snauwaert, Soenens, Vanbeselaere & Boen, 2003). Combining the two issues results in four a priori types of acculturation orientations: 'Integration' refers to minorities' desire to both maintain ethnic cultural

characteristics and to adopt the culture of the host society. 'Separation' implies that minorities wish to maintain ethnic cultural characteristics, while considering host culture adoption as undesirable. Conversely, 'assimilation', refers to minorities who prefer host culture adoption without any wish to preserve ethnic cultural characteristics. Finally, 'marginalization' applies when neither host culture adoption nor ethnic culture maintenance are valued.

Applying Berry's model, Verkuyten (1999) found that integration and separation are the most common types of acculturation among minorities in the Netherlands. Similarly, Stevens, Pels, Vollenbergh and Crijnen (2004) found that most Moroccan adolescents adhere to an integration or separation type of acculturation orientations. Furthermore, minority acculturation orientations are found to differ between private and public contexts (Arends-Toth & Van de Vijver, 2003; Phalet & Swyngedouw, 2004). In the public domain, in school for example, host cultural norms are most salient and influential. Accordingly, minorities appear to attach more importance to culture adoption in the public domain, while culture maintenance is valued more in the private domain. In this study we focus on the acculturation orientations of minority adolescents in the school context.

Psychological acculturation studies have focused mainly on the adaptation of ethnic minorities. More recently, several studies have addressed the treatment side of interethnic relations between minorities and host societies. Thus, minority acculturation orientations have been associated with more or less welcoming integration policies of host countries (Jasinkaja-Lahti, Liebkind, Horenczyk & Smith, 2003), host acculturation orientations (Montreuil & Bourhis, 2001; Zagefka & Brown, 2002), and perceived discrimination and prejudice (Moghaddam & Taylor, 1987; Piontkowski, Rohmann & Florack, 2002; Verkuyten & Thijs, 2002). Extending the work of Berry and Kalin (1995), Bourhis et al. (1997) have proposed that host communities are more or less inclusive in their acculturation orientations towards ethnic minorities and that more or less problematic or conflicted interethnic relations result from the discordance or concordance between minority and (perceived) host acculturation orientations. Less inclusive host acculturation orientations (such as assimilationism, segregationism or exclusionism) are typically associated with increasing degrees of perceived threat, prejudice and discrimination (Montreuil & Bourhis, 2001). Similarly, in their comparative study of ethnic youth Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind and Vedder (2001) found that minority acculturation orientations vary with the level of perceived discrimination in interethnic relations between minorities and host societies. Across minority groups and host societies, minority youth who perceive more discrimination weaker identify with the host country. Associations with ethnic self-identification, however, are less straightforward. Perceived (or actual) hostility or exclusion may either lead to dissociation from a stigmatized ethnic identity, or alternatively, strengthen the identification with one's ethnic community as a psychological buffer against negative experiences of interethnic interaction. Thus, Neto (2002) found that acculturation orientations depend in part on perceived discrimination and out-group social interaction.

Our study will take into account the attitudes of the Dutch host society towards ethnic minorities, as perceived by these minorities^{xiv} (cf. Zagefka & Brown, 2002). The combination of minority acculturation orientations with perceptions of acceptance by the host society forms various patterns of perceived interethnic

relations. Instead of imposing a priori types on the data, we will empirically derive the most parsimonious typology of perceived interethnic relations across three minority groups: Moroccans, Turks and Assyrians (cf. Stevens et al., 2004). We use Latent Class Analysis (LCA) to identify groups of minority adolescents with similar response patterns across minority groups. Next, distinct classes of respondents are validated by testing associations with socio-demographic variables and with external correlates of perceived interethnic relations, such as ethnic identification, social contact and school engagement.

Method

Participants

Interviews were conducted with 383 ethnic minority adolescents (102 Turkish, 179 Moroccan and 103 Assyrian). Fourteen schools with a significant presence of minority students were selected in five medium-sized districts in the Netherlands. Within schools, classes were selected for participation in order to cover the full range of the Dutch tracking system, including higher (non-vocational) as well as lower (vocational) tracks. Within classes, participation was obligatory for all the students in order to avoid self-selection. Students were categorized into ethnic groups on the basis of ethnic self-identification.

Half of the students in the sample were boys, half were girls. The mean age of the participants was 16 years (Turks: $M=15.8$; Moroccans: $M=15.8$; Assyrian: $M=16.0$). The majority of the students (59%) attended the second or third year of secondary school. 66% of Moroccan students, 76% of Turkish and 55% of Assyrian students in our study were in vocational school tracks. The schools that participated had an average population of 30% minority and 70% native Dutch students.

Most minority students were born in the Netherlands, or migrated at age six or younger (82%). Students filled out paper-and-pencil questionnaires in the class, always in the presence of researchers and, very often, a teacher.

Measures

Perceived Interethnic Relations. In order to develop a typology of perceived interethnic relations five variables were used. Two items measured acculturation attitudes of minority youngsters: a general preference for culture maintenance (do you think that [name minority group] should maintain their ethnic culture in school?) and a generalized preference for culture adoption (do you think that [name minority group] should adopt Dutch culture in school?). Students were asked to rate these items (1) not at all, (2) in part, or (3) completely. In addition, three measures of the perception of acceptance in Dutch society were used: perceived discrimination in school (Minority students are as welcome as Dutch students are in this school) and perceived discrimination in the labour market (It is harder for ethnic minorities to find a job than it is for Dutch people). Response categories were (1) equally welcome/equally hard, (2) somewhat less welcome/somewhat harder, (3) much less welcome/much harder. The third variable is a composite index of perceived acceptance, assessing the quality of interethnic relations in school (e.g. 'In this school Turkish/Moroccan and native Dutch students belong mostly to separate peer groups'). Students were instructed to rate these items from (1) completely disagree,

to (4) completely agree, thus a higher score indicates more negative perceptions of interethnic relations within the school. Simultaneous Component Analysis (SCA) replicates a common one-factor solution in all three ethnic groups (Kiers, 1990). The explained variances by the common factor are 44 % for Moroccans, 45 % for Turks and 37% for Assyrians.

Demographic variables included ethnic origin (Moroccan, Turkish or Assyrian), gender, age, duration of stay, educational status of the mother (response categories ranged from 1= no diploma, to 5= tertiary education) and ethnic composition of the school (percentage of co-ethnic peers in the school).

Ethnic identification and social contact involved the variables ethnic identification and preference for contact with co-ethnics only. Ethnic identification was measured by the question: How do you really feel deep down inside? Response categories ranged from (1) completely Dutch, to (5) completely Turkish/Moroccan/Assyrian. A residual category 'neither Dutch, nor Turkish/Moroccan/Assyrian' was treated as missing value. The measure on social contact read 'Do you think that it is important that your social contacts in school are not only with co- ethnics?' (reverse coding). This item was scored on a 3-point scale ranging from (1) not important, to (3) very important.

School engagement was assessed by measures of motivated learning (task motivation and learning strategies) and current track position.

Task motivation refers to students' motivation to engage with school tasks. It was assessed by a translated and adapted version of the Task Value scale in the Motivated Strategies for Learning Questionnaire (MSLQ: Pintrich, Smith, Garcia & McKeachie, 1991). Highest loading items in a Dutch-language pilot study of the MSLQ were selected. Items refer to liking most courses, finding the contents of the lessons interesting, wanting to keep up with the lessons, and thinking that most courses are important. Deep Learning is measured by a combination of subscales from the MSLQ (Pintrich et al., 1991). Items refer to actively structuring (cognitive organization), understanding (cognitive self-regulation) and relating course materials (cognitive elaboration) and solving problems (critical thinking). Surface-level learning is measured by the corresponding subscale of the Revised Approaches to Studying Inventory (RASI, Entwistle & Tait, 1997). Items refer to superficial memory strategies (e.g. copying lessons) and passive learning (e.g. reading without understanding).

Students were instructed to respond to the items of task motivation, deep level learning and surface level learning on a 3-point scale, ranging from 1 (not true for me) to 3 (completely true for me). Multi-group measurement models with Confirmatory Factor Analysis (CFA) were specified to test for construct equivalence across ethnic groups (Van de Vijver & Leung, 1997). The chi-square difference test supported the equivalence of task motivation, deep level learning and surface level learning in all three ethnic groups ($\Delta\chi^2(18)=22.69, p >.10$). The Goodness of Fit Index (GFI), the Root Mean Squared Error of Approximation (RMSEA) and the Comparative Fit Index (CFI) indicated acceptable informal fit of the multi-group invariant model: GFI=0.86; CFI=0.88; RMSEA=0.05^{xv}. Table 3.1 presents the item wordings and factor loadings, while Table 3.2 presents the squared correlations for each item for each ethnic group separately.

Students' track position was measured by their scores on the educational ladder

representing their school careers. The educational ladder indicates the position of a student within the Dutch school system (Bosker, Van der Velden & Hofman, 1985). The maximum rank of 12 indicates completion of the last year of the highest track.

Table 3.1. Confirmatory Factor Analysis factor loadings for task motivation, deep level learning and surface level learning in the invariant condition: common metric completely standardized coefficients.

	Factor loadings
Task motivation	
I like most courses we study in school	.58
I am almost always interested in the contents of my lessons	.68
It is important to me to keep up with the lessons	.49
Most things we learn in school are important to me	.52
Deep level learning	
When I learn something new I try to really understand what it is about	.50
I try to understand my lessons by looking how things relate to each other	.42
When studying I often make use of drawings or summaries	.29
When making exercises I want to find the solution by myself.	.45
Surface level learning	
I often read my lessons without really understanding what it is about	.50
I often have difficulties in understanding the meaning of words	.60
Most often I need a lot of time to rehearse or to copy my lessons	.40
If a task is too difficult, I only make the easy exercises	.36

Table 3.2 Squared correlations for each item for task motivation, deep level learning and surface level learning for each group separately.

	Moroccans	Turks	Assyrians
Task motivation			
I like most courses we study in school	0.36	0.32	0.30
I am almost always interested in the contents of my lessons	0.48	0.39	0.50
It is important to me to keep up with the lessons	0.26	0.22	0.22
Most things we learn in school are important to me	0.30	0.25	0.23
Deep level learning			
When I learn something new I try to really understand what it is about	0.33	0.23	0.14
I try to understand my lessons by looking how things relate to each other	0.24	0.12	0.11
When studying I often make use of drawings or summaries	0.10	0.06	0.06
When making exercises I want to find the solution by myself.	0.24	0.15	0.17
Surface level learning			
I often read my lessons without really understanding what it is about	0.31	0.21	0.20
I often have difficulties in understanding the meaning of words	0.40	0.28	0.34
Most often I need a lot of time to rehearse or to copy my lessons	0.20	0.13	0.12
If a task is too difficult, I only make the easy exercises	0.14	0.12	0.13

Analyses

Latent Class Analysis (LCA) was performed to identify respondents with similar patterns of perceived interethnic relations (Vermunt & Magidson, 2000). The primary objective of LCA is to find the smallest number of classes of individuals with similar response patterns that can explain the relationships among a set of observed variables. To this aim, different models with increasing numbers of classes are compared for optimal fit. Fit measures include the formal Chi-squared statistic (L^2) and the Bayesian information criterion (BIC). L^2 indicates the proportion of the associations among the variables that remains unexplained after estimating the model. Therefore, the lower the value, the better the fit of the model to the data. Models for which the p-value is greater than 0.05 provide an adequate fit. The BIC takes the parsimony of the model into account in addition to the formal model fit. The lower the BIC value, the better the model is in comparison with another model (Vermunt & Magidson, 2000).

In a next step, we examine the construct validity of distinct classes of perceived interethnic relations in terms of expected associations with external correlates of perceived interethnic relations: ethnic group identification, social contact, and school engagement. To this aim we performed analysis of variance (ANOVA). Types of perceived interethnic relations and ethnic origin were entered as independent variables. In the absence of significant interaction effects of ethnic relations types by ethnic origin, the typology is considered to be functionally equivalent across ethnic groups (Van de Vijver & Leung, 1997).

Results

Table 3.3 provides the fit measures for different models. The null-hypothesis of latent homogeneity of the sample is rejected as the one-class solution yields a significant L^2 . The finding of latent heterogeneity means that different subsamples can be discerned in the population under study. In order to determine the correct number of sub samples, the additional fit measure (BIC) is taken into account, leading to the conclusion that the two classes model provides a better fit with the data than the alternative three classes solution.

Table 3.3. Latent Class Analysis fit measures for model 1 to model 3.

	L^2	Df	p-value	BIC
Model 1 1-Class	404.85	312	0.00	3964.09
Model 2 2-Classes	339.53	306	0.09	3934.25
Model 3 3-Classes	326.49	300	0.14	3956.70

LCA estimates conditional probabilities, relating the classes to the indicator variables (see Table 3.4). Thus, respondents in class 1 have a 28 per cent chance of stating that they want to maintain their ethnic culture in school, whereas respondents in class 2 have a 59 per cent chance of doing so. As compared to class

2, adolescents in class 1 are more likely to prefer the host culture in school and to experience ethnic relations in school as rather good; and they are less likely to stress the ethnic culture in school, to perceive discrimination in school and the labour market. Class 1 thus shows a tendency towards integration in combination with a perception of Dutch society and its members as rather accepting. We will refer to this type of perceived interethnic relations as the integration type. The second class is characterized by a preference for separation, combined with a perception of Dutch society and its members as rather exclusionist. We will refer to this pattern as the separation type. The difference in response patterns between 'integration' and 'separation' classes should be qualified, however, since adolescents in both classes are combining some degree of ethnic culture maintenance with some degree of host culture adoption. But in class 1 relatively more importance is attached to culture adoption than to maintenance, whereas in class 2 culture maintenance is more important than adoption.

A preference for integration in the school context is tied to relatively low levels of perceived discrimination and a relatively positive experience of ethnic relations in school; whereas an alternative separation orientation is coupled with more perceived ethnic discrimination and a less favourable experience of ethnic relations in school. The vast majority of minority students belong to the integration type of interethnic relations (75 per cent), whereas a clear minority can be characterized as separation type (25 per cent)^{xvi}.

Table 3.4. LCA conditional probabilities for the two types of interethnic relations

<i>Indicator variables</i>	<i>Conditional probabilities Class 1: Integration</i>	<i>Conditional probabilities Class 2: Separation</i>
Preference for culture maintenance in school		
No	0.23	0.06
Sometimes	0.49	0.35
Yes	0.28	0.59
Preference for cultural adaptation in school		
No	0.14	0.35
Sometimes	0.45	0.47
Yes	0.42	0.18
Experience of discrimination in school		
Equally welcome	0.67	0.13
Somewhat less welcome	0.29	0.52
Much less welcome	0.02	0.35
Expected discrimination in the labour market		
Equally hard	0.45	0.13
Somewhat harder	0.44	0.45
Much harder	0.11	0.42
Perception of ethnic relations in school		
Good	0.24	0.08
Rather good	0.49	0.36
Rather bad	0.24	0.42
Bad	0.04	0.15
<i>Cluster size</i>	75%	25%

The adolescents in the separation and integration types of perceived interethnic relations did not differ in terms of age, gender, duration of stay, ethnic composition of the school or educational status of their mothers. A difference was found in ethnic origin ($\chi^2 (1,370)=6.48, p=.04$): Turkish students less often belong to the separation type of perceived interethnic relations than Moroccan and Assyrian adolescents. More specifically, of Moroccan and Assyrian youngsters 22% and 29% respectively were found in the separation cluster, as against 14% of Turkish youngsters.

Construct validity of the latent classes

Ethnic group identification and social contact

Adolescents' ethnic identification has been found to be related to a preference for integration in some studies (Neto, 2002; Piontkowski, Florack, Hölker & Obdrzalek, 2000), and separation in other studies (Jasinkaja-Lahti & Liebkind, 2000; Pham & Harris, 2001; Verkuyten & Thijs, 2002). On the other hand, more frequent interaction with members of the host society was found to facilitate culture learning among minority members (Searle & Ward, 1990; Ward & Kennedy, 1993). Hence we expect that adolescents in the separation type will identify more with the ethnic community and have a greater preference for social contact with co-ethnics only than adolescents in the integration type of perceived interethnic relations.

Table 3.5 shows the differences between integration and separation types in ethnic identification and social contact. As expected, adolescents in the separation type of perceived interethnic relations identify more strongly with the ethnic in-group and have a larger preference for contact with peers from the same ethnic background than adolescents in the integration type. The associations of distinct ethnic relations types with ethnic identification and social contact are cross-culturally equivalent, as no significant interaction effects were found.

School engagement

Educational psychologists have found that the perception of discrimination among minority students predicts disengagement with learning (Mickelson, 1990; Ogbu & Simons, 1998; Okagaki, Frensch & Dodson, 1996). At the same time, acculturation research suggests that the acquisition of culturally valued skills and social competence in the host society facilitates school adjustment and achievement in minority youth (Phinney et al, 2001). Therefore, it is expected that adolescents in the integration class of perceived interethnic relations will score higher on measures of school engagement than their peers in the separation type. In line with this, Table 3.5 shows a more adaptive learning pattern for adolescents in the integration type of perceived interethnic relations as compared with adolescents in the separation type: they use more deep level learning and less surface level learning.

Adolescents in the integration type are also more motivated for school tasks, but this apparent difference is fully accounted for by ethnic origin: Turkish and Moroccan students report higher task motivation than Assyrian students ($F (2,369) = 3.97, p=.02$). Finally, no significant difference was found between integration and separation types with regard to their track positions. But Assyrian students have more favourable school careers than Turks and Moroccans ($F (2,368)=4.99, p=.01$). All effects of types of perceived interethnic relations were found valid across cultures as no significant interaction effects with ethnic origin were found.

Table 3.5. Comparing the classes of interethnic relations on ethnic group identification and social contact, and school engagement.

Ethnic group identification and social contact	Separation	Integration	ANOVA/ Chi-square test	Effect size (R ²)
Ethnic group identification	4.27 (.92)	3.87 (.99)	F (1,347) = 9.06, p =.00	6.5 %
<i>Moroccans</i>	4.32 (.98)	3.84 (1.01)		
<i>Turks</i>	4.21 (.89)	4.15 (.90)		
<i>Assyrians</i>	4.24 (.88)	3.58 (.96)		
Preference for contact with peers from same ethnic background	2.23 (.69)	2.01 (.72)	F (1, 368) = 4.19, p =.04	2.9 %
<i>Moroccans</i>	2.32 (.67)	2.08 (.74)		
<i>Turks</i>	2.07 (.83)	2.02 (.74)		
<i>Assyrians</i>	2.17 (.66)	1.87 (.65)		
School engagement				
Task motivation	2.22 (.38)	2.33 (.33)	F (1, 369) = 2.07, p =.15	6.1 %
<i>Moroccans</i>	2.17 (.35)	2.36 (.34)		
<i>Turks</i>	2.38 (.25)	2.38 (.31)		
<i>Assyrians</i>	2.21 (.45)	2.21 (.33)		
Deep level learning	2.24 (.36)	2.34 (.28)	F (1, 368) = 5.53, p =.02	2.9 %
<i>Moroccans</i>	2.20 (.36)	2.32 (.31)		
<i>Turks</i>	2.27 (.31)	2.38 (.27)		
<i>Assyrians</i>	2.26 (.38)	2.32 (.23)		
Surface level learning	1.70 (.62)	1.53 (.60)	F (1, 368) = 7.20, p= .01	3.2 %
<i>Moroccans</i>	1.68 (.67)	1.49 (.60)		
<i>Turks</i>	2.00 (.56)	1.61 (.62)		
<i>Assyrians</i>	1.59 (.57)	1.50 (.58)		
Track position	5.10 (1.71)	4.94 (1.83)	F (1, 368) = .12, p= .73	3.4 %
<i>Moroccans</i>	4.81 (1.04)	4.82 (1.51)		
<i>Turks</i>	4.75 (1.78)	4.67 (1.88)		
<i>Assyrians</i>	5.64 (2.21)	5.45 (2.23)		

Discussion

The present study developed a new and most parsimonious typology of perceived interethnic relations by combining minority adolescents' acculturation attitudes with their perceptions of the level of acceptance in the Dutch society. Two types of perceived interethnic relations were found: adolescents in the separation type prefer the ethnic culture over the host culture and perceive more intergroup conflict and discrimination; while those in the integration type value both ethnic and host cultures and perceive more harmonious and inclusive intergroup relations.

The established typology adds to the research on the interactive nature of acculturation (e.g. Berry & Sam, 1997; Bourhis et al., 1997). The advantage of our new model is the reduction of several variables and theoretical expectations into only two types of perceived interethnic relations. Moreover, we used a method that allowed classes to emerge from the data, instead of imposing classes onto the data. This empirical approach yields more information about the actual state of affairs among minority adolescents.

The finding of distinct integration and separation types is in line with previous research in the Netherlands (e.g. see Verkuyten, 1999) and elsewhere (e.g. Phinney et al., 2001). Both types of perceived interethnic relations share a wish to preserve (at least partly) ethnic cultural characteristics. Ethnic culture maintenance has been related to less acculturative stress (Phalet & Hagendoorn, 1996; Verkuyten & Kwa, 1994) and in some studies also to better school performance of minority youth (Olneck, 1995; Portes & Rumbaut, 1990). However, the perception of interethnic relations as problematic or as discriminating is associated with a stronger emphasis on ethnic culture maintenance and more distance from the host culture. From an interactive acculturation perspective this association is to be expected as a consequence of conflicting acculturation orientations between immigrants and hosts (Bourhis et al., 1997). Specifically, a predominant emphasis on the ethnic rather than the host culture in school diverges sharply from the known preferences of the Dutch host population for the integration or assimilation of immigrant children in Dutch schools (Phalet & Swyngedouw, 2004). Apparently, the perception of exclusion leads to a strengthening of the bonds with the ethnic community, which may provide a psychological buffer against negative experiences of intergroup contact (Phinney et al., 2001). We must add, however, that on the basis of this correlational study we cannot make causal inferences about the relationship between perceived acceptance and integration (or perceived exclusion and separation).

The data in this study were collected before the events of September 11th, and before the Van Gogh murder. Since that time, ethnic relations in the Netherlands have become increasingly tense. Our study indicates that even in this relatively stable period a quarter of minority adolescents feel excluded from Dutch society and turn away from the Dutch culture in the school context. We can only speculate that this percentage has grown since that time, and more research is needed to investigate this. At the same time, a preference for integration in the school context is combined with perceived acceptance in the integration type of interethnic relations. Clearly, this combination points in the direction of predominant harmonious intergroup relations in multi-ethnic schools (Bourhis et al., 1997).

While the main aim of this study was to replicate a basic typology across ethnic groups, we did find ethnic differences in the proportion of respondents who were assigned to either the integration or the separation type. The higher proportion of Moroccan (vs. Turkish) adolescents in the separation type may be understood post hoc in terms of their more negative representation in the Dutch media as juvenile delinquents and troublemakers. This more negative stereotype of Moroccan youth in the Netherlands may have brought about, in the eyes of Moroccan youth, the perception of Dutch society as rather exclusionist. The larger preference for separation in Assyrian adolescents than in Turks may result from the feeling –in the eyes of the Assyrians - that the Dutch mislabel them and hence treat them unjustly: the Dutch don't generally distinguish between Turks and Assyrians as two separate groups, whereas the Christian Assyrians perceive themselves explicitly as distinct from the Muslim Turks (Schukking, 2003).

Moreover, our types of perceived interethnic relations are meaningful constructs as appeared from their associations with ethnic group identification, social contacts and school engagement. As expected and compared to class 2 (separation), adolescents in class 1 (integration) identified less strongly with the ethnic in-group, had less exclusive social contacts with ethnic group members, and were more likely to develop effective learning in school.

Perceived interethnic relations did not, however, predict adolescents' track positions. Adolescents in the separation type do not have less favourable school careers than youngsters in the integration type. Early selection in the Dutch school system (students are allocated to educational tracks at age 12) may account for this. Once students are in a given track, their acculturation orientations may have little impact on their subsequent school careers. Additionally, due to the common method variance, it will be easier to find correlations between attitudinal measures of acculturation and learning than with track positions as an external criterion variable (Vedder & Van de Vijver, 2003). Finally, the school career measure may have lacked refinement. Future research should take into account more sophisticated measures, such as GPA, in order to pinpoint its relation with acculturation more precisely.

One should bear in mind four last remarks in interpreting the results. Firstly, acculturation orientations and perceptions of ethnic relations were explicitly situated in the school context. It is likely that acculturation orientations in the private domain of the home would yield a different pattern of perceived interethnic relations. Moreover, the consequences for intergroup relations will be different, as separation is more easily accepted by the Dutch in the private domain than in the public domain (Phalet, van Lotringen & Entzinger, 2000). Separation as preferred type at home results therefore not necessarily in problematic or conflicted intergroup relations. A second limitation is that our types of perceived interethnic relations take only into account the perceptions of majority society as more acceptant or more exclusionist, and not the actual level of acceptance or exclusion by majority members. In that sense our approach is not fully 'interactive' (Bourhis et al. 1997) and discrepancies may exist between the perceived and actual acceptance of cultural plurality. However the social reality that informs the psychological responses is formed by people's subjective perceptions (Zagefka & Brown, 2002). Thirdly, our study is correlational and thus cannot make claims about the direction of causality. We assume that types of interethnic relations affect school engagement, but the

opposite effect cannot be rejected (Hagendoorn, Veenman en Vollenbergh, 2003). Lastly, our measure of acculturation orientations as a general preference for ethnic and host cultures may be further refined in order to understand more precisely the way in which acculturation in various behavioural domains affects school engagement. Specific domains of acculturation (e.g. language acquisition) may be related to school engagement, but not others.

Chapter Four

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Chapter four

Future goal setting, task motivation and learning of minority and non-minority students in Dutch schools.

Introduction

As a consequence of non-European immigration from the sixties until today, schools and classrooms in Western Europe have become increasingly multicultural. Learning and teaching in such multi-ethnic environments pose a number of challenges to both students and teachers. For example, teachers may have to deal with various cultural norms, identities and styles of achieving in one classroom. Styles of teaching, or established classroom practices that work for western students, need not necessarily work for (non-western) minority children (e.g. Tharp, 1989). This implies the need for cross-cultural validation of theories within educational psychology, if we are to serve all students in today's classrooms (Vansteenkiste, Zhou, Lens, & Soenens, 2005).

At the same time a focus on minority students may increase our knowledge of their school performance and possible means to improve it. In the Netherlands Turks and Moroccans are numerically the largest (non-western) minority groups. Turkish and Moroccan adolescents show, despite their educational progress over the years, enduring educational disadvantage as compared with non-immigrant youth (Herweijer, 2003). In spite of the detailed ethnic monitoring of the academic achievement and progress of minority students in the Netherlands, little is known about protective factors against school failure and dropout in the –generally more hazardous- school careers of disadvantaged minority students. Research on minority school achievement suggests that a strong and positive future orientation (focusing on future progress in spite of present failures) may be crucial to protect students from disengagement with learning in the face of repeated failure (Meece & Kurtz-Costes, 2001).

The central role of the future in educational investment may be especially relevant in the context of migration. Migration is commonly understood as an intergenerational project to achieve upward social mobility through educational investment in the children (Matute-Bianchi, 1986; Suarez-Orozco & Suarez-Orozco, 1995). In line with this, ethnic minorities in the United States and in Europe have been revealed as strong believers in self-improvement through academic achievement. Compared with native parents with a similar social-class background, ethnic minority parents typically express higher aspirations and a more academic orientation toward non-vocational training and higher education for their children (Müller & Kerbow, 1993; Nijsten, 1998; Pels, 1998; Vallet & Caille, 1996). In a similar vein, ethnographic studies of minority families and communities have documented high aspirations in ethnic minority families as part of an intergenerational social-mobility project (Matute-Bianchi, 1986; Suarez-Orozco & Suarez-Orozco, 1995; Zérroulou, 1998). Some studies find that high aspirations and

future expectations in minority families predict enhanced educational attainment (Clifton, Williams & Clancy, 1991; Okagaki & Frensch, 1998; Steinberg, Dornbusch & Brown, 1992; Vallet & Caille, 1996). Such findings of close linkages between immigration, future orientation, and school achievement gave rise to the well-known immigrant optimism hypothesis, which attributes educational progress in minority youth to parental expectations of upward intergenerational mobility through education (Kao & Tienda, 1995).

However, academic aspirations and expectations not always predict educational attainment in minority youth. Research from a perceived opportunities approach has challenged the psychological viability of future-oriented achievement motivation under conditions of severe disadvantage and discrimination. Perception of blocked mobility in society, experiences of racism and discrimination in the classroom, or low future expectations result in ambivalent attitudes towards achievement (Mickelson, 1990; Phalet & Claeys, 1993; Okagaki, Frensch & Dodson, 1996). Thus, studies among African American youth in the US have repeatedly found evidence of low levels of school achievement, in spite of high levels of motivation to achieve upward social mobility through schooling (Ogbu & Simons, 1998).

In light of the challenges posed by multi-ethnic classrooms and the centrality of the future in minority families' educational investments, this study aims to examine when and how the future motivates minority students' school engagement, promoting adaptive learning and protecting them from disengagement. We will investigate minority students' future orientations within the framework of Future Time Perspective Theory (FTPT), which explicitly addresses the role of the future in academic engagement and achievement. However, FTPT has so far only been applied to non-minority students in Western countries. Therefore, cross-cultural validation of this framework is needed.

Future goal setting, motivation and learning

Most research on achievement motivation in academic settings is limited by its one-sided focus on immediate goals in the present task situation, and consequently, by its neglect of the personal and instrumental relevance of delayed goals in the near or distant future. For many high school and college students future educational and professional goals are an important – if not the most important - motivational resource (Lens, Simons, & Dewitte, 2002). For an adequate understanding of the schooling experience of minority and non-minority students, educational psychology should look beyond immediate classroom goals.

Future Time Perspective Theory (FTPT) does just that. The concept of future time perspective refers to people's cognitive capacity to anticipate not only the immediate but also the long term outcomes of a task in a distant future (De Volder & Lens, 1982). FTPT claims that students with a more extended, valued and connected future time perspective, will be more motivated by tasks in the presence. In line with FTPT, and with related approaches from the perceived utility value of school tasks (cf. Eccles & Wigfield, 2002), Lens and Decruyenaere (1991) found in their study in Flanders (Belgium) that the more highly motivated students also attach the highest instrumental value to their schoolwork. Similarly, Van Calster, Lens and Nuttin (1991) found that perceived instrumentality affects student's task motivation positively. Also in vocational schools, Creten, Lens and Simons (2001) replicated a

positive correlation between the perceived instrumentality of school courses and student motivation for these courses. Not only does the instrumental value of school tasks enhance student motivation, it also contributes to more effective learning strategies and better school results (Lens, Simons & Dewitte, 2001, 2002; Simons, Dewitte, & Lens, 2004; Simons, Vansteenkiste, Lens, & Lacante, 2004).

Future goals and self-determination

Future goals, just like immediate goals, differ in content. A student may study medicine to become a competent professional later in life, or to be able to buy a Rolls Royce. In Self-Determination Theory (SDT) intrinsic motivation and goals are distinguished from extrinsic motivation and goals (Deci & Ryan 2000; Kasser & Ryan 1993). There is evidence for the basic tenet of SDT that intrinsic motivation and goals are associated with autonomous engagement in a task, thus reinforcing persistence and leading to better performance (Deci, Koestner & Ryan 1999). In a similar vein, Vansteenkiste, Simons, Soenens & Lens (2004) distinguish between 'future intrinsic goals' and 'future extrinsic goals'. Future intrinsic goals are self-chosen and oriented towards self-development (e.g. personal growth or self-competence), whereas future extrinsic goals are defined as imposed or controlled from outside with an emphasis on external rewards (e.g. financial success). Recent studies show that future intrinsic (vs. extrinsic) goal framing indeed predicts long-term persistence and better performance (Vansteenkiste et al., 2004).

According to Deci and Ryan's SDT, however, specific goal contents cannot be sharply divided into intrinsic vs. extrinsic types of motivation. Within SDT, gradual distinctions are sometimes made between four styles of regulation that differ in relative degrees of autonomy, ranging from totally externally regulated to fully internally regulated ways of engaging with schoolwork. To the extent that it enables autonomous agency, a goal that is extrinsic to the academic task (e.g. studying medicine to make one's parents proud) can be internally regulating student's behaviour. Furthermore, we acknowledge that the intrinsic or extrinsic nature of specific goal contents may vary across cultural contexts (Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Okagaki, 2001). Rather, what should generalise across cultures is the functional relation between internal or external regulatory focus and adaptive learning.

To conclude, what is crucial is not so much the content of the goal but its function. In order to avoid conceptual confusion and cultural bias in classifying goal contents, we will not use the terms 'intrinsic' versus 'extrinsic', but instead we focus on whether goals are internally or externally regulating.

Thus, Lens, Simons & De Witte (2001) showed that non-minority Belgian students who experience future goals as self-set goals (internal regulation) are more (intrinsically) motivated for school tasks and use more effective learning strategies, leading to improved school performance. Lens et al. (2002) also found that when the learning task was experienced as internally regulated, students score higher on indicators of deep-level learning (actively relating, organising, elaborating and critical thinking) and lower on surface-level learning (verbatim representation of text, memorisation without understanding) (Entwistle & Entwistle, 1991; Nolen, 1988). In other words, whether future goals are internally or externally regulating makes a difference in their motivational impact.

Aims and hypotheses

This study has two aims. The first aim is to clarify when and how the future motivates the academic engagement of minority students. In general, future goal setting supports adaptive learning in school. But some studies do not find that future goals predict motivated learning among minority students. We test two possible motivational explanations for this exception to the rule. Firstly, minority students may have more ambivalent or negative and less positive perceptions of the instrumentality of schooling for future success than non-minority students, possibly because of experiences with discrimination (hypothesis 1). Secondly, minority students may experience academic or career goals more often as externally controlled, adopting an external rather than internal regulatory focus (hypothesis 2).

The second aim is to validate motivational processes from an integrated FTPT-SDT approach across cultures. We expect that the effects of future goals on motivation and learning are the same across cultures in the sense that perceived instrumentality to achieve future goals enhances student motivation and learning (hypothesis 3); and that future goals are motivating students to achieve when they are perceived as internally regulating rather than externally controlling (hypothesis 4). In addition, we expect from FTPT that present motivation for school tasks mediates the impact from future goals on learning, because future goals link the pursuit of delayed and immediate goals. More specifically, we expect that perceived instrumentality leads indirectly through enhanced task motivation to more effective learning strategies (Hypothesis 5). We expect similar indirect effects via enhanced task motivation of internally regulating future goals on learning (Hypothesis 6). Figure 4.1 models the hypothesised relationships between future goals, motivation and learning for minority and non-minority students.

Research context

The study involves students in Dutch secondary schools, which are now commonly multi-cultural (CBS, 2002). Turkish and Moroccan students in this study are the children of labour migrants, who came from rural areas in Turkey and Morocco to the Netherlands between the 1960's and 1980's and who have formed major ethnic communities through subsequent family reunion and family formation. Turks and Moroccans constitute a rather young population (30% is younger than 15 years of age, another 30% is younger than 30 years of age) and a significant part of these groups is still in school (Tesser, Merens & van Praag, 1999). Ethnic minority and native Dutch students differ in terms of their (non-western and traditional) cultural backgrounds and (lower and rural) social class origins. Not only are they facing widespread public prejudice against Muslims (Sniderman, Hagendoorn & Prior, 2004), there is also hard proof of ethnic discrimination against Turkish and Moroccan minorities in the Dutch labour market (Bovenkerk, Gras & Ramsoedh, 1995).

In Dutch secondary schools ethnic minority status implies educational disadvantage (Veenman, 2001). Turkish and Moroccan youngsters have higher dropout rates, are over-represented in lower educational tracks and under-represented in higher education (Herweijer, 2003). Educational disadvantage persists, at least to some extent, in the second generation, and it remains significant after controlling for socio-economic factors (Driessen, 1993, 1995; Kalmijn &

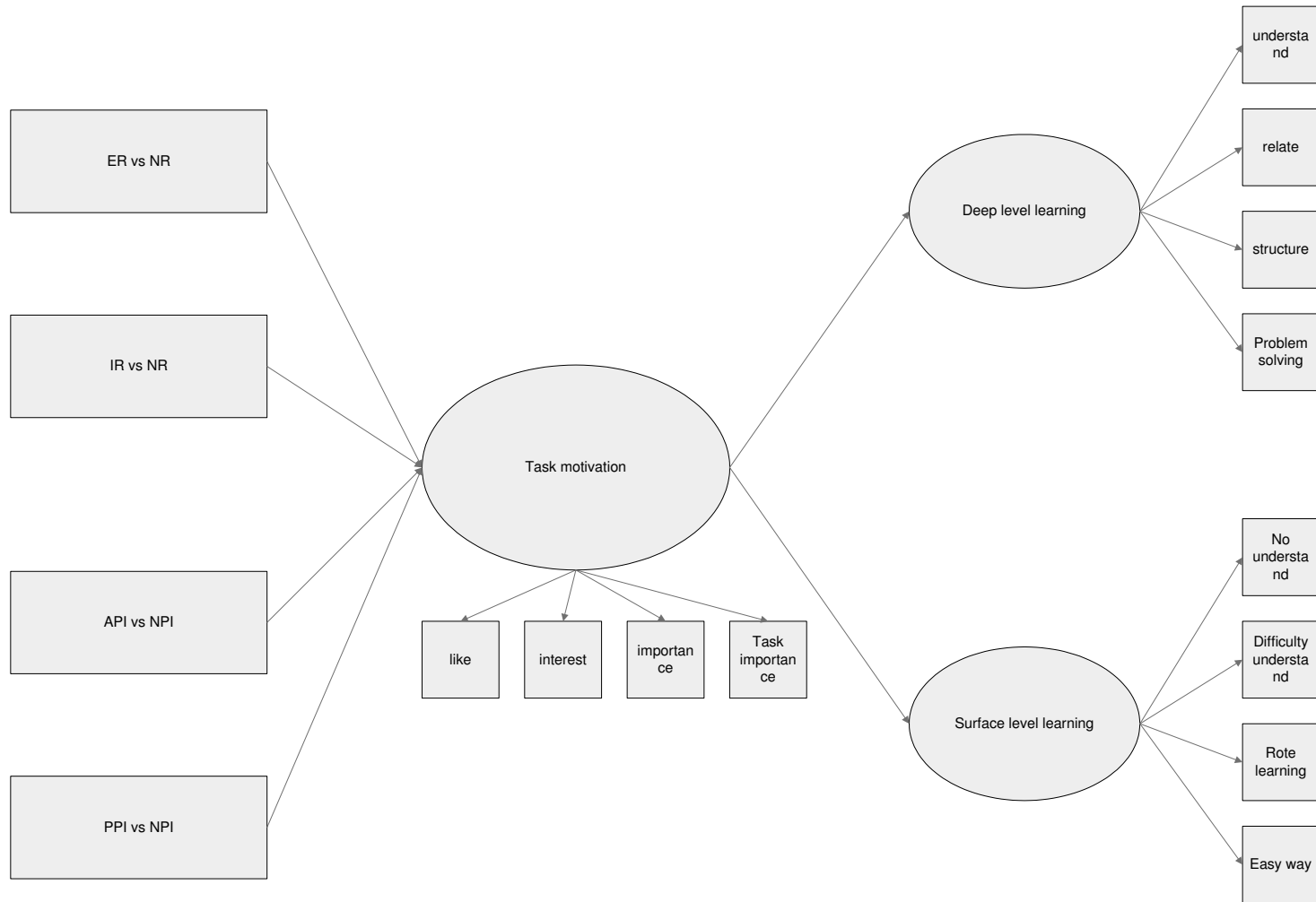


Figure 4.1. Conceptual model of the impact of future goal setting on task motivation and learning. ER = External Regulation; NR = No Regulation; IR = Internal Regulation; NPI = Negative Perceived Instrumentality; API = Ambivalent Perceived Instrumentality; PPI = Positive Perceived Instrumentality.

Kraaykamp, 2000; Leseman & De Jong, 1998; Leseman, Sijling, Jap-A-Joe & Sahin, 1995; Roelandt, Martens & Veenman, 1991).

Method

Participants and procedure

Participants are Turkish (n=102) and Moroccan (n=179) minority students and a non-minority comparison group of Dutch classmates (n=229). Eleven schools with a significant presence of Turkish and/or Moroccan minority students were selected in four middle-sized districts in the Netherlands. Within schools, classes were selected for participation with a view to cover the full range of the Dutch tracking system, including higher (non-vocational) as well as lower (vocational) tracks. Within classes, participation was obligatory for all students in order to avoid self-selection. After completion of the questionnaire students were given the opportunity to withdraw their responses by not handing them in. None of the students made use of this opportunity. Students were categorised into ethnic groups on the basis of ethnic self-identification.

Half of the students in the sample are boys, half are girls. The mean age of participants is 15 years, with minority students being somewhat older than their native classmates (respectively aged 15.8 and 15.4). The majority of students attends the second or third year of secondary school (66%). Minority students in the sample are over-represented in vocational training: 76% of Turkish and 66% of Moroccan students in our study are in vocational school tracks as opposed to 21% of native Dutch students. The schools that participated have an average population of 30% minority and 70% native Dutch students.

Most minority youth have unschooled or low-schooled parents. Of the Turkish mothers in our sample 38% have not completed primary school; the same is true of 69% of the Moroccan mothers, as opposed to 7% of native Dutch mothers. Educational status of the mother is used as an index of parental education for reasons of reliability^{xvii}. Moreover, maternal education is directly relevant to the child's schooling: minority students in our study reported more educational support from mothers than from fathers.

Most minority students are born in the Netherlands, or migrated at age six or younger (86%). Students filled out paper and pencil questionnaires on future orientation, motivation and learning in class or in small groups in the presence of the researcher. For the purpose of external validation, teachers have been asked to rate student effort and performance for all participants. Identification numbers were assigned to students in order to match teacher ratings with student questionnaires. After the matching, data records were anonymized by deleting all information that could be traced to students' identities. Care was taken to ensure that the identity of participating students remained confidential to the research team and was not in any way released back to the participating schools and their staff.

Measures

Social background variables. To ensure cross-cultural comparability, we include in our analyses social class variables that are associated with educational disadvantage. In addition to Ethnic Origin (Turkish, Moroccan, or Dutch), we control for the effects of Gender (1 = boy, 0 = girl), School Track (from 1 = lower vocational, up to 10 = higher non-vocational training), Parental Education (from 1 = mother unschooled, up to 5 = mother with tertiary education) and Ethnic Composition of the school. Ethnic Composition refers for minority students to the percentage of students from the same ethnic background; for majority students this is measured as the percentage of non-minority (majority) students.

Perceived instrumentality In order to assess their perceptions of the instrumental value of school work for being successful later in life, students are asked two parallel questions: (a) how many persons do you know who are successful in their career because they have done well in school? none, few or many? and (b) how many persons do you know who have a successful career in spite of having failed or left school? none, few or many? Students who know more successful persons who did well in school than who did not well, are assigned to the Positive Perceived Instrumentality category (PPI); in contrast, students who know more people who are successful later in life without doing well in school, are assigned to the opposite Negative Perceived Instrumentality category (NPI); students who know as many (or as few) people who are successful later with and without doing well in school, are assigned to the intermediate category of Ambivalent Perceived Instrumentality (API). In Structural Equation Modelling (SEM) analyses dummy variables were constructed with NPI as reference category.

Teacher ratings of students' effort and performance levels are used as an external criterion to validate the instrumentality scores. Ratings were collected from math and language teachers and indicate their global appreciation of students' effort (how hard does a student work for school? from 1 to 5 very much) and performance (how well does a student perform in class? from 1 to 5 very good). Across ethnic groups and controlling for relevant social background variables, students with negative (NPI) or ambivalent (API) perceptions of instrumentality were rated by their teachers as less motivated than students who perceive positive instrumentality (PPI) – see Figure 4.2A. Differences between the three categories in teacher ratings of student performance follow the same trend, although they did not reach significance (see Figure 4.2B). Overall, the analysis supports the external validity of distinct types of perceived instrumentality.

Figure 4.2A. Teacher evaluation of student effort for school tasks as a function of student's perceived instrumentality and ethnic origin

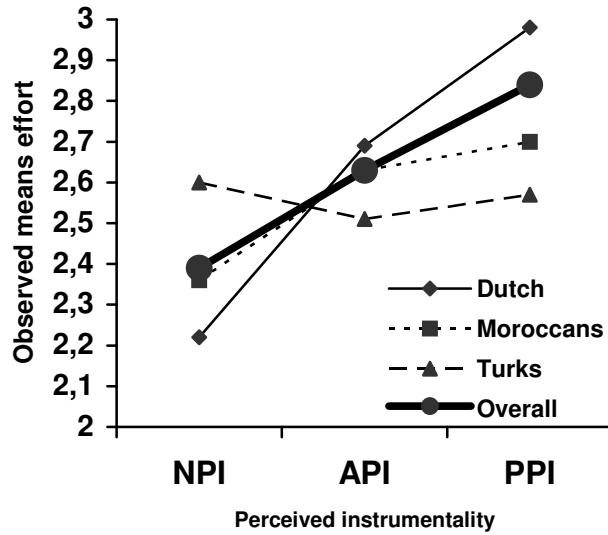
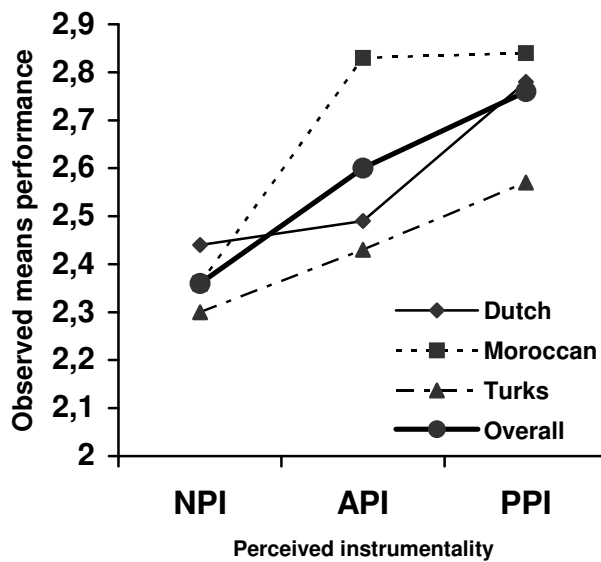


Figure 4.2B. Teacher evaluation of student performance as a function of perceived instrumentality and ethnic origin



*NPI = Negative perceived instrumentality;
 API = Ambivalent perceived instrumentality;
 PPI = Positive perceived instrumentality.*

Internal regulation. Building on a cross-cultural validation of Nuttin and Lens (1985) Motivational Induction Method (Phalet & Claeys, 1993), future goals were assessed by three statements: I study to prepare myself for my personal life project ('person'); I do my school work because it is useful to get a job ('job'); I need my diploma to improve my family's standard of living ('living')^{xviii}. Students were asked to rate these goals from (1) not important to (3) very important. While the first future goal (person) is motivated by self-development and should therefore be internally regulating students' school work, both other goals (job and living) refer to future rewards such as employment and family income, which are thought to control school engagement externally.

To categorise students into distinct motivational types, their ratings of the three goals are combined: students who attach low value to all three future goals are assigned to a residual No Regulation category (NR), meaning that their school engagement is not regulated by distant future goals; students who value employment or income as future rewards for school success, but not personal self-development, are assigned to the External Regulation category (ER); finally, students who (also) value personal self-development make up the Internal Regulation category (IR). Note that students in the latter IR category may also value external rewards in the distant future, in addition to personal self-development. In SEM analyses dummy variables were constructed with NR as reference category. Thus we test the unique motivational effect of internally regulating future goals, over and above the effect of externally regulating goals.

Again, motivational categories are externally validated by teacher ratings of students' effort and performance. Across ethnic groups and controlling for social class, internal regulation predicts the highest performance ratings, and no regulation predicts the lowest. We found a similar trend in mean effort ratings, which does not reach significance (see Figure 4.2C and 4.2D). Overall, the analysis supports the external validity of distinct categories of regulation.

Figure 4.2C. Teacher evaluation of student effort for school tasks as a function of regulation by future goals and ethnic origin

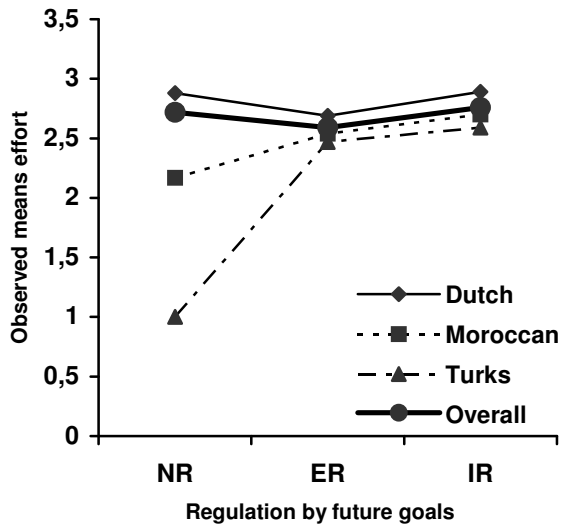
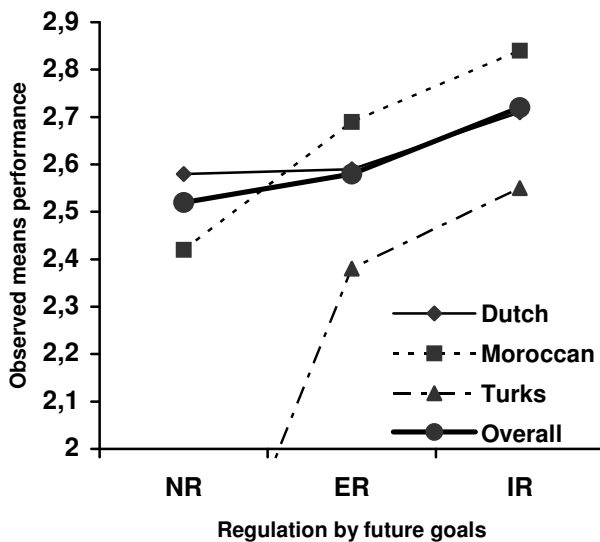


Figure 4.2D. Teacher evaluation of student performance as a function of regulation by future goals and ethnic origin.



NR = No Regulation;
 ER = External Regulation;
 IR = Internal Regulation

Assessment of task motivation and learning. Task motivation (four items) and Deep learning (four items) subscales were translated and adapted from Pintrich et al.'s Motivated Strategies for Learning Questionnaire (MSLQ: Pintrich, Smith, Garcia & McKeachie, 1991). Highest loading items in Dutch-language pilot studies of the MSLQ were selected. As an additional index of maladaptive learning, the subscale measuring Surface-level learning (four items) from Entwistle and Tait's Revised Approaches to Studying Inventory (RASI, Entwistle & Tait, 1997) was also included in the study. Simultaneous Component Analysis (SCA) replicates the factor structure of the MSLQ subscales along with an additional factor Surface-level learning (Kiers, 1990). The explained variances by the common three-factor solution total 43% for Turkish, 48% for Moroccan and 46% for Dutch comparison groups. Overall, distinct factors for task motivation, deep and surface level learning in SCA supports the construct validity of the dependent measures across cultures.

Task motivation refers to students' motivation to engage with school tasks in general and in the present. It refers to the value component in an expectancy-value model of motivation (Pintrich, 1999). Items refer to liking most courses, finding the contents of the lessons interesting, wanting to keep up with the lessons, and thinking that most courses are important. For all motivational items in this study, the same response categories were used: (1) not true for me, (2) sometimes true for me, (3) completely true for me. Multi-group measurement models with Confirmatory Factor Analysis (CFA) support the reliability of our task value measure in all ethnic groups (cf. Bollen, 1989; see Table 4.1 for the question wordings and the factor loadings).

Deep Learning is measured by a combination of subscales from the MSLQ (Pintrich et al., 1991). Items refer to actively structuring (cognitive organisation), understanding (cognitive self-regulation) and relating course materials (cognitive elaboration) and solving problems (critical thinking). Multi-group measurement models with Confirmatory Factor Analysis (CFA) support the reliability of the combined measure in all ethnic groups (see Table 8 for the question wordings and the factor loadings).

Surface-level learning is measured by a subscale of the RASI (Entwistle & Tait, 1997). Items refer to superficial memory strategies (e.g. copying lessons) and passive learning (use words without meaning, read without understanding). Multi-group measurement models with Confirmatory Factor Analysis (CFA) support the reliability of our measure in all ethnic groups (see Table 4.1 for the question wordings and the factor loadings).

Table 4.1. Final cross-cultural measurement models of task motivation and learning strategies: Common metric completely standardised loadings in invariant condition.

	Task motivation	Deep level learning	Surface level learning
Y5 I like most courses we study in school	.58		
Y6 I am almost always interested in the contents of my lessons	.59		
Y7 It is important to me to keep up with the lessons	.57		
Y8 Most things we learn in school are important to me	.50		
Y9 When I learn something new I try to really understand what it is about		.35	
Y10 I try to understand my classes by looking how things relate to each other		.50	
Y11 When studying I often make use of drawings or summaries		.39	
Y12 When making exercises I want to find the solution by myself		.37	
Y13 I often read my lessons without really understanding what it is about			.53
Y14 I often have difficulties in understanding the meaning of words			.50
Y15 Most often I need a lot of time to rehearse or to copy my lessons			.49
Y16 If a task is too difficult, I only make the easy exercises			.46

Analyses

The analysis consists of two parts. The first part is exploratory, testing ethnic group differences in future goal settings and testing for the effects of future goals on academic engagement across ethnic groups. The main part of the analyses is confirmatory in nature and consists of a more stringent test of the hypothesised cross-cultural model, using a SEM approach^{xix}.

Exploratory analyses. Ethnic group differences in instrumentality and regulation by future goals (hypotheses 1 and 2) are tested by multinomial logistic regression. In order to control for differences between native and minority students in terms of school context and social class, School Track, Ethnic Composition of the School and Parental Education were included as covariates.

We tested for ethnic group differences in motivated learning, as well as for the cross-cultural impact of future orientation on task motivation and learning by means of analysis of covariance (ANCOVA) (hypotheses 3 and 4). Ethnic Origin, Gender and Perceived Instrumentality (PPI, API or NPI) were entered as independent variables in a (3 * 2 * 3) multivariate design, with School Track, Ethnic Composition of the School and Parental Education as covariates. Dependent variables were Task Motivation, Deep Level Learning, and Surface Level Learning. In a subsequent analysis with the same multivariate design we replaced Perceived Instrumentality with Internal / External Regulation (NR, ER or IR). Scheffé's correction is applied to post-hoc pairwise comparisons of means between ethnic and motivational categories. The fully controlled ANCOVA's allow us to test net motivational effects across ethnic groups, over and above structural constraints on motivation and learning of minority students.

Structural Equation Modelling (SEM). SEM is chosen as a most stringent approach to cross-cultural validation and hypothesis testing. SEM specifies separate

models for each ethnic group and tests for invariance across these groups (Bollen, 1989). Secondly, hypotheses on the impact of future goals on motivation and learning are specified within groups, and then tested for invariance across groups (hypotheses 3 and 4). In addition, estimates in SEM provide information on the strength of the association between future goal setting and motivated learning within groups and across groups. Furthermore, structural equation models simultaneously specify direct and indirect motivational effects, thus testing for mediation in one step. Importantly, the effect parameters in SEM are specified at the latent level, which means that they estimate the strength of association between future goals setting and motivated learning after correction for measurement error in our dependent measures.

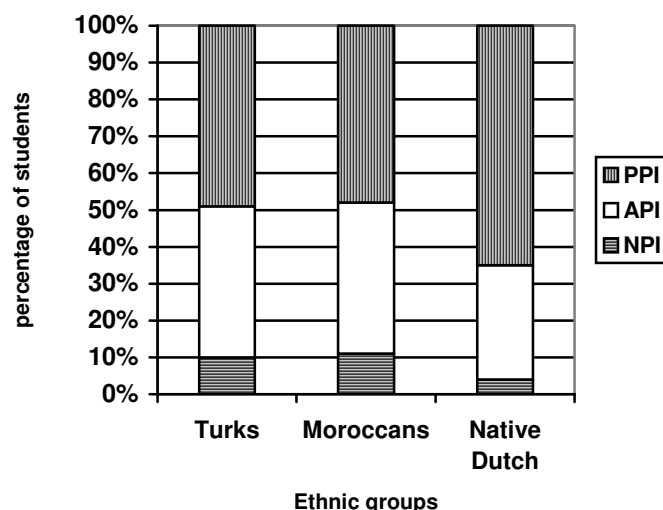
The perceived instrumentality (positive or ambivalent versus negative) of future goals and their regulatory focus (internal or external versus none) are specified as predictors, Task Motivation as a mediator (hypothesis 5 and 6), and Deep Level and Surface Level Learning as criterion variables^{xx}.

Results

Exploratory analyses of ethnic group differences

Logistic regression shows no ethnic group differences in the perceived instrumentality of academic engagement for the future, after controlling for ethnic composition of the school, school track and educational status of the mother. A majority of all students report positive perceptions of instrumentality, linking school success to success later in life (see Figure 4.3A). A significant minority across ethnic groups report ambivalent or negative perceptions. The greater gross proportions of ambivalent and negative perceptions among minority students, however, are fully accounted for by social background and school context.

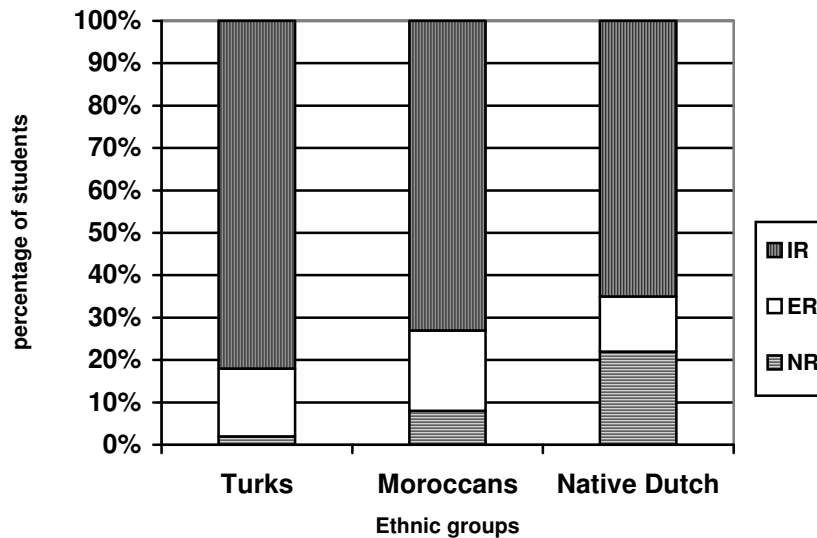
Figure 4.3A. Percentage of students for each ethnic group over categories of PPI (n = 49 (Turks), n = 83 (Moroccans), n = 149 (Dutch)), API (n = 41 (Turks), n = 72 (Moroccans), n = 70 (Dutch)), NPI (n = 10 (Turks), n = 19 (Moroccans), n = 9 (Dutch)).



*NPI = Negative perceived instrumentality;
API = Ambivalent perceived instrumentality;
PPI = Positive perceived instrumentality.*

Ethnic groups differ on regulation by future goals. Native Dutch students are found more often in the No Regulation (NR) category and less often in the Internal Regulation (IR) category compared to Turkish students (Exp. (B) = 9.41, $p=.004$; Nagelkerke's $R^2 = .15$). Figure 4.3B illustrates this difference.

Figure 4.3B. Percentage of students for each ethnic group over categories of IR (n = 83 (Turks), n = 130 (Moroccans), n = 149 (Dutch)), ER (n = 16(Turks), n = 33 (Moroccans), n = 29 (Dutch)), NR (n = 2 (Turks), n = 15 (Moroccans), n = 51 (Dutch)).



*NR = No Regulation;
ER = External Regulation;
IR = Internal Regulation*

Across cultures, ANCOVA yields a significant main effect of Perceived Instrumentality on task motivation ($F(2,347)=3.58, p=.029$): students who are in the Positive Perceived Instrumentality (PPI) category are the most motivated; students in the Negative Perceived Instrumentality (NPI) category are least motivated for school tasks. Also a significant main effect was found of regulation by future goals on task motivation ($F(2, 350)=6.09, p=.003$). Students who are internally (IR) or externally regulated (ER) by future goals attach more value to academic tasks, than those students who lack regulation by future goals (NR) do. Regulation by future goals also impacts on surface level learning, such that students who are externally regulated by future goals use more surface level learning than students who are internally motivated ($F(2,348)=5.30, p=.005$). Lastly, deep level learning is affected by regulation from future goals, such that students who are internally regulated by future goals use more deep level learning, than students in the No Regulation (NR) and External Regulation (ER) categories ($F(2,350)=6.63, p=.001$)^{xxi}.

SEM analyses

We used a stepwise approach in building the structural models. Firstly, multi-group measurement models were specified to test the cross-cultural equivalence of the motivational concepts and scales^{xxii} (Van de Vijver & Leung, 1997). Based on a chi-square difference test the cross-cultural equivalence of the motivational constructs was fully supported ($\Delta\chi^2_{(18)}=15.06$, $p>.35$). The invariant measurement model shows a good fit ($\chi^2_{(303)}=426.72$; RMSEA = 0.05; CFI = 0.93; GFI = 0.88). Table 4.1 shows the factor loadings, whereas Table 4.2 reports the squared correlations per item for each ethnic group separately as an index of the reliability of the measures. Next, the measurement models are included as latent dependent variables in a multi-group structural model to test the hypothetical motivational model (see Figure 4.1). In all groups, this model had a good fit ($\chi^2_{(315)} = 443.35$; RMSEA = 0.05; CFI = 0.93; GFI = 0.88). However, modification indices for structural relations suggested that two paths are present: the dummy variable External Regulation versus No Regulation (ER vs. NR) has a direct effect on deep level learning and on surface level learning. This adjusted model could successfully be constrained to invariance across cultures ($\Delta\chi^2_{(16)}=15.87$, $p>.50$), and is shown in Figure 4.4.

Table 4.2. Squared correlations for each ethnic group separately

	Task motivation			Deep level learning			Surface level learning		
	Dutch	Moroccan	Turks	Dutch	Moroccan	Turks	Dutch	Moroccan	Turks
Y5 I like most courses we study in school	.34	.34	.28						
Y6 I am almost always interested in the contents of my lessons	.35	.39	.24						
Y7 It is important to me to keep up with the lessons	.32	.35	.24						
Y8 I think most tasks we work on in school are important to me	.23	.32	.19						
Y9 When I learn something new I try to really understand what it is about				.12	.13	.13			
Y10 I try to understand my classes by looking how things relate to each other				.28	.25	.18			
Y11 When studying I often make use of drawings or summaries				.16	.16	.13			
Y12 When making exercises I want to find the solution by myself				.15	.13	.13			
Y13 I often read my lessons without really understanding what it is about							.27	.36	.20
Y14 I often have difficulties in understanding the meaning of words							.25	.30	.18
Y15 Most often I need a lot of time to rehearse or to copy my lessons							.23	.29	.18
Y16 If a task is too difficult, I only make the easy exercises							.21	.23	.19

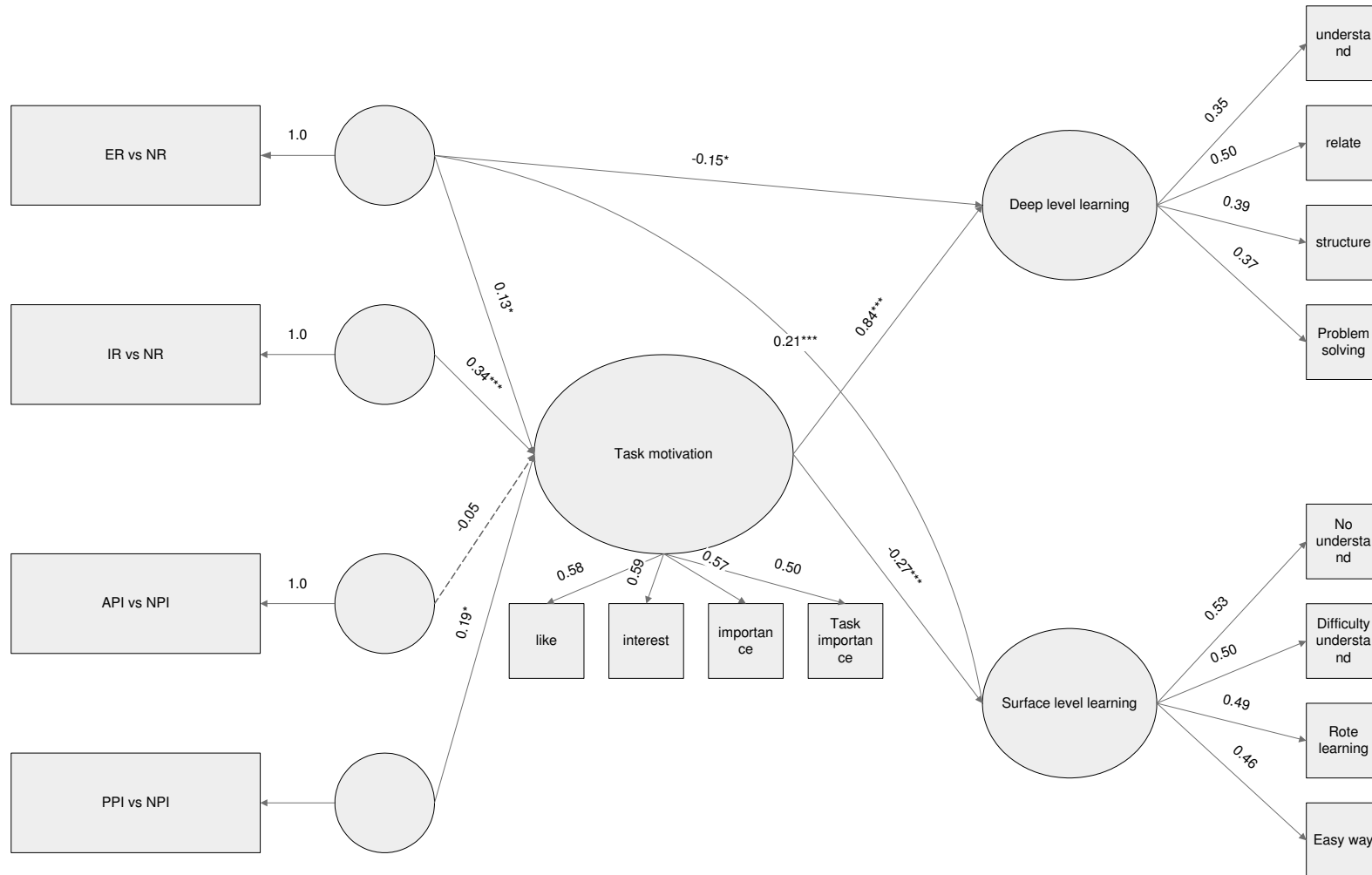


Figure 4.4. Empirical structural model of relations between future goals, student motivation and learning, controlled for ethnic composition of the classroom, gender, educational track and educational status of student's mother. ER = External Regulation; NR = No Regulation; IR = Internal Regulation; NPI = Negative Perceived Instrumentality; PPI = Positive Perceived Instrumentality; API = Ambivalent Perceived Instrumentality. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

In a last step, all motivational concepts are conditioned on Gender, Ethnic Composition of the school, School Track and Parental Education as exogenous variables. This last model tests the net explanatory value of the perceived instrumentality and the future goals across cultures, after controlling for within-culture motivational differences in function of gender, ethnic composition, family background and school track. The hypothesised motivational effects of future goal setting remained significant and the final model showed a good fit ($\chi^2_{(421)}=582.262$, RMSEA=0.048, CFI=0.92, GFI=0.87)^{xxiii}. Table 4.3 lists all the beta parameters (structural effects), psi parameters (interfactor correlations) and gamma parameters (effects of control variables) for this model.

The final model supports partial rather than complete mediation. Most effects of the future goals go through task motivation: we find a positive indirect effect of Positive Perceived Instrumentality (as opposed to Negative Perceived Instrumentality) on adaptive learning. External and in particular Internal Regulation by future goals contribute positively to task motivation, and therefore indirectly to adaptive learning (more deep level learning, less surface level learning). In short, students who perceive positive – rather than ambivalent or negative – connections with valued future goals, are more motivated for school tasks, and hence more often engaging in adaptive deep learning and less prone to maladaptive surface-level learning. This is true of minority as well as non-minority students. Similarly, students with an internal regulatory focus on self-development in the distant future are most motivated by school tasks, and hence most likely to adopt adaptive deep learning strategies rather than maladaptive surface-level learning strategies. Moreover, the motivational effects of future goal setting remain significant and substantive in the final model, which takes into account gender, family background and school context

However, External Regulation also directly influences learning, reducing deep level learning and enhancing surface level learning. Maladaptive direct effects of external regulation on learning therefore counteract the adaptive effects of external regulation through task motivation. Apparently, external regulation is a double-edged sword, which may support adaptive learning by increasing student motivation for school tasks, while at the same time putting students at risk of using maladaptive surface-level learning strategies. In sum, Positive perceived instrumentality (rather than Negative perceived instrumentality) and Internally regulating future goals contribute significantly to adaptive learning across cultures.

Table 4.3. Parameters of structural paths in final SEM model. Common metric completely standardised parameters.

	API vs. NPI	PPI vs. NPI	ER vs. NR	IR vs. NR	Task motivation	Ethnic composition	Educational track	Gender	Education mother
API vs. NPI	D: 0.90 M: 1.01 T: 0.96					D:0.07 M:0.02 T:0.18	D:-0.04 M:-0.09 T:-0.13	D:0.01 M:-0.10 T:-0.09	D:-0.15* M:0.13* T:-0.22*
PPI vs. NPI	D: - 0.82 M: -0.85 T: -0.73	D: 0.88 M: 1.01 T: 0.86				D:-0.04 M:0.06 T:-0.17	D:0.14* M:0.12 T:0.24**	D:-0.01 M:0.11 T:0.03	D:0.21** M:-0.11* T:0.20*
ER vs. NR	D: -0.06 M: -0.00 T: -0.09	D: -0.06 M: 0.11 T: 0.12	D: 0.75 M: 1.24 T: 0.96			D:0.05 M:0.01 T:0.02	D:-0.23 M:-0.063 T:-0.01	D:-0.07 M:0.11 T:0.07	D:0.04 M:-0.13* T:0.04
IR vs. NR	D: -0.11 M: -0.02 T: 0.04	D: 0.07 M: -0.05 T: -0.09	D: -0.46 M: -0.95 T: -0.78	D: 1.08 M: 0.99 T: 0.71		D:0.00 M:0.01 T:0.06	D:0.12 M:0.02 T:0.03	D:0.18** M:-0.09 T:-0.08	D:-0.07 M:0.07 T:-0.08
Task	-0.05	0.19*	0.13*	0.34***		D:-0.16* M:-0.02 T:0.16	D:-0.32** M:-.34*** T:-.008	D:-0.11 M:-0.13 T:-0.06	D:0.09 M:-0.24** T:-0.19*
Deep			-0.15*	0.84***		D:-0.15 M:0.07 T:0.18	D:-0.01 M:0.34** T:0.07	D:-0.17* M:0.11 T:0.16	D:-0.15 M:0.16 T:0.31**
Surface			0.21***	-0.27***		D:-0.05 M:-0.13 T:-0.01	D:0.17 M:-0.29** T:-0.13	D:-0.26** M:-0.08 T:-0.10	D:-0.02 M:-0.22** T:0.04

Note. D = Native Dutch students; M = Moroccan students; T = Turkish students. *p<.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001.

Conclusions

We tested the cross-cultural validity of the role of future goals in student motivation and learning using multi-group models by structural equation modelling. We found that the general motivational processes that are associated with future orientation are cross-culturally valid, confirming our hypotheses 3 and 4. Across cultures, motivation plays a key role in linking up perceived instrumentality and regulatory focus with effective learning strategies, which is consistent with hypotheses 5 and 6. The cross-cultural model remains significant after controlling for gender, school track, ethnic composition of the school and parental education. Hence, the findings show the relevance of a future time perspective for enhancing student motivation and adaptive learning in multicultural classrooms.

We expected from motivation theory and research (e.g. Deci & Ryan, 1985; Eccles, 1984; Lens, Simons & De Witte, 2001) that Positive Perceived Instrumentality (PPI) and Internal Regulation (IR) would contribute to the motivation to perform school tasks. This was found to be the case. However, also External Regulation (ER) was found to enhance task motivation. Hence, both external and internal future goals reinforce task motivation, but the effect of internal goals is stronger. Moreover, External Regulation also has direct maladaptive effects; it reinforces surface level learning and reduces deep level learning. Taken together, distant future goals enhance minority and non-minority students' motivation and learning, if students perceive positive instrumentality and if their school work is internally regulated by future goals.

When direct and indirect motivational effects are separated out, it appears that future goals regulate classroom behaviour primarily through their impact on task motivation. Students who value distant future goals, especially self-set future goals, and those who perceive positive connections between present school tasks and future goals, develop an increased interest in their schoolwork. This increased interest in turn motivates effective learning in the classroom.

This study supports the relevance of the future as a means of protecting minority students from disengagement with learning (Meece & Kurtz-Costes, 2001). Our exploratory analyses suggest, in contrast with hypothesis 2, that minority students attach more importance to future goals in general, and to internally regulating self-development goals in particular, than native Dutch students. Furthermore, minority and non-minority students do not differ in the perceived utility of school tasks for future goals, once social class and school context are taken into account. Clearly, future goals are important in the school motivation of minority as well as non-minority students. The adaptive effect of internally regulating future goals suggests a possible means of improving minority students' educational performance. Future goals should receive attention in multi-ethnic classrooms by stimulating students to think about their future and set their own goals. To what extent the motivational impact of future goals may be limited by conditions of severe disadvantage and discrimination, by attenuating a positive perception of the instrumentality of schooling (cf. hypothesis 1), should be addressed by future research.

Chapter Five

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Chapter five

A comparative study on the impact of social and individual achievement goals on the school engagement of Moroccan and Dutch students in the Netherlands

Introduction

As a consequence of non-European immigration from the sixties until today, schools and classrooms in Western Europe have become increasingly multicultural. Research on school engagement of non-western students has led our attention to other reasons to achieve in school than is commonly emphasized in mainstream motivational theories, such as goal theory. Non-western and ethnic minority students would be motivated by group goals, social approval and affiliation, whereas school achievement has traditionally been approached as a rather individual pursuit (Iyengar & Lepper, 1999; Maehr & Nicholls, 1980; McInerney, Roche, McInerney & Marsh, 1997; Urdan & Maehr, 1995). In more recent reformulations of goal theory, social goals to achieve are now also included (Maehr & Nicholls, 1980; McInerney et al., 1997, Urdan & Maehr, 1995). Still, social reasons to engage in school tasks are mostly attributed to non-western students or ethnic minority students, as they would value more collectivist values, such as gaining social approval. However, the emphasis on individualism in western students is not so absolute that social reasons to achieve should be completely absent. This raises the question whether western students can also be motivated by social reasons to engage in school tasks. We expect that, in general, students of western origin (native Dutch) and ethnic minority students (Moroccans), who emphasize in-group goals and a sense of obligation towards the in-group, will be positively motivated for school tasks by social achievement goals.

Individual and social achievement goals

In goal theory students' achievement goals are viewed as critical determinants of their school engagement. Students' achievement goals are cognitive representations of their reasons to engage in achievement situations, such as making progress, outperforming others or avoiding showing lack of ability. The basic tenet of goal theory is that the quality of learning and achievement depends crucially on the types of goals students bring to school. Mastery goals, for example, which focus on making progress, are systematically related to more effort and persistence, more effective study strategies and better school performance. Conversely, so-called performance goals, such as the goal of demonstrating ability or avoiding showing lack of ability lead to more negative motivational outcomes (Ames & Archer, 1988; Dweck & Leggett, 1988; Elliot & Dweck, 1988; Greene & Miller, 1996; Meece, Blumenfeld & Hoyle, 1988; Middleton & Midgley, 1997; Nolen & Haladyna,

1990; Pintrich & De Groot, 1990). From a cross-cultural perspective it has been argued that goal theory is built on what has recently been recognized as an overly narrow and hence inadequate conceptualization of academic motivation (McInerney et al., 1997). Inherent in the concept and measurement of both mastery and performance goals is an exclusive focus on achievement as an individual goal (Phalet & Lens, 1995). This insight has led to a reformulation of goal theory, which complements individual achievement goals with social achievement goals (Maehr & Nicholls, 1980; McInerney et al., 1997; Urdan & Maehr, 1995). Social achievement goals refer to motivation for academic tasks with the aim of obtaining approval and recognition from important others (Blumenfeld, 1992; Hamilton, Blumenfeld, Akoh & Miura, 1989; Urdan & Maehr, 1995). In contrast, individual achievement goals refer to motivation for academic tasks out of a desire for self-determination and out of the need to experience choice in the initiation and regulation of one's behavior (Hardre & Reeve, 2003; Verkuyten, Thijs & Canatan, 2001). Especially studies with non-western or ethnic minority students have shown that motivation by group goals and affiliation contributes to motivation and learning in school (eg. Iyengar & Lepper, 1999; Verkuyten, Thijs & Canatan, 2001).

Conformity and autonomy goals

The distinction in individual and social achievement goals has been related to cross-cultural value dimensions of individualism and collectivism (Maehr & Nicholls, 1980; Phalet & Claeys, 1993; Phalet & Lens, 1995; Urdan & Giancarlo, 2001; Urdan & Maehr, 1995; Yu & Yang, 1994). In general, individualism refers to the primacy of the individual person as a social and moral entity, whereas collectivism stresses the embeddedness of individuals within primary groups (Triandis, 1995). Thus, a social achievement orientation would foreground social reasons to engage with schoolwork in collectivist cultures, whereas individual reasons to achieve would be emphasized more in individualistic cultures (Maehr & Nicholls, 1980; Phalet & Lens, 1995). While western cultures are found to value individualism more, most non-western cultures attach more value to collectivism than the West (eg. Triandis, 1995; Schwartz, 1996). Ethnic minorities from non-Western cultural backgrounds are found to transmit core collectivism values to the next generation, who are typically combining individualism and collectivism values (eg. Phalet & Schonpflug, 2001; Phalet & Swyngedouw, 2004). Non-western students or ethnic minorities with a more collectivist cultural background are motivated by social reasons to achieve, whereas students from more individualistic backgrounds would be motivated by individual achievement goals. Indeed, Verkuyten, Thijs and Canatan (2001) found in their study in Dutch schools that for Turkish students family motivation was positively related to school performance through task-goal orientation. For Dutch students, however, no effects of family motivation were found, but instead individual motivation predicted school performance through task-goal orientation. Iyengar and Lepper (1999) showed that task motivation and performance of Asian-American children proved highest not in contexts offering personal choice, but in those in which choices were determined for them by valued in-group members. In contrast, Anglo-American children displayed higher levels of task motivation and performance in contexts emphasizing personal choice.

The notions of individualism and collectivism refer to the level of cultures. On an individual level, Schwartz (1996) expects and finds a related motivational conflict

between self-direction or autonomy values on the one side, and conservation or conformity values on the other side of his value space. This distinction is valid across cultures (Schwartz, 1996). Accordingly, conformity goals in our study emphasize in-group goals, views and needs and a sense of obligation towards the in-group (Triandis, Leung, Villareal & Clack, 1985; Westerhof, Dittmann-Kohl & Katzko, 2000), and are reflected in a stronger commitment to the demands of the surrounding social context, such as expectations by teachers and parents (Nijsten & Pels, 2000). In contrast, autonomy goals in our study reflect own goals, views and needs, and accentuate personal choice and self-assertion (Triandis, Leung, Villareal & Clack, 1985; Westerhof, Dittmann-Kohl & Katzko, 2000). A social achievement orientation would then be predominant in individuals who value conformity, where being loyal to the group and fulfilling the expectations of significant others are central. For individuals, who value autonomy goals the experience of self-direction and choice are predominant. Accordingly, for these individuals individual goals would be most salient (Kagitçibasi, 1997; Triandis, 1995; Ward, Bochner & Furnham, 2001). Since some degree of conformity is an inherent requisite of the schooling experience in both individualistic and collectivist cultures, social goals may motivate not only non-western and ethnic minority students but western students as well (Maehr & Nicholls, 1980; McInerney et al., 1997).

School engagement

School engagement in this study is understood as motivated learning, a combination of task motivation and effective learning. Motivation is viewed as a critical determinant of student's classroom achievement, in part because students who are more highly motivated tend to make more effort and persist longer at academic tasks than do students who are less motivated (Pintrich & Schunk, 1996). We focus on task motivation, which refers to students' motivation to engage in school tasks in general and in the present. It refers to the value component in an expectancy-value model of motivation and reflects student's interest and belief in the importance of the task (Pintrich, 1999). As a measure of effective learning we included 'deep level learning', which consists of cognitive strategies such as understanding, elaboration, organization and active problem solving (Pintrich, Smith, Garcia & McKeachie, 1991). There is solid evidence that both deep level learning and motivation for school tasks are related to academic performance (Greene & Miller, 1996; Miller, Greene, Montalvo, Ravindram & Nichols, 1996; Pintrich & Garcia, 1991; Pintrich, Smith, Garcia & McKeachie, 1992; Pintrich & De Groot, 1990).

Aims and background of the study

Summarizing, due to an individualistic bias in mainstream motivational research social reasons to engage in schoolwork have been largely ignored. The aim of this study is to test for the adaptive effects of social achievement goals in addition to the known benefits of individual achievement goals across cultures. Several studies have shown that social achievement goals have a positive effect on school engagement in non-western and ethnic minority students from collectivist backgrounds. But the association of indcol-related goal orientations with more

individual or social achievement goals has mostly been assumed rather than tested. On the individual level, we argued that conformity values support a social type of achievement motivation in western as well as non-western or ethnic minority students. Similarly, autonomy values would support a complementary individual type of achievement motivation across cultures. Furthermore, we expect that social as well as individual achievement goals contribute positively to school engagement. Hence, autonomy and conformity-oriented students' school engagement would be mediated by distinct individual and social achievement goals. Figure 5.1 models these hypothesized relations. Structural equation modelling (SEM) is chosen for a stringent test of cross-cultural validation and hypothesis testing.

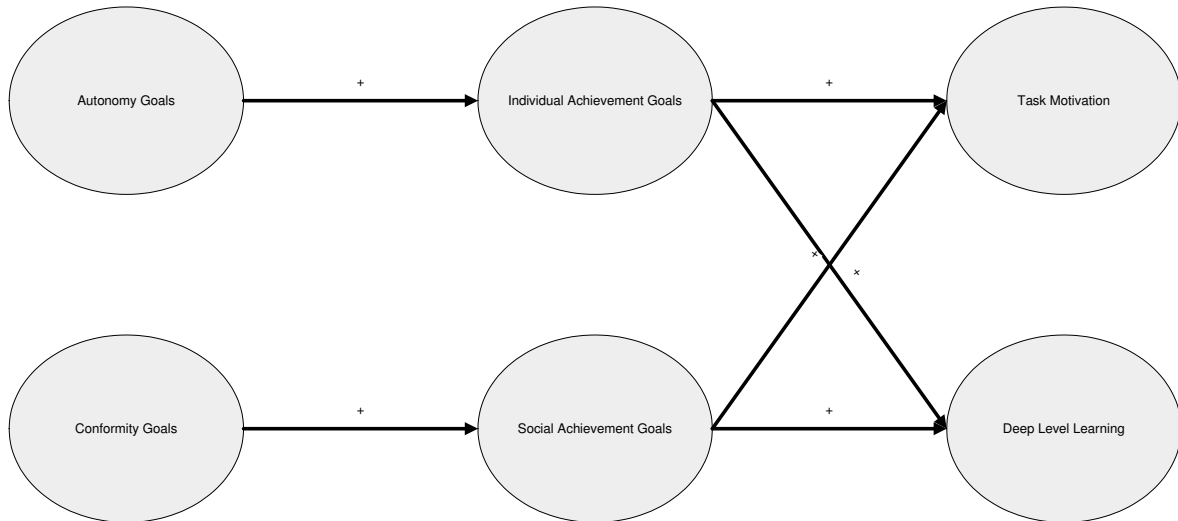


Figure 5.1. Hypothetical structural model of relations between personal goals, achievement goals and school engagement.

The study involves students in Dutch secondary schools, which are now commonly multi-cultural (CBS, 2002). We have included native Dutch adolescents and children of former Moroccan labour migrants. The parents of the Moroccan students came to the Netherlands between the 1960's and 1980's and have formed a major ethnic minority community through subsequent family reunion and family formation. Moroccan adolescents in our study are mostly second generation, which means that they have in fact a mixed western and non-western, individualistic and collectivist cultural background. Relative to the native Dutch comparison group, however, the family socialization of minority youth typically supports more collectivist values (Phalet & Schonpflug, 2001).

Moroccan and native Dutch students differ in terms of their (non-western and traditional) cultural backgrounds and (lower and rural) social class origins. Not only are Moroccans facing widespread public prejudice against Muslims (Sniderman, Hagendoorn & Prior, 2004), there is also hard proof of ethnic discrimination against Moroccan minorities in the Dutch labour market (Bovenkerk, Gras & Ramsoedh, 1995). As a consequence of their minority status in Dutch society, Moroccan youth are characterized by more frequent school failure and dropout, as compared with their native Dutch classmates (Veenman, 1996).

Method

Participants and procedure

Participants are Moroccan minority students (n=179) and a non-minority comparison group of Dutch classmates (n=229). Eleven schools with a significant presence of Moroccan minority students were selected in four middle-sized districts in the Netherlands. Within the schools, classes were selected for participation in order to cover the full range of the Dutch tracking system, including higher (non-vocational) as well as lower (vocational) tracks. Within the classes, participation was obligatory for all the students in order to avoid self-selection. After completion of the questionnaire students were given the opportunity to withdraw their responses by not handing them in. None of the students made use of this opportunity. The students were categorized into ethnic groups on the basis of ethnic self-identification.

Half of the students in the sample are boys, half are girls. The mean age of participants is 15 and a half years, with Dutch students being somewhat younger than their minority classmates are (Dutch: M=15.4; Moroccans: M=15.8). The majority of the students attend the second or third year of secondary school (67%). 66% of Moroccan students in our study are in vocational school tracks as opposed to 21% of native Dutch students. The schools that participated have an average population of 32% minority and 68% native Dutch students.

Most Moroccan youth have unschooled or low-schooled parents. Of the Moroccan mothers in our sample 68% have not completed primary school, as opposed to 7% of native Dutch mothers. Educational status of the mother is used as an index of parental education for reasons of reliability^{xxiv}. Moreover, maternal education is directly relevant to the child's schooling: students in our study reported more educational support from mothers (30%) than from fathers (6%).

Most Moroccan students are born in the Netherlands, or migrated at the age of six or younger (84%). The students filled out paper-and-pencil questionnaires on personal goal orientations, achievement goals, task motivation and learning in class or in small groups in the presence of the researcher.

Measures

Personal goal orientations. In order to measure Autonomy and Conformity goals we used six items on personal life goals (See Table 5.1). Items were adapted from Phalet's Motives Questionnaire (Phalet & Claeys, 1993) and Wentzel's Goal Questionnaire (Wentzel, 1989). Instructions for assessment of life goals in the questionnaire read "Here is a list of personal concerns that are more or less important for youngsters in their life. Think of yourself: how important are these issues in your life?" Students were instructed to respond to the items on a 4-point scale, ranging from 1 (not so important) to 4 (very important). Simultaneous Component Analysis (SCA) replicates distinct autonomy and conformity factors in the two ethnic groups (Kiers, 1990). The explained variances by the common two-factor solution total 63% for the Moroccan and 56% for the Dutch comparison group. Overall, SCA supports the construct validity of the measures across cultures. See Table 5.1 for the question wordings.

Academic achievement goals. Following McInerney's et al. (1997) example, four items on social achievement goals and three items on individual achievement goals

were included. Students were instructed to respond to the items on a 3-point scale, ranging from 1 (not true for me) to 3 (completely true for me). SCA revealed two distinct factors for social and individual achievement goals in both samples (explained variance: 51% for Dutch and 56% for Moroccans). See Table 5.1 for the question wordings.

School engagement. School engagement was measured by students' task motivation (four items) and deep level learning (four items), which were subscales translated and adapted from Pintrich et al.'s Motivated Strategies for Learning Questionnaire (MSLQ: Pintrich, Smith, Garcia & McKeachie, 1991). Highest loading items in a Dutch-language pilot study of the MSLQ were selected. Simultaneous Component Analysis (SCA) replicates the factor structure of the MSLQ subscales (Kiers, 1990). The explained variances by the common two-factor solution total 45% for Dutch and 47% for Moroccan students. Overall, distinct factors for task motivation and deep level learning in SCA supports the construct validity of the dependent measures across cultures.

Task motivation refers to students' motivation to engage in school tasks in general and in the present. Items refer to liking courses, finding the contents of the lessons interesting, wanting to keep up with the lessons, and thinking that most courses are important. Students responded to the items on a 3-point scale, ranging from 1 (not true for me) to 3 (completely true for me). See Table 5.1 for the question wordings.

Deep Learning is measured by a combination of subscales from the MSLQ (Pintrich et al., 1991). Items refer to actively structuring (cognitive organization), understanding (cognitive self-regulation) and relating course materials (cognitive elaboration) and solving problems (critical thinking). Students were instructed to respond to the items on a 3-point scale, ranging from 1 (not true for me) to 3 (completely true for me). See Table 5.1 for the question wordings.

Social background variables. To ensure cross-cultural comparability, we include in our analyses social class variables that are associated with educational disadvantage. We control for the effects of Gender (1 = boy, 0 = girl), School Track (from 1 = lower vocational, up to 10 = higher non-vocational training), Parental Education (from 1 = mother unschooled, up to 5 = mother with tertiary education) and Ethnic Composition of the school. Ethnic Composition refers for Moroccan students to the percentage of students from the same ethnic background; for native Dutch students this is measured as the percentage of non-minority (Dutch) students.

Table 5.1. Final cross-cultural measurement models of personal goals, achievement goals and school engagement: Common metric completely standardized loadings in invariant condition.

Items	Auto nomy	Confor mity	Indivi dual Goals	Social Goals	Task Motiva tion	Deep Level Learning
Y1. To stand up for yourself [standup]	.71					
Y2. To have fun [fun]	.49					
Y3. To have an opinion of one's own [opinion]	.68					
Y4. To be polite and well-mannered [polite]		.68				
Y5. To behave well in school [behave]		.72				
Y6. To obey your parents [listen]		.46				
Y7. Lessons in which the students have to express themselves orally, I like the most. [voice]			.59			
Y 8. I like when we have the possibility of stating our own opinions in class. [speak]			.64			
Y9. I like tasks in which I can decide myself how to deal with it. [decide]			.40			
Y10. I want my parents to be proud of my school results [proud]				.67		
Y11. I like being told by the teacher that I did something good [approve]				.59		
Y12. I work hard in school in order not to disappoint my parents [letdown]				.52		
Y13. I like the teacher to notice that I worked hard [praise]				.58		
Y14. I like most courses we study in school. [like]					.57	
Y15. I am almost always interested in the contents of the lessons [interest]					.59	
Y16. It is important to me to keep up with the lessons [keepup]					.61	
Y17. Most things we learn in school are important to me [important]					.49	
Y18. When learning something new I try to really understand what it is about [understand]						.45
Y19. I try to understand my lessons by looking how things relate to each other [relate]						.54
Y20. When studying I often make use of drawings or summaries [draw]						.39
Y21. When making exercises I want to find the solution by myself [findself]						.42

Analyses

We used Structural Equation Modeling (SEM) to test the hypotheses on individual level differences in our cross-cultural student sample. Prior to the testing of the hypotheses we performed Confirmatory Factor Analysis (CFA) as a stringent test of the reliability and cross-cultural validity of the measures. Personal goals (Autonomy and Conformity goals) are specified as predictors, achievement goals (Individual and Social achievement goals) as mediators, and school engagement (Task motivation and Deep level learning) as criterion variables^{xxv}.

SEM specifies separate models for each ethnic group and tests for invariance across these groups (Bollen, 1989). Hypotheses on the impact of achievement goals on motivation and learning are specified within groups, and then tested for invariance across groups. Standardised effect parameters provide information on the strength of the association between achievement goals and motivated learning within groups and across groups. The effect parameters in SEM are specified at the latent level, which means that they estimate the strength of association between achievement goals and school engagement after correction for measurement error in the dependent variables. Lastly, by conditioning all concepts on Gender, School Track, Ethnic Composition of the School and Parental Education, the net motivational effects of students' achievement goals are tested.

Results

We used a stepwise approach in building the structural models. Firstly, multi-group measurement models were specified to test the cross-cultural equivalence of the constructs (Van de Vijver & Leung, 1997). Based on a chi-square difference test, the cross-cultural equivalence was fully supported ($\Delta\chi^2(15) = 22.77, p = .10$). The invariant model showed good fit ($\chi^2(363) = 471.11$; RMSEA = 0.04; GFI = 0.90; CFI = 0.91). See Table 5.1 for the factor loadings. Table 5.2 show the squared correlations per item for each ethnic group separately as an index of the reliability of the measures.

Next, the measurement models are entered as latent variables in a multi-group structural model to test for the impact of social achievement goals (see Figure 5.1). This model had a good fit in both groups. However, modification indices for structural relations suggested that several direct paths from personal goals to school engagement were present: a path from autonomy goals to task motivation, a path from conformity goals to task motivation and a path from conformity goals to deep level learning. This modified model could successfully be constrained to invariance across cultures ($\Delta\chi^2(10) = 18.27, p > .05$). In a last step, all constructs were conditioned on Gender, Ethnic Composition of the School, School Track and Parental Education as exogenous variables. This final model shows an acceptable fit ($\chi^2(523) = 686.60$, RMSEA = .04, GFI=0.88, CFI=0.87)^{xxvi}. Table 5.3 lists parameters gamma (effects of control variables), beta (structural relations) and phi (residual correlations between latent concepts) for this model, while Figure 5.2 models the significant relationships between the constructs.

Table 5.3. Parameters of structural paths and correlations between latent concepts in final structural model. Common metric completely standardised parameters.

	Autonomy	Conformity	Individual Goals	Social Goals	Task motivation	Deep level learning	Ethnic composition	Education al track	Gender	Education mother
Autonomy								D:0.15* M:0.27***	D:-0.09 M:-0.17*	
Conformity	D: 0.08 M: 0.29*							D:-0.28*** M:-0.13		
Individual Goals	.53***	.13*								D:0.02 M:-0.13*
Social Goals		.40***	D:0.35*** M:0.26**				D:0.21** M:0.13*			
Task motivation	-.14	.39***	-.03	.52***			D:0.01 M:-0.16**		D:-0.08 M:-0.13*	D:0.13 M:-0.20**
Deep level learning		.19*	.20*	.51***	D:0.39*** M:0.33***			D:0.05 M:0.21**	D:-0.15* M:-0.06	D:-0.04 M:0.14*

Note. D = native Dutch students, M = Moroccan students.

*p < .05. **p < .01. ***p < .001.

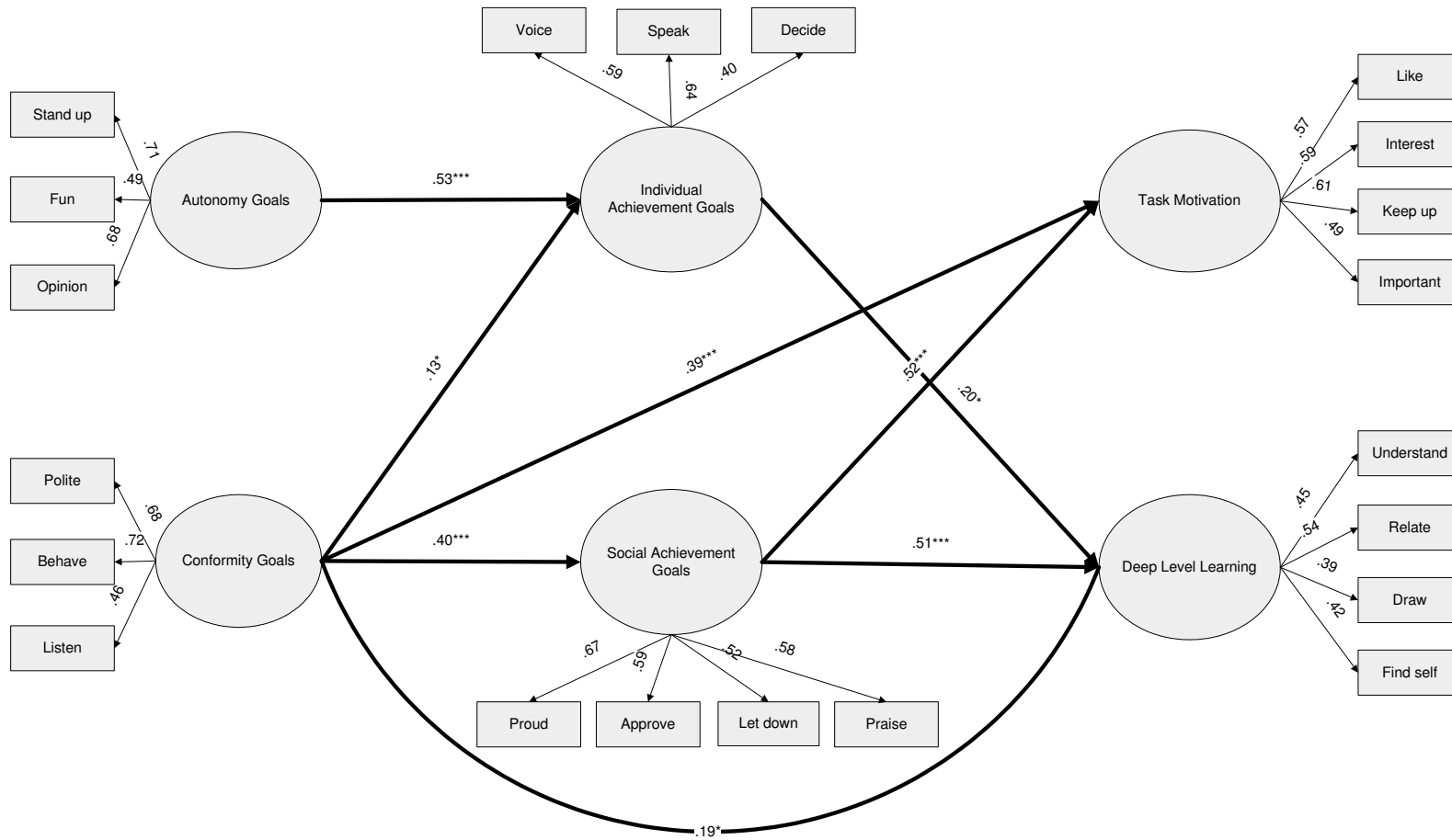


Figure 5.2. Empirical structural model of relations between personal goals, achievement goals and school engagement, controlled for ethnic composition of the school, gender, educational track and educational status of student's mother. Common metric completely standardized coefficients for factor loadings and structural relations.

Note. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

As expected conformity goals are related to social achievement goals, whereas autonomy goals are related to individual achievement goals. We also found (partial) support for the hypothesis on the adaptive effects of individual achievement goals, as a positive connection from individual achievement goals to deep level learning is found. Furthermore, social achievement goals have, in addition to individual achievement goals, adaptive effects on student's school engagement. This is shown in the positive structural relations between social achievement goals and task motivation and deep level learning, as well as in the positive correlation between individual and social achievement goals in both groups. Furthermore, we found support for the hypothesis that distinct individual and social achievement goals mediate the school engagement of autonomy and conformity-oriented students. A social achievement orientation in Western classrooms is not only adaptive for ethnic minority students, but for any student who values conformity. Most importantly, the positive effects of social achievement goals on school engagement are stronger than the effects of individual achievement goals.

Conformity goals appear to be positively related to individual achievement goals. Individual achievement goals enhance school engagement for autonomy-oriented students and for conformity-oriented students alike. Furthermore, conformity goals have direct positive effects on school engagement, as they increase motivation for school tasks and enhance deep level learning. The path from autonomy goals to task motivation did not reach significance in the final model.

Discussion

Mainstream motivational frameworks, such as goal theory, have emphasized the strong motivational impact of achievement goals based on individual autonomy, and neglected students' social reasons to achieve in school (Iyengar & Lepper, 1999; D'Ailly, 2003). In a recent reformulation of goal theory the importance of social goals for students' engagement in school tasks has been recognized. However, the added value of social goals has been mostly attributed to ethnic minority students and students from non-western backgrounds. Our aim was to test whether western and non-western or ethnic minority students alike can be motivated to engage in school tasks by social achievement goals. For this purpose we have conducted a study in Dutch secondary schools with Moroccan and Dutch students. As the Moroccan adolescents in our study are mostly second generation they have a mixed western and non-western, individualistic and collectivist cultural background. The family socialisation of minority youth, however, typically supports more collectivist values relative to the native Dutch comparison group (Phalet & Schonpflug, 2001).

Social and individual achievement goals were included in the same hypothetical model, which was tested with a Structural Equation Modeling approach. The advantage of this approach is that it allows for simultaneous cross-cultural validation and hypothesis testing. Moreover, the model specifies constructs at the latent level, meaning that they are corrected for measurement error. Additionally, we conditioned all associations on social background characteristics of the students. Thus, controlling for social background and keeping the school context constant (all students in the same western school context), only the cultural background differs between the comparison groups. We were interested in whether common motivational processes could be identified, despite these cultural differences.

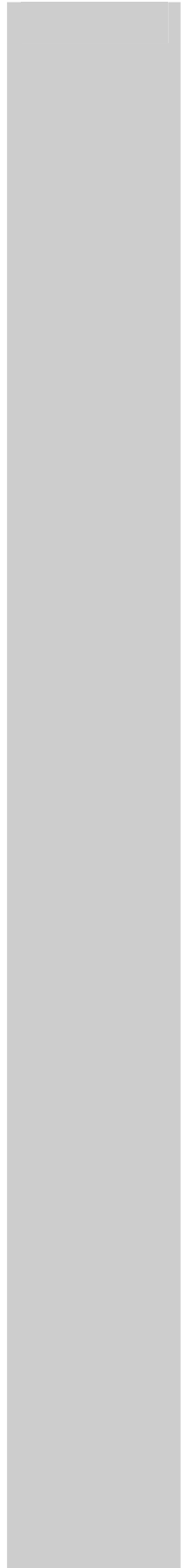
Our results reveal a successful replication of the well-known adaptive impact of individual achievement goals on school engagement across cultures. More importantly, we have found support for the added value of social achievement goals for school engagement. Native Dutch and Moroccan students alike can be motivated for school tasks by gaining approval and recognition from important others. Students' reasons to engage in school tasks are connected to their personal goal orientations, such that, across cultures, conformity-oriented students are more motivated for school tasks by social achievement goals and autonomy-oriented students are motivated by individual achievement goals. Social achievement goals appear to enhance students' school engagement even more than individual achievement goals for both western and ethnic minority students alike. Apparently, not only for ethnic minority students, but also for western students schooling is a social phenomenon. The recent extension of goal theory with social goals therefore seems to be an important development in our insights in students' reasons to engage in school work.

We found an unexpected effect of conformity goals on individual achievement goals. Possibly, conformity-oriented students may have a stronger tendency to answer in a social desirable or affirmative mode. Alternatively, conformity-oriented students are rather sensitive to the context in which they perform, and comply with the demands of individualist classroom achievement structure (Nijsten & Pels, 2000). Also unexpected was the direct effect of conformity goals on students' school engagement (task motivation and deep level learning). This may reflect the school's compulsory character, whose rules and demands have made committed compliance an important part of task motivation. Conformity-oriented students may adapt more readily to the obligatory nature of school, leaving room to focus on interesting aspects of the tasks themselves.

In sum, this study offers support for the recent reformulation of goal theory to include social goals as important reasons to engage in school tasks. Moreover, it shows that social achievement goals are an important force behind school engagement for western and ethnic minority students alike.

This study did not provide evidence on how achievement orientations affect educational outcomes. Although many studies find a positive connection between our school engagement measures and academic performance (Greene & Miller, 1996; Miller, Greene, Montalvo, Ravindram & Nichols, 1996; Pintrich & Garcia, 1991; Pintrich, Smith, Garcia & McKeachie, 1992; Pintrich & De Groot, 1990), other studies show that task orientation is negatively related to achievement outcomes (McInerney et al., 1997; Phalet & Andriessen, 2003). The educational performance of students is not only determined by students' motivation and learning, but is also affected by other variables, such as prior educational attainment and past educational choices in secondary school. Therefore, future research should include more refined measures of educational performance.

Chapter Six



Chapter six

General Conclusions

Research aims and questions

This dissertation focuses on the impact of socio-cultural factors on school engagement of minority students in Dutch secondary schools. This question was raised because studies that focus on the impact of structural or institutional factors were often left with an 'ethnic residual'. This ethnic factor is often post-hoc related to socio-cultural factors without a solid explanation of how such factors impact on school engagement. This dissertation aimed at filling this gap by focusing on the impact of socio-cultural factors, while controlling for relevant structural and institutional variables. Socio-cultural factors refer to a combination of social factors (the degree and quality of social interaction between minorities and natives, Van Tubergen, 2004) and cultural factors (ethnic identification, acculturation orientations and personal goals, Sackman, 2003).

School engagement in this dissertation was approached through an adapted concept of motivated learning (Pintrich et al., 1991) and through measures of students' position in the educational system (track position and educational progress through tracks). Motivated learning refers to the motivational and learning processes that are behind educational outcomes. In the motivational domain we have focused on task motivation: the value dimension of motivation, which reflects a student's beliefs about the interest in and importance of the task (Pintrich, 1999). It has been shown that the value dimension is related to the use of learning strategies and academic performance (Meece, Blumenfeld & Hoyle, 1988; Pintrich, 1999; Pintrich & Garcia, 1991; Pintrich & De Groot, 1990; Pokay & Blumenfeld, 1990; Richardson, 2004; Wolters & Pintrich, 1998; Wolters & Rosenthal, 2000). In the learning strategies domain we have added to the well-studied cognitive strategies of 'deep level learning' (Pintrich, Smith, Garcia & McKeachie, 1991) and 'surface level learning' (Entwistle & Tait, 1997) by including classroom behaviours that interfere with learning, such as 'self-handicapping' (Midgley et al., 1996) and 'lesson rejecting' (Hansen, 1989).

This study addressed two research questions, which were examined in chapters two through five. The first one reads:

(1) What is the impact of several socio-cultural factors on minority students' school engagement?

More specifically we examined the impact of acculturation orientations (also in terms of interethnic relations) on school engagement, and the impact of personal goals on motivated learning through academic achievement goals. Thus, the first research question is approached from two different angles: on the one hand from students' cultural orientations and their perceptions of interethnic relations in school, and on the other hand from students' individualism-collectivism related personal

goal orientations and their achievement goals. While the former approach focuses on issues of intercultural interaction and adaptation, the latter approach explores the motivational consequences of cultural distance or diversity in the classroom. Chapter two and three focused on acculturation orientations, whereas we examined the role of achievement goals in chapter four and five.

The second question this dissertation aimed to answer was:

(2) *Can we validate motivated learning in the classroom across cultures?*

This question was tested in chapter four and five, where we successfully measured central concepts of motivated learning across Turkish, Moroccan and native Dutch students.

The impact of acculturation on minority school engagement

Acculturation orientations refer to how individuals change after coming into contact with a new socio-cultural environment (Berry & Sam, 1997). Two issues predominate in the lives of acculturating individuals: the extent to which they value and wish to retain their own cultural characteristics (ethnic culture maintenance dimension) and the preference for adoption of (aspects of) the host society's culture (culture adoption dimension). The degree of preference for both dimensions depend on the context (Phalet, van Lotringen & Entzinger, 2000). In the public domain, such as schools, dominant group norms are most salient and influential, whereas in the private domain, such as the family context, ethnic in-group norms are most easily enforced. Accordingly, minorities appear to attach more importance to culture adoption in the public domain (eg. the school context), while culture maintenance is valued mostly in the predominantly co-ethnic private domain (eg. the family context).

Looking at the broader (national) context, acculturation orientations of minorities develop within a majority society that is more or less acceptant of them and their preferred acculturation strategies. Host communities are, on the whole, found to value culture maintenance less and culture adoption more than migrant communities (e.g. Phalet, Van Lotringen & Entzinger, 2000). For example, the Dutch (as host community) are divided between integration (a combination of culture maintenance and culture adoption) and assimilation (one-sided culture adoption) as their most preferred acculturation types in the school context, whereas a majority of Turkish and Moroccan youth prefers integration, and hardly values assimilation (Phalet, van Lotringen & Entzinger, 2000).

In the face of conflicting acculturation pressures from the ethnic community and the host society, some alternation from minority youth between ethnic and dominant cultures in family and school contexts may be most adaptive. It was therefore expected that culture maintenance in the family context will have a positive impact on school engagement, as it is conducive to mobilise social support and protect self-worth within the family and community (see Okagaki, 2001). Culture adoption, on the other hand, will be required for adaptive learning in the school context, as cross-cultural openness and social contact are related to enhanced self-competence and skills (Phalet & Hagendoorn, 1996; Ward & Kennedy, 1993).

It was found that, indeed, the most successful students match their acculturation strategies with the prevailing context. In other words, in contexts favoring the ethnic

culture, such as at home, some degree of dissociation from the host culture yields positive results on educational progress; whereas in contexts favoring the dominant Dutch culture (e.g. school) a strategy of culture adoption, combined with culture maintenance is most adaptive. This means that successful students are able to switch between contexts^{xxvii}.

Two things are striking about these results. Firstly, not so much ethnic culture maintenance, but rather dissociation from the host culture in the family context appears to be adaptive. Therefore, it seems that social support within minority families is premised primarily on preserving ethnic boundaries in private life. Dissociation from the host culture may serve as an important signal to parents, who may fear a loss of ethnic loyalty in their rapidly acculturating children. Secondly, not a one-sided focus on culture adoption (assimilation), but a combined preference for culture maintenance and culture adoption in school was most adaptive for students' educational progress. This finding may be due to the multi-ethnic school environment, where both dominant and ethnic group norms are salient. Alternatively, the expected positive impact on skills through culture learning may be complemented by feelings of psychological well-being in a school context that allows for a continuation of ethnic identification and ethnic cultural attachment (Phalet & Hagendoorn, 1996; Verkuyten & Kwa, 1994). Again, integration shows the most adaptive results (cf. Berry & Sam, 1997).

Chapter 3 extended the findings on the role of acculturation orientations by investigating acculturation as an interactive phenomenon. A new and most parsimonious twofold typology of interethnic relations combining acculturation orientations of minorities with perceived discrimination and acceptance by the host society was successfully validated. Specifically, latent class analysis among Turkish, Moroccan and Assyrian adolescents in Dutch secondary schools produced two relational types: the separation type and the integration type. Adolescents in the separation type prefer the ethnic culture to the majority culture in the school context and perceive low acceptance, while those in the integration type prefer the ethnic culture less and the host culture more in the context of school and perceive high acceptance. The typology showed the expected pattern of associations with ethnic group identification, social contacts and school engagement. Adolescents in the separation type identify themselves more with the ethnic group and have a larger preference for contact with peers of the same ethnic background. Moreover, the most adaptive integration type successfully predicts students' learning strategies, but not their task motivation and current track positions.

It is puzzling that the integration type failed to predict students' track position in chapter three, whereas integration was positively related to track position (and educational progress) in chapter two. Possible explanations for the failure of replication of the effect of integration may be found in sample differences (chapter two included only Turks and Moroccans, whereas chapter three also included Assyrians) or differences in the method section. In chapter two separate acculturation dimensions and perceived ethnic relations are included as predictor variables in stepwise multiple regressions, whereas in chapter three combinations of acculturation dimensions and perceived ethnic relations are analysed by way of latent class analysis. The latter typological approach has the advantage of parsimony.

The answer to the question whether and how acculturation orientations impact

on school attainment (as in track positions and educational progress) is therefore not straightforward. In contrast to the inconsistent evidence for the relationship between acculturation orientations and school attainment, the evidence for a relationship between acculturation orientations and school engagement in terms of learning strategies is much clearer. The combination of ethnic culture maintenance and culture adoption (integration) seems to be superior to a one-sided preference for separation (or assimilation). Learning strategies have been related to academic performance in earlier studies (e.g. Pintrich & De Groot, 1990). These studies, however, approach school engagement as academic performance within tracks through, for example, students' Grade Point Average (GPA). Integration possibly stimulates school performance within tracks indirectly through learning strategies. The educational performance of minority youth across tracks may be affected by other variables, such as prior educational attainment, school advice at the end of primary school, entry level and past educational choices in secondary school.

The impact of goal orientations on minority school engagement

In chapter four and five the impact of achievement goals on motivated learning was studied. Achievement goals are cognitive representations of students' reasons to engage in achievement situations. As was argued in the introduction, most research on achievement motivation in academic settings is limited in two ways. Firstly, it has mostly neglected the relevance of future goals for motivated learning and school performance. And secondly, it has mostly considered individual goals and not social goals as effective motivations for achievement.

Chapter four examined the cross-cultural benefits of future goals on motivated learning for both minority and non-minority students alike. Future goals relate to the anticipated long distant outcomes of present school tasks, such as perceiving the instrumental value of school tasks. Future goals may be self-chosen (internally regulated) or imposed or controlled from outside with an emphasis on external rewards (externally regulated). It was shown that distant future goals enhance minority and non-minority students' motivation and learning, if students perceive positive instrumentality and if their schoolwork is internally regulated by future goals. In addition, in chapter two the adaptive impact of future goals was also found. Students who see no use of going to school for obtaining a job or a secure financial position are in lower educational tracks, than students who think that going to school increases their chances for a job or a financial secure future. These studies confirm the expected positive impact of future goals for minority and non-minority students for both motivated learning and educational progress.

In chapter 5 we studied the impact of social achievement goals on motivated learning for minority and non-minority students. Social achievement goals refer to motivation for academic tasks with the aim of obtaining approval and recognition from important others (Blumenfeld, 1992; Hamilton Blumenfeld, Akoh & Miura, 1989; Urdan & Maehr, 1995). In the existing literature on social goals it was suggested that especially non-western and ethnic minority students would be motivated by social goals, because they provide an opportunity to fulfil expected social obligations to family and authority figures (Iyengar & Lepper, 1999). The Moroccan adolescents in our study have a mixed western and non-western, individualistic and collectivist cultural background. Relative to the native Dutch comparison group, however, the

family socialization of minority youth typically supports more collectivist values (Phalet & Schonpflug, 2001). Our study showed that western students can also be motivated by social goals. Across cultures, students who value autonomy are motivated by individual reasons to achieve. Conformity-oriented students are motivated by social goals, but also by individual goals. Hence, autonomy and conformity-oriented students' school engagement is mediated by distinct individual and social achievement goals. This shows how personal goals that are often related to cross-cultural differences affect motivated learning in the classroom. By analyzing the data on an individual level we were able to go beyond the stereotypical view of minorities as determined by their collectivist cultures (and native Dutch as determined by their individualistic culture). Social reasons to engage with schoolwork are not only preserved for members of collectivist cultures, but for all individuals who value conformity. Moreover, social achievement goals were found to enhance motivation and learning across cultures. In addition, individual achievement goals also support adaptive learning.

Chapter two also included social goals in the analyses as part of a contextual model of acculturation and achievement. In contrast to the results of chapter five, where social goals play an important role in students' school engagement (motivation and learning), no effect of social goals was found on educational progress in chapter two. Possibly, the positive effect of social goals may be limited to academic performance within tracks, and not extend to performance across tracks. Alternatively, sample differences may play a role in the failure to replicate the effects of social goals, as chapter five includes native Dutch and Moroccan students, whereas chapter two considers Turkish and Moroccan students.

Motivated learning across cultures

Turning to the second research question concerning motivation and learning processes across cultures we successfully measured the crucial concepts of task motivation, deep level learning and surface level learning for Turkish, Moroccan and Dutch students. Thus, the basic tenet of the Motivated Strategies for Learning Model – the distinction in a motivation and a learning domain – was successfully supported across cultures. Chapter four even replicated the mediating role of task motivation between goal orientations and cognitive strategies. Moreover, achievement goals (individual goals, social goals and future goals) have across cultures the same impact on motivated learning. We can therefore conclude that the motivated learning model is valid in Dutch school contexts for minority and non-minority students alike.

Contrary to expectations, task motivation had a negative impact on students' educational positioning (educational progress and current track). Above we suggested that the adaptive effects of task motivation might be limited to academic performance within tracks, as studied in most motivational studies of academic achievement (cf. Okagaki, 2001). Early selection in the Dutch school system (at age 12) may decrease the effects of student motivation on performance across tracks in favour of other variables, such as teachers' selection criteria (Herweyer, 2003). We also suggested that task motivation might resemble the abstract value of education in the eyes of disadvantaged minorities, which hides more ambivalent attitudes towards the concrete benefits of schoolwork (Mickelson, 1990). Lastly, given the

evidence of delayed attainment in minority youth, increased motivation in the face of failure may prove adaptive in the long run, such that high motivation for school tasks in low achieving students tells a success story that is yet to come.

Conclusions

The first question concerned the impact of socio-cultural factors on minority students' school engagement. We showed that acculturation orientations stimulate educational progress, if they are matched with the prevailing context. In addition, a preference for both the ethnic and the majority culture in combination with high perceived acceptance was positively related to students' study strategies. Lastly, the personal goals of autonomy and conformity impact on motivated learning through individual and social achievement goals. In sum, socio-cultural factors impact on motivated learning.

In the introduction it was mentioned that studies on minority school achievement were often left with an ethnic residual after controlling for structural factors, and that this residual was post-hoc related to socio-cultural explanations. This dissertation's aim was to shed light on the impact of such socio-cultural factors. In that sense, this study was successful: on a micro-level it has given insight in how socio-cultural factors are related to school engagement of minority students. As such it has made an important contribution to the Dutch research on educational disadvantage, which has mostly focused on structural factors (e.g. Driessen, 1993, van 't Hof & Dronkers, 1994).

Another question is whether the ethnic residual is better explained with this dissertation. Here, we must conclude that much remains unexplained: cultural differences in themselves do not hamper school engagement, but a separatist acculturation orientation and low perceived acceptance do. Clearly, cultural difference is not the only, and not the most important explanation of minority educational disadvantage. From an interactive approach of acculturation, the focus is on the more or less conflicted nature of interethnic relations rather than the cultural orientations of minorities. Accordingly, the role of perceived discrimination was examined in chapters two, three and four. In chapter three we found that the integration strategy goes hand in hand with a perception of the host society as accepting. This combination of integration and perception of acceptance was positively related to learning strategies. In Chapter four it was suggested that perceptions of discrimination and other forms of perceived exclusion by the host society may weaken the adaptive effects of future goals. These findings suggest that indeed a perception of exclusion may hamper school engagement. (Perceived) discrimination may therefore be a strong predictor of educational disadvantage in minority students. However, some studies have also shown that minority students tend to 'overachieve' because of expected discrimination (Vallet & Caille, 1996). If a certain educational level is needed for a certain job, minorities may want to 'over invest' in educational levels, such that educational levels cannot be the reason of job denial.

This dissertation has shown that the impact of socio-cultural factors does not straightforwardly follow the common-sense idea that socio-cultural integration – in the sense of becoming more like the host population- leads to school success. In this line of thinking it is often thought that when minorities are closer to natives in

terms of ethnic identification and cultural values and have more (and more positive) interethnic contacts with natives, they will score higher on measures such as school performance or labour-force participation. Our study showed, to the contrary, that one-sided adaptation of minorities to the host society does not offer the best chances for success in school. Rather, a combination of cultural adaptation and ethnic culture maintenance in public contexts, such as school, seems more promising.

In this sense, integration policies aimed at improving the socio-economic position of minorities should not focus exclusively on an assimilation type of cultural integration. Such a strategy may cut minority youngsters loose from important sources and ties in the family and the ethnic community. Integration policies should therefore maintain a balanced perspective in advancing socio-cultural integration in the combined sense: while maintaining ties with ethnic culture and community, minorities are allowed to (in the sense of acceptance) and encouraged to adapt to Dutch culture. Unfortunately, the present socio-political climate in the Netherlands seems to drift in the opposite direction. The media reports on the Islam and Muslims in a rather exclusionist way (ter Wal, 2004). Politicians and the media speak of a growing divide between Muslims and native Dutch. There have been violent outbursts of interethnic tensions (burnings of Islamic schools, mosques and Christian churches). This tendency offers a cause for concern. The study on interethnic relations showed that a perception of exclusion may deepen the divide between natives and minorities in two ways. In the cultural sense, minorities withdraw more and more into rather closed minority communities. In a socio-economic sense, they may no longer be motivated to succeed in a society that does not seem to accept them as full members, with the danger of forming an ethnic underclass.

Limitations and directions for future research

This study aimed to shed light on the role of socio-cultural factors in students' school engagement, controlling for relevant structural and institutional factors. Therefore the dominant focus has been on socio-cultural factors. Structural and institutional factors have been addressed to a lesser extent. Other research has convincingly shown the (additive) impact of such variables. For example, Jungbluth (2003) has shown for the Netherlands that teacher expectations impact strongly on educational attainment. It would be interesting to include such institutional factors in multi-level models of school achievement to analyze the relative impact of (each set of) factors (structural, institutional, social and cultural).

This dissertation has focused on two examples of socio-cultural factors (acculturation orientations and personal goals). Although we never aimed to be complete, we acknowledge that the list of socio-cultural variables that we investigated can be further extended. Other socio-cultural variables may also play a role in student school achievement. For example, several studies have already shown the impact of language skill acquisition on school achievement (cf. Driessen, van der Silk & de Bot, 2002). In our study, we focused on socio-cultural variables that have been studied to a lesser extent. In this sense, the dissertation adds to our existing knowledge of the impact of socio-cultural factors. Unfortunately, as the socio-cultural factors were examined in three different studies, we can provide no

information on the relative strength of each factor vis-à-vis the others. Future research may want to include different socio-cultural variables in one model to answer such a question.

The data used in this study is not representative for minority students in Dutch schools. The data was collected with a view to cover the full range of the Dutch tracking system, including higher (non-vocational) as well as lower (vocational) tracks. Thus, relatively more successful minority students were included in the sample. Moreover, due to the cross-sectional nature of the data we could not empirically determine (the direction of) causality. Therefore, we cannot reject the possibility that school engagement has (also) an impact on the socio-cultural position of minority students.

School engagement in this study was approached through an adapted concept of motivated learning (Pintrich, Smith, Garcia & McKeachie, 1991) and through measures of students' position in the educational system. This study lacked more refined measures of school attainment, such as test scores.

Finally, not all four ethnic groups were included in each study. For the validation studies (chapter four and five) native Dutch were included as control group. In chapter two and three, where we focused on minority school engagement they were left out. Although not all minority groups were presented in the chapters on minority engagement, we did attempt to always at least include two ethnic groups. It should be noted that most of the effects could be successfully replicated across ethnic groups.

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Variance-covariance matrix for entire set of variables in SEM analysis chapter 4 for each ethnic group separately.

Dutch students

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
API vs. NPI (1)	.21																			
PPI vs. NPI (2)	-.20	.23																		
ER vs. NR (3)	.01	-.02	.11																	
IR vs. NR (4)	-.00	.01	-.08	.23																
Like (5)	.00	.01	-.02	.05	.46															
Interest (6)	-.04	.04	-.01	.02	.14	.29														
Importance (7)	-.02	.04	-.01	.04	.12	.10	.32													
Task import (8)	.00	.01	-.01	.05	.11	.07	.06	.35												
Understand (9)	-.02	.02	-.01	.03	.04	.07	.08	.03	.30											
Relate (10)	.00	.00	-.03	.06	.12	.05	.10	.08	.06	.34										
Structure (11)	-.01	.02	.00	-.00	.13	.09	.03	.08	.05	.10	.59									
Problem solving (12)	.03	-.03	-.02	.04	.06	.08	.11	.02	.04	.10	.01	.38								
No understand (13)	.04	-.04	.02	-.03	-.00	-.05	-.03	-.05	-.05	.00	-.00	-.04	.40							
Difficulty understand(14)	-.00	-.00	.04	-.05	-.04	-.03	-.03	-.03	-.02	-.02	.01	-.04	.10	.40						
Rote learning (15)	.02	-.02	.01	-.06	-.01	-.01	-.00	-.04	-.04	-.00	.04	-.02	.10	.09	.40					
Easy way (16)	.02	-.02	.03	-.04	-.05	-.08	-.08	-.06	-.07	-.06	-.03	-.08	.10	.10	.10	.43				
Ethnic comp (17)	.01	-.01	.01	-.00	-.01	-.00	-.00	.01	-.00	-.00	-.03	-.02	.01	.00	-.01	.01	.04			
Track (18)	-.07	.14	-.11	.05	-.06	-.05	-.07	-.01	.03	-.11	.18	-.07	-.07	.01	-.07	-.09	-.13	2.04		
Gender (19)	.01	.01	-.01	.04	-.00	-.01	.01	-.03	-.05	-.01	-.11	.06	-.05	-.03	-.04	-.03	-.01	-.05	.25	
Education mother (20)	-.07	.11	-.01	-.02	.02	.00	.02	.00	.04	-.07	.12	-.09	.03	.01	-.06	-.03	-.02	.44	-.06	.99

Moroccan students

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
API vs. NPI (1)	.24																			
PPI vs. NPI (2)	-.21	.25																		
ER vs. NR (3)	-.01	.02	.18																	
IR vs. NR (4)	-.00	-.01	-.16	.21																
Like (5)	-.05	.04	.00	.01	.51															
Interest (6)	-.04	.01	.00	.01	.16	.30														
Importance (7)	-.05	.04	-.00	.03	.12	.12	.35													
Task import (8)	-.04	.05	.00	.04	.15	.07	.14	.31												
Understand (9)	-.02	.02	-.05	.05	.03	.08	.07	.06	.28											
Relate (10)	-.02	.01	-.02	.02	.10	.08	.06	.06	.02	.39										
Structure (11)	-.02	.03	.00	.05	.16	.08	.12	.07	.05	.15	.65									
Problem solving (12)	-.05	.04	-.05	.04	.05	.07	.07	.05	.07	.08	.11	.45								
No understand (13)	.03	-.04	.08	-.08	.03	-.04	-.03	-.04	-.06	.03	.07	-.03	.37							
Difficulty understand (14)	-.03	.05	.03	-.01	.07	.00	-.02	.01	-.02	.06	.09	-.01	.11	.42						
Rote learning (15)	-.01	.01	.01	-.02	.09	.05	.01	.05	.03	.06	.02	.04	.11	.16	.38					
Easy way (16)	.01	.00	.04	-.04	-.03	-.06	-.03	.01	-.02	.03	-.06	-.03	.12	.11	.10	.48				
Ethnic comp (17)	-.07	.09	-.00	.00	.00	.00	-.01	.00	-.01	.01	.02	-.01	-.01	-.01	-.02	-.02	.05			
Track (18)	-.02	.02	-.05	.02	-.23	-.22	-.17	-.20	-.06	.06	.04	.07	-.02	-.23	-.13	-.09	-.09	3.09		
Gender (19)	.01	-.06	.02	-.02	-.01	-.01	-.01	-.06	-.05	.05	-.01	-.02	.00	.01	-.01	-.04	.00	-.03	.25	
Education mother (20)	-.07	.11	-.08	.05	-.18	-.07	-.20	-.19	-.05	.05	-.02	-.06	-.11	-.07	-.16	-.12	.08	.20	.06	1.91

Turkish students

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
API vs. NPI (1)	.24																			
PPI vs. NPI (2)	-.20	.25																		
ER vs. NR (3)	-.02	.02	.14																	
IR vs. NR (4)	.01	-.02	-.13	.15																
Like (5)	-.02	.01	-.01	.03	.35															
Interest (6)	-.02	.01	-.02	.03	.13	.28														
Importance (7)	-.01	.04	-.03	.04	.06	.08	.22													
Task import (8)	-.01	.02	-.02	.04	.07	.08	.03	.26												
Understand (9)	-.02	.02	.01	-.01	.07	.08	.03	.04	.22											
Relate (10)	-.04	.01	-.05	.04	.04	.09	-.03	.04	.03	.36										
Structure (11)	-.03	.05	-.02	.02	-.05	.02	.00	.05	.03	.02	.53									
Problem solving (12)	.02	-.03	-.02	.03	.07	.04	-.01	.03	.05	.06	.08	.35								
No understand (13)	.01	-.03	.04	-.03	-.01	.00	-.06	.02	-.02	-.02	-.02	-.02	.43							
Difficulty understand (14)	.01	.01	.03	-.02	.01	-.07	-.02	-.03	-.05	-.04	-.11	-.03	.09	.47						
Rote learning (15)	-.05	.06	.04	-.04	-.03	-.02	-.03	.00	.02	-.03	.03	-.03	.14	.09	.41					
Easy way (16)	-.03	.01	.01	-.00	.01	.01	-.01	-.01	-.00	-.01	.01	-.07	.02	.07	.04	.35				
Ethnic comp (17)	.01	-.02	.00	.00	.01	.01	-.00	.00	.00	.01	.01	.02	.00	.01	-.00	-.01	.03			
Track (18)	-.21	.36	-.02	.02	-.22	-.06	.10	-.06	-.02	-.24	.48	-.04	-.18	-.17	.15	-.01	-.08	4.04		
Gender (19)	.00	-.03	.01	-.01	-.01	.00	-.03	.04	.01	.01	.01	.04	.01	.00	.01	-.04	.02	-.21	2.52	
Education mother (20)	-.14	.16	.01	-.04	-.13	-.06	-.04	-.04	.07	.01	.15	-.01	.05	-.07	-.00	.11	.00	.49	-.10	1.48

Appendix 2

Means and standard deviations for entire set of variables for SEM analyses in chapter four for each ethnic group separately

Variable	Dutch students		Moroccan students		Turkish students	
	<i>Mean</i>	<i>St. dev</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>St. dev</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>St. dev</i>
Ethnic composition	.28	.20	.34	.23	.27	.16
Track	5.61	1.43	4.53	1.76	4.37	2.01
Education mother	3.58	1.00	1.83	1.38	2.23	1.22
API vs. NPI	.31	.46	.40	.49	.41	.49
PPI vs. NPI	.65	.48	.52	.50	.49	.50
ER vs. NR	.13	.33	.23	.42	.16	.37
IR vs. NR	.65	.48	.72	.45	.82	.39
Understand	2.51	.54	2.66	.53	2.69	.46
Like	1.95	.68	2.29	.72	2.43	.59
Easy way	1.74	.66	1.75	.69	1.70	.59
No understand	1.67	.63	1.47	.61	1.64	.66
Interest	2.06	.54	2.28	.55	2.20	.53
Importance	2.39	.56	2.47	.59	2.67	.47
Relate	1.83	.58	2.08	.63	2.11	.60
Task importance	2.50	.59	2.62	.56	2.69	.51
Difficulty understand	1.58	.64	1.65	.65	1.95	.68
Structure	1.80	.77	1.92	.81	2.03	.73
Rote learning	1.57	.63	1.44	.62	1.64	.64
Problem solving	2.28	.61	2.21	.67	2.36	.59

Variance-covariance matrix for entire set of variables for SEM analyses in chapter five for each ethnic group separately

Dutch students

	Y1	Y2	Y3	Y4	Y5	Y6	Y7	Y8	Y9	Y10	Y11	Y12	Y13	Y14	Y15	Y16	Y17	Y18	Y19	Y20	Y21	Y22	Y23	Y24	Y25	
Y1	.34																									
Y2	.12	.42																								
Y3	.16	.07	.44																							
Y4	.05	.04	-.03	.40																						
Y5	.01	-.01	-.04	.18	.46																					
Y6	.02	-.02	-.01	.11	.14	.38																				
Y7	.07	.01	.10	-.06	-.00	-.01	.53																			
Y8	.07	.04	.11	.00	.05	.01	.19	.36																		
Y9	.05	.00	.06	.01	-.01	-.01	.09	.04	.29																	
Y10	.01	.02	.00	.03	.01	.06	.04	.05	.02	.28																
Y11	.04	.02	.04	.06	.07	.05	.06	.04	.05	.13	.42															
Y12	.01	-.02	.02	.05	.06	.07	.05	.09	.03	.16	.14	.52														
Y13	.03	-.02	.03	.05	.07	.08	.04	.07	.03	.12	.18	.06	.39													
Y14	.03	-.04	.02	.04	.11	.08	.03	.07	-.01	.05	.10	.01	.08	.46												
Y15	-.00	-.01	.02	.05	.11	.06	.01	.07	.03	.05	.04	.04	.04	.14	.29											
Y16	.02	-.01	.05	.06	.08	.06	.02	.07	-.00	.07	.06	.07	.06	.12	.10	.32										
Y17	-.04	-.03	-.01	.07	.10	.05	-.03	.03	-.01	.05	.07	.03	.05	.11	.07	.06	.35									
Y18	.09	.01	.07	.03	.03	.04	.00	.06	-.01	.03	.03	-.01	.06	.04	.07	.08	.03	.30								
Y19	.02	.01	.04	.04	.09	.03	.07	.09	.03	.04	.07	.06	.07	.12	.05	.10	.08	.06	.34							
Y20	-.06	-.05	-.01	.02	.01	.05	.02	.05	-.03	.07	.08	.11	.08	.13	.09	.03	.08	.05	.10	.59						
Y21	-.01	-.01	-.02	.05	.07	.06	-.02	.03	.06	.05	.07	.09	.06	.06	.08	.11	.02	.04	.10	.01	.38					
Educ	.03	.01	-.01	-.06	-.05	-.03	.05	-.01	-.03	-.01	-.02	-.08	-.03	.02	.00	.02	.00	.04	-.07	.13	-.09	1.0				
Track	.07	.11	.08	-.08	-.26	-.09	.04	.01	.08	-.07	-.03	-.05	-.08	-.06	-.05	-.07	-.09	.03	-.11	.18	-.07	.41	2.04			
Sex	-.02	.00	-.03	.04	.02	.01	-.03	-.03	-.00	.01	.01	.00	-.02	-.00	-.01	.01	-.03	-.05	-.01	-.11	.06	-.06	-.05	.25		
Comp	.00	.02	-.00	.01	.01	.01	-.01	-.00	.01	.02	.01	.02	.02	.00	.02	.01	.01	.01	-.00	.01	-.00	.01	-.05	-.01	.04	

Moroccan students

	Y1	Y2	Y3	Y4	Y5	Y6	Y7	Y8	Y9	Y10	Y11	Y12	Y13	Y14	Y15	Y16	Y17	Y18	Y19	Y20	Y21	Educ	Track	Sex	Comp
Y1	.45																								
Y2	.19	.57																							
Y3	.29	.26	.57																						
Y4	.08	.08	.08	.46																					
Y5	.02	-.00	.01	.27	.46																				
Y6	.07	.10	.05	.15	.12	.42																			
Y7	.14	.10	.12	.11	.08	.05	.51																		
Y8	.11	.08	.09	.07	.07	.05	.15	.31																	
Y9	.14	.16	.17	.03	-.01	.00	.14	.10	.40																
Y10	.05	.06	.04	.12	.06	.09	.05	.06	.03	.24															
Y11	.01	.06	-.04	.09	.07	.02	.12	.09	.03	.12	.43														
Y12	.02	.03	-.05	.08	.10	.11	.05	.05	-.05	.16	.14	.49													
Y13	.04	.03	.01	.08	.08	.04	.08	.07	.01	.13	.17	.13	.44												
Y14	-.03	-.03	-.04	.08	.14	.05	-.01	.00	.02	.10	.10	.13	.12	.50											
Y15	.00	-.00	-.03	.12	.11	.06	.01	.04	-.01	.09	.09	.12	.11	.18	.31										
Y16	.02	.00	-.01	.11	.12	.07	.01	.04	-.01	.11	.09	.12	.14	.13	.12	.34									
Y17	.01	-.05	-.03	.07	.12	.02	.04	.06	-.00	.08	.10	.11	.12	.14	.08	.14	.34								
Y18	.02	.01	.03	.12	.09	.10	.08	.05	.04	.10	.06	.08	.10	.08	.11	.10	.09	.31							
Y19	.06	.03	.05	.05	.02	.02	.09	.06	.09	.07	.11	.04	.08	.08	.09	.09	.07	.07	.37						
Y20	.10	.07	.09	.02	-.01	.08	.11	.03	.10	.09	.07	.11	.06	.09	.06	.10	.05	.06	.12	.62					
Y21	-.01	-.03	-.01	.07	.06	.05	.04	.06	.05	.07	.05	.07	.13	.08	.08	.08	.08	.12	.12	.11	.45				
Educ	-.02	.06	-.15	.03	-.12	-.05	-.11	-.16	.04	-.05	-.10	-.04	-.11	-.17	-.05	-.20	-.16	-.03	.09	.04	-.02	1.97			
Track	.20	.23	.30	-.14	-.08	-.09	.08	.11	.25	-.07	-.11	-.27	-.10	-.14	-.16	-.07	-.10	.03	.06	.24	.13	.11	3.27		
Sex	-.05	-.01	-.06	-.03	-.02	.02	-.01	-.04	-.01	.01	.04	.03	.02	-.00	-.01	-.01	-.05	-.04	.03	-.02	-.01	.05	-.08	.25	
Comp	.01	.00	.01	.00	-.01	.02	.02	.00	.01	.02	.02	.02	.00	-.01	-.01	-.01	.00	.01	-.01	-.01	.02	-.02	.02	-.00	.05

Appendix 4

Means and standard deviations for entire set of variables for SEM analyses in Chapter five.

Items	Native Dutch		Moroccans	
	Mean	St.dev.	Mean	St.dev.
Y1. To stand up for yourself [standup]	3.33	.59	3.43	.67
Y2. To have fun [fun]	3.48	.65	3.05	.76
Y3. To have an opinion of one's own [opinion]	3.34	.66	3.24	.75
Y4. To be polite and well-mannered [polite]	2.80	.63	3.06	.68
Y5. To behave well in school [behave]	2.57	.68	2.88	.68
Y6. To obey your parents [listen]	2.89	.61	3.35	.65
Y7. Lessons in which the students have to express themselves orally, I like the most. [voice]	1.96	.73	2.25	.71
Y8. I like when we have the possibility of stating our own opinions in class. [speak]	2.50	.60	2.62	.54
Y9. I like tasks in which I can decide myself how to deal with it. [decide]	2.53	.54	2.45	.63
Y10. I want my parents to be proud of my school results [proud]	2.56	.53	2.74	.49
Y11. I like being told by the teacher that I did something good [approve]	2.30	.65	2.43	.65
Y12. I work hard in school in order not to disappoint my parents [letdown]	2.09	.72	2.39	.70
Y13. I like the teacher to notice that I worked hard [praise]	2.38	.62	2.40	.67
Y14. I like most courses we study in school. [like]	1.95	.68	2.29	.72
Y15. I am almost always interested in the contents of the lessons [interest]	2.06	.54	2.28	.55
Y16. It is important to me to keep up with the lessons [keepup]	2.39	.56	2.47	.59
Y17. Most things we learn in school are important to me [important]	2.50	.59	2.62	.56
Y18. When learning something new I try to really understand what it is about [understand]	2.51	.54	2.66	.53
Y19. I try to understand my lessons by looking how things relate to each other [relate]	1.83	.58	2.08	.63
Y20. When studying I often make use of drawings or summaries [draw]	1.80	.77	1.92	.81
Y21. When making exercises I want to find the solution by myself [findself]	2.28	.61	2.21	.67

Appendix 5

Questionnaire

Background variables:

- Are you a boy or a girl?
(1) boy (2) girl

- When were you born?

- Has your mother been to school in another country than the Netherlands?
(1) no (2) yes
If so, what is the highest qualification that she obtained?
(1) no qualification, she cannot read or write
(2) no qualification, she can read and write
(3) primary school
(4) lower levels of secondary education
(5) higher levels of secondary education
(6) tertiary education

- Has your mother been to school in the Netherlands?
(1) no (2) yes
If so, what is the highest qualification that she obtained?
(1) no qualification
(2) primary school
(3) VBO
(4) MAVO
(5) HAVO
(6) VWO/gymnasium
(7) MBO
(8) HBO
(9) Universiteit

- How do you really feel deep down inside?
(1) completely Dutch
(2) mostly Dutch
(3) as much Dutch as Moroccan/Turkish/Assyrian
(4) mostly Moroccan/Turkish/Assyrian
(5) completely Moroccan/Turkish/Assyrian
(6) not really Moroccan/Turkish/Assyrian and not really Dutch

- Where did you go to primary school?
(1) completely in my country of birth
(2) for the most part in my country of birth
(3) for the most part in the Netherlands
(4) completely in the Netherlands

- Are you the eldest of the children at home?
(1) no (2) yes
- What school advice did you receive at the end of primary school?
(1) VBO
(2) MAVO
(3) HAVO
(4) VWO/gymnasium
(5) Other:

Acculturation and ethnic relations items:

- If you have brothers or sisters, in what language do you usually communicate?
(1) Mostly Dutch
(2) Mostly Turkish/ Moroccan/ Arab/ Aramese
(3) Other language
(4) I don't have brothers or sisters
- If someone says something negative about Turks/Moroccans/Assyrians do you feel personally hurt?
(1) never
(2) most of the times
(3) sometimes
(4) always
- Do you think that Turks/Moroccans/Assyrians should maintain their ethnic culture in school?
(1) not at all
(2) in part
(3) completely
- Do you think that Turks/Moroccans/Assyrians should adopt Dutch culture in school?
(1) not at all
(2) in part
(3) completely
- Do you think that Turks/Moroccans/Assyrians should maintain their ethnic culture at home
(1) not at all
(2) in part
(3) completely
- Do you think that Turks/Moroccans/Assyrians should adopt Dutch culture in school?
(1) not at all
(2) in part
(3) completely

In this school Turkish/Moroccan/Assyrian students mostly belong to separate peer groups

- (1) completely disagree
 - (2) mostly disagree
 - (3) mostly agree
 - (4) completely agree
- If something goes wrong in this school, almost always Moroccan/Turkish/Assyrian students are involved
 - (1) completely disagree
 - (2) mostly disagree
 - (3) mostly agree
 - (4) completely agree
 - Turks/Moroccans/Assyrians differ so much from native Dutch that those group will never be able to fully understand each other
 - (1) completely disagree
 - (2) mostly disagree
 - (3) mostly agree
 - (4) completely agree
 - In comparison with native Dutch students, Turks/Moroccans/Assyrians are
 - (1) equally welcome in my school
 - (2) somewhat less welcome in my school
 - (3) much less welcome in my school
 - In comparison with native Dutch youth, it is
 - (1) just as hard
 - (2) a little harder
 - (3) much harderfor Moroccans/Turks/Assyrians to get a good job
 - Do you think that it is important that your social contacts in school are not only with co- ethnics?
 - (1) not important
 - (2) a little important
 - (3) very important.

School evaluation items:

- What do your parents think of your school results?
 - (1) that I work hard enough
 - (2) that I should try harder
- What would your parents think if you get a bad grade?
 - (1) that the subject is too difficult for me
 - (2) that I did not work hard enough

- How much do you like to go to school?
(1) not at all
(2) a little
(3) very much
- How well do you feel at home at school?
(1) not at all
(2) a little
(3) very much
- Do you feel that most lessons are explained plainly?
(1) not at all
(2) a little
(3) very much
- Do you think that most teachers are strict?
(1) not at all
(2) a little
(3) very much
- Most teachers are understanding when I have a personal problem
(1) not at all
(2) a little
(3) very much

Academic goals:

- How many Moroccans/Turks/Assyrians do you know who have a successful career in spite of having failed or left school?
(1) nobody
(2) few persons
(3) many persons
- How many Moroccans/Turks/Assyrians do you know who are successful in their career because they have done well in school?
(1) nobody
(2) few persons
(3) many persons
- I like most courses we study in school
(1) not true for me
(2) a little true for me
(3) completely true for me
- I am almost always interested in the contents of my lessons
(1) not true for me
(2) a little true for me
(3) completely true for me

- It is important to me to keep up with the lessons
 - (1) not true for me
 - (2) a little true for me
 - (3) completely true for me

- Most things we learn in school are important to me
 - (1) not true for me
 - (2) a little true for me
 - (3) completely true for me

- Lessons in which the students have to express themselves orally, I like the most
 - (1) not true for me
 - (2) a little true for me
 - (3) completely true for me

- I like it when we have the possibility of stating our own opinions in class
 - (1) not true for me
 - (2) a little true for me
 - (3) completely true for me

- I like tasks in which I can decide myself how to deal with it
 - (1) not true for me
 - (2) a little true for me
 - (3) completely true for me

- I want my parents to be proud of my school results
 - (1) not true for me
 - (2) a little true for me
 - (3) completely true for me

- I like being told by the teacher that I did something good
 - (1) not true for me
 - (2) a little true for me
 - (3) completely true for me

- I work hard in school in order not to disappoint my parents
 - (1) not true for me
 - (2) a little true for me
 - (3) completely true for me

- I like the teacher to notice that I worked hard
 - (1) not true for me
 - (2) a little true for me
 - (3) completely true for me

- I study to prepare myself for a future life project
 - (1) not important
 - (2) a little important
 - (3) very important

- I do my school work because it is useful to get a job
 - (1) not important
 - (2) a little important
 - (3) very important
- I need my diploma to improve my family's standard of living
 - (1) not important
 - (2) a little important
 - (3) very important

Learning strategies

- When I learn something new I try to really understand what it is about
 - 1) not true for me
 - (2) a little true for me
 - (3) completely true for me
- I try to understand my lessons by looking how things relate to each other
 - 1) not true for me
 - (2) a little true for me
 - (3) completely true for me
- When studying I often make use of drawings or summaries
 - 1) not true for me
 - (2) a little true for me
 - (3) completely true for me
- When making exercises I want to find the solution by myself
 - 1) not true for me
 - (2) a little true for me
 - (3) completely true for me
- I often read my lessons without really understanding what it is about
 - (1) not true for me
 - (2) a little true for me
 - (3) completely true for me
- I often have difficulties in understanding the meaning of words
 - (1) not true for me
 - (2) a little true for me
 - (3) completely true for me
- If a task is too difficult, I only make the easy exercises
 - (1) not true for me
 - (2) a little true for me
 - (3) completely true for me

- Most often I need a lot of time to rehearse or to copy my lessons
 - (1) not true for me
 - (2) a little true for me
 - (3) completely true for me

- Some students wait for others to answer a question in class instead of thinking for themselves
 - (1) I never behave like this
 - (2) I sometimes behave like this
 - (3) I often behave like this

- Some students pretend to think about the solution very deeply, but in fact their mind has wandered off
 - (1) I never behave like this
 - (2) I sometimes behave like this
 - (3) I often behave like this

- Some students make up excuses so as they don't have to work for school
 - (1) I never behave like this
 - (2) I sometimes behave like this
 - (3) I often behave like this

- Some students do not tell their classmates that they got a good grade, in order not to make them nervous
 - (1) I never behave like this
 - (2) I sometimes behave like this
 - (3) I often behave like this

- Some students think about other things in the class, instead of listening to the teacher
 - (1) I never behave like this
 - (2) I sometimes behave like this
 - (3) I often behave like this

- Some students are looking for trouble in class, because they find the lessons boring
 - (1) I never behave like this
 - (2) I sometimes behave like this
 - (3) I often behave like this

- Some students are so bored with the lessons that they get angry in class
 - (1) I never behave like this
 - (2) I sometimes behave like this
 - (3) I often behave like this

- Some students go out late the night before they have to pass an exam
 - (1) I never behave like this
 - (2) I sometimes behave like this
 - (3) I often behave like this

- Some students pretend to be less smart than they really are, so the teacher will be more easily satisfied with the quality of their work
 - (1) I never behave like this
 - (2) I sometimes behave like this
 - (3) I often behave like this

- Some students try to guess the right solution for a problem, instead of really thinking about it
 - (1) I never behave like this
 - (2) I sometimes behave like this
 - (3) I often behave like this

- Some students let their friends keep them from doing their homework
 - (1) I never behave like this
 - (2) I sometimes behave like this
 - (3) I often behave like this

- Some students tell everybody that they are not interested in school
 - (1) I never behave like this
 - (2) I sometimes behave like this
 - (3) I often behave like this

Personal goals:

- To stand up for yourself
 - (1) not so important
 - (2) a little important
 - (3) rather important
 - (4) very important

- To have fun
 - (1) not so important
 - (2) a little important
 - (3) rather important
 - (4) very important

- To have an opinion of one's own
 - (1) not so important
 - (2) a little important
 - (3) rather important
 - (4) very important

- To be polite and well-mannered
 - (1) not so important
 - (2) a little important
 - (3) rather important
 - (4) very important

- To behave well in school
 - (1) not so important
 - (2) a little important
 - (3) rather important
 - (4) very important

- To obey your parents
 - (1) not so important
 - (2) a little important
 - (3) rather important
 - (4) very important

Notes

Notes chapter 1

- i e.g. call for ever stricter immigration policies, complaints about (perceived) failures of minorities to integrate or assimilate into the dominant culture.
- ii It must be recognized that studies also consider the opposite effect: the way structural factors (e.g. schooling, participation in the labour market) impacts on socio-cultural positions (e.g. Veenman, 1995).
- iii In 1999 lower levels of vocational and non-vocational tracks were merged into the Preparatory Secondary Vocational Training (VMBO). The data was gathered in 1997 and therefore still distinguishes between the lower levels of vocational and non-vocational educational tracks.
- iv The Center for Statistics Netherlands uses the term 'non-western minorities' to refer to those persons who are themselves (or one of whose parents is) born in Africa, Asia (except for Japan and Indonesia), South-America, Latin America or Turkey.
- v Initially, this higher position could also be attributed to higher school advices at the end of primary school that were given to minority students (Tesser, Merens, van Praag & Iedema, 1999). However, for students who began secondary school in 1999 this trend of 'over-advicing' was no longer present (Herweyer, 2003).
- vi No figures were available for native Dutch students for the year 2002.
- vii Both studies involve children of asylumseekers. Therefore there are differences between the children in these studies and the settled Suryoye community in terms of duration of stay, migration generation and juridical status.
- viii In primary schools about 450.000 students (28%) receive some sort of weight. Most of them are native Dutch pupils. In secondary schools about 72.000 students are appointed a cumi-status.
- ix Principal investigator was Karen Phalet.

Notes chapter 2

- x Only the results of Model 2 are reported, as all significant effects in Model 1 are successfully replicated with a more restrictive variant of the same response variable in Model 2.
- xi Students are placed in higher or lower tracks of secondary education on the basis of their school advice at the end of primary school. The advice combines students' test scores on the nation-wide Cito test with teacher estimates of academic competence (see Koeslag & Dronkers, 1994).
- xii The distinction between one and two-dimensional acculturation models is not to be confused with Gordon's (1964) conception of multidimensionality, which refers to the varying rates of assimilation in specific socio-cultural domains.
- xiii Although the family context variables have no significant direct effect on educational progress the proportion of explained variance (R^2) has increased by .10. As the Table shows, some of the effects that were significant have become

stronger, although others are weaker. Furthermore, the family variables may have an influence on educational progress, but are no longer significant after the preceding variables.

Notes chapter three

- xiv In this study it is assumed that perceived discrimination has an effect on school engagement. However, the perception of discrimination may itself be affected by the dependent variable.
- xv The evaluation of formal fit is complemented by information from three informal fit measures (cf. Schumacher & Lomax, 1996): Joreskog and Sorbom's (1993) Goodness of Fit Index ($GFI > .90$ indicates a good fit); Bentler's (1990) robust Comparative Fit Index ($CFI > .85$ is seen as a good fit) and Browne and Cudeck's (1993) Root Mean Squared Error of Approximation ($RMSEA < .05$ indicates a good fit).

Notes chapter four

- xvi The same analysis was performed for each ethnic group separately. A similar class structure of interethnic relations was found in all groups.
- xvii Student reports have been checked against self-reported levels of education in face-to-face interviews with mothers.
- xviii Getting a college degree was not included as a relevant future goal in this study, because the Dutch school systems precludes access to university for students in vocational schools, and because very few Turkish or Moroccan minority students go to university in the Netherlands –from 3% in 1995-1996 up to 6% in 2001-2002 (Herweijer, 2003).
- xix All variables were inspected for violation of the assumption of normality. None of the distributions of the variables used in the analyses departed substantially from normality, as indicated by skewness and kurtosis statistics (all smaller than |1.5| (West, Finch & Curran, 1995).
- xx Both direct and indirect effects of perceived instrumentality and future goals on learning strategies are tested. Causal effects that are not significant at the .05 level in at least one group are set to zero. The cross-cultural equivalence of the general motivational model is seen to be fully supported, if the fit of a multi-group model with invariant causal effects (causal invariance) is not significantly worse (on the basis of a χ^2 difference test) than the fit of a less restrictive model where causal effects are free to vary between groups. If one or more causal paths are significantly different between groups, there is only partial causal invariance, hence partial equivalence across cultures (Byrne, 1998).
- xxi Apart from the main effects of future goals, we also found an interaction effect of ethnic group by gender ($F(2,348)=3.55, p=.03$): native Dutch girls use more surface level learning in comparison with native Dutch boys, whereas Turkish boys use more surface level learning than Turkish girls. Also, an effect of school track was found on task motivation ($F(1,347)=6.17, p=.014$): students in higher tracks report less task motivation than students in lower tracks.

- xxii Cross-cultural equivalence is considered supported if the fit of a multi-group model with invariant factor loadings (factorial invariance) is not significantly worse (on the basis of a χ^2 difference test) than the fit of a less restrictive baseline model, where factor loadings are free to vary between groups (Byrne, 1998).
- xxiii Model evaluation is based on the formal χ^2 test. The evaluation of formal fit is complemented by information from three informal fit measures (cf. Schumacher & Lomax, 1996): Joreskog and Sorbom's (1993) Goodness of Fit Index (GFI > .90 indicates a good fit); Bentler's (1990) robust Comparative Fit Index (CFI > .85 is seen as a good fit); and (3) Browne and Cudeck's (1993) Root Mean Squared Error of Approximation (RMSEA < .05 indicates a good fit).

Notes chapter 5

- xxiv Student reports have been checked against self-reported levels of education in face-to-face interviews with mothers.
- xxv Both direct and indirect effects of personal goals on achievement orientations and academic engagement are tested. Causal effects that are not significant at the .05 level in at least one group are set to zero. The cross-cultural equivalence of the general motivational model is seen to be fully supported, if the fit of a multi-group model with invariant causal effects (causal invariance) is not significantly worse (on the basis of a χ^2 difference test) than the fit of a less restrictive model where causal effects are free to vary between groups. If one or more causal paths are significantly different between groups, there is only partial causal invariance, hence partial equivalence across cultures (Byrne, 1998).
- xxvi Model evaluation is based on the formal χ^2 test. The evaluation of formal fit is complemented by information from three informal fit measures (cf. Schumacher & Lomax, 1996): Joreskog and Sorbom's (1993) Goodness of Fit Index (GFI > .90 indicates a good fit); Bentler's (1990) robust Comparative Fit Index (CFI > .85 is seen as a good fit); and (3) Browne and Cudeck's (1993) Root Mean Squared Error of Approximation (RMSEA < .05 indicates a good fit).

Notes chapter 6

- xxvii It may be that switching requires great personal skills: one must be able to detect which culture is favored in each context, and consequently to match acculturation orientations. This may require cognitive skills, and in that sense there may be a self-selection in academic achievement: those who have the cognitive skills to switch between context, may also have the cognitive skills to excel in school.

Samenvatting in het Nederlands

De schoolprestaties van allochtone scholieren in het voortgezet onderwijs zijn de laatste jaren verbeterd, desondanks is er nog steeds sprake van een achterstand op autochtone leerlingen. Zo hebben Turkse en Marokkaanse scholieren tussen 1994 en 2000 een hoger schooladvies gekregen, maar voor deze groepen is het advies nog steeds lager dan het advies dat autochtone scholieren krijgen (Herweijer, 2003). Ook het voortijdig schoolverlaten is onder Turkse en Marokkaanse leerlingen gedaald tussen 1998 en 2002, maar het percentage voortijdig schoolverlaters ligt onder deze groepen nog steeds vele malen hoger dan onder autochtone leerlingen (Herweijer, 2003).

De onderwijsachterstand van allochtone leerlingen is in sociologisch onderzoek grotendeels verklaard vanuit structurele factoren, zoals het opleidingsniveau van de ouders. De onverklaarde variantie wordt veelal in verband gebracht met sociaal-culturele factoren, zonder dat duidelijk is hoe deze factoren precies samenhangen met de schoolresultaten van allochtone leerlingen. In deze studie is een poging gedaan dit verband inzichtelijk te maken door een microperspectief te kiezen. Er wordt ingezoomd op de processen die zich afspelen tussen de etnische herkomst van de leerlingen en hun schoolresultaten. Meer specifiek gaat het dan om sociaal-culturele factoren als bijvoorbeeld acculturatiehoudingen enerzijds en om taakmotivatie, leerstrategieën en onderwijsvoortgang anderzijds (kortweg de 'schoolse inspanningen' van leerlingen genoemd). Onderzoek naar motivaties en leerstrategieën van leerlingen heeft voornamelijk plaatsgevonden onder westerse studenten uit meerderheidsgroepen. Aangezien (Nederlandse) scholen steeds meer een multi-etnisch karakter hebben is het van belang te weten of de inzichten uit dit onderzoek ook van toepassing zijn op niet-westerse scholieren en minderheden.

Concreet luiden de twee vraagstellingen die in deze dissertatie centraal staan:

- (1) Wat is het effect van sociaal-culturele factoren op de schoolse inspanningen van leerlingen?*
- (2) In hoeverre zijn de processen van motivatie en leerstrategieën cross-cultureel valide?*

De studie richt zich op drie groepen leerlingen uit minderheidsgroepen en een controlegroep van Nederlandse scholieren in het voortgezet onderwijs. Het gaat om voornamelijk tweede generatie Turkse, Marokkaanse en Suryoye leerlingen. Turken en Marokkanen vormen één van de grootste minderheidsgroepen in Nederland. Zij zijn tussen 1960 en 1980 als arbeidsmigranten naar Nederland gekomen en hebben zich via gezinshereniging en gezinsvorming blijvend in Nederland gevestigd. De Suryoye zijn een groep Syrisch Orthodoxe Christenen, die oorspronkelijk grotendeels afkomstig is uit Zuid-Oost Turkije. In ongeveer dezelfde periode waarin de Turkse en Marokkaanse migranten naar Nederland kwamen, zijn de Suryoye de etnische spanningen in hun herkomstgebieden ontvlucht.

Marokkaanse, Turkse en Suryoye leerlingen in deze studie zijn voornamelijk afkomstig uit de tweede generatie of hebben een belangrijk deel van hun schoolse

leven in Nederland doorgebracht. In deze zin is er sprake van een gemengde westerse of individualistische en niet-westerse of collectivistische culturele achtergrond. Kort gezegd stelt individualisme het individu centraal als sociale en morele eenheid, terwijl collectivisme benadrukt dat individuen ingebed zijn in groepen (Triandis, 1995). Ten opzichte van autochtone Nederlandse klasgenoten kan verwacht worden dat de socialisatie van Turkse, Marokkaanse en Suryoye jongeren een meer collectivistisch karakter heeft (Phalet & Schonpflug, 2001), zodat er in deze zin sprake is van culturele verschillen.

De eerste onderzoeksvraag naar het effect van sociaal-culturele factoren op schoolse inspanningen is in deze studie op twee manieren benaderd. Ten eerste zijn acculturatiehoudingen van leerlingen en hun percepties van interetnische relaties in samenhang met hun schoolse inspanningen onderzocht. Ten tweede zijn persoonlijke doelen van leerlingen die verband houden met individualisme-collectivisme gerelateerd aan prestatiedoelen en schoolse inspanningen.

De tweede onderzoeksvraag stelt cross-culturele validering van motivatie en leerstrategieën centraal. In het algemeen refereren we aan de redenen die leerlingen hebben om te leren en te presteren op school als prestatiedoelen. Deze doelen kunnen gericht zijn op de toekomst (toekomstdoelen), of verschillende doelen in het heden nastreven (bijvoorbeeld sociale of individuele motieven benadrukken). Taakmotivatie is een specifieke vorm van een prestatiedoel en verwijst naar de mate waarin leerlingen schooltaken waardevol, belangrijk en interessant vinden (Pintrich & De Groot, 1990). Leerstrategieën verwijzen naar cognitieve, metacognitieve en gedragsstrategieën die in meerdere of mindere mate effectief zijn voor leren. In het kader van de cross-culturele validering van motivatie en leerstrategieën (onderzoeksvraag 2) werden taakmotivatie, diep leren en oppervlakkig leren succesvol gemeten voor Turkse, Marokkaanse, Suryoye en autochtone Nederlandse scholieren. In alle onderzochte groepen kan dus een onderscheid gemaakt worden tussen motivatie en leren. In hoofdstuk 4 wordt bovendien de mediërende relatie van taakmotivatie tussen toekomstdoelen en leerstrategieën over culturen heen gerepliceerd. Daarnaast blijken prestatiedoelen over culturen heen dezelfde effecten op taakmotivatie en leerstrategieën te hebben.

Acculturatiehoudingen

Acculturatie is het proces dat plaatsvindt wanneer culturen gedurende langere tijd met elkaar in aanraking komen (Berry & Sam, 1997). In dit onderzoek worden acculturatiehoudingen bestudeerd aan de hand van twee vragen (1) de mate waarin minderheden culturele kenmerken van de minderheidsgroep wensen te behouden; (2) de mate waarin zij zich de cultuur van de ontvangende samenleving eigen willen maken.

Deze vragen worden, afhankelijk van de context, verschillend beantwoord. In het publieke domein (bijvoorbeeld op school) hechten minderheden vaak meer waarde aan cultuuraanpassing, terwijl in het privé-domein (bijvoorbeeld thuis) meer waarde wordt toegekend aan cultuurbehoud (Phalet, van Lotringen & Entzinger, 2000). Deze differentiatie naar context geldt ook voor de acceptatie van acculturatiehoudingen van minderheden door de autochtone meerderheidsbevolking, zij het dat deze laatste in alle contexten meer waarde hechten aan cultuuraanpassing. In het

publieke domein staat een meerderheid van autochtone Nederlanders bijvoorbeeld assimilatie en integratie voor, terwijl een meerderheid van Turken en Marokkanen voor separatie of integratie kiest (Phalet, van Lotringen & Entzinger, 2000).

Gezien de conflicterende voorkeuren voor acculturatiehoudingen vanuit etnische gemeenschappen en de autochtone bevolking werd verwacht dat het adaptief is voor allochtone jongeren om acculturatiehoudingen per context aan te passen. Cultuurbehoud in de thuiscontext zou het mobiliseren van familiale ondersteuning vergemakkelijken en daarmee een positieve invloed hebben op schoolse inspanningen. En aangezien cross-cultureel contact vaak samengaat met het opdoen van vaardigheden die van belang zijn voor het functioneren in de dominante samenleving zou cultuur*aanpassing* in de schoolcontext een positief effect sorteren. In hoofdstuk twee wordt inderdaad gevonden dat de meest succesvolle scholieren (in termen van schoolse vooruitgang) hun acculturatiestrategieën afstemmen op de context. Echter, in de privé-sfeer (thuis) zijn betere resultaten op school niet zozeer verbonden aan cultuurbehoud, maar aan het afstand nemen van de Nederlandse cultuur. Dit kan erop wijzen dat ondersteuning van familie te maken heeft met het bewaken van etnische grenzen. Op school leidt een combinatie van cultuurbehoud en cultuur*aanpassing* tot de beste resultaten.

De rol van acculturatiehoudingen in de schoolcontext is verder onderzocht in hoofdstuk 3. Hier is een nieuwe en spaarzame typologie van interetnische relaties ontwikkeld door acculturatiehoudingen van minderheden te combineren met ervaren discriminatie en acceptatie door autochtonen. Met gebruik van latente klasse analyse zijn twee typen uit de data gedistilleerd: het separatietype en het integratietype. Jongeren behorend tot het separatietype prefereren op school de etnische cultuur boven de meerderheidscultuur en ervaren een lage acceptatie door autochtone Nederlanders. Jongeren behorend tot het integratietype hechten minder waarde (dan jongeren van het separatietype) aan behoud van de etnische cultuur en richten zich sterker op de meerderheidscultuur in school. Daarnaast ervaren zij een grotere mate van acceptatie (minder discriminatie op school en op de arbeidsmarkt, en positievere interetnische relaties). Jongeren in het separatietype identificeren zich meer met de etnische groep en hebben een grotere voorkeur voor contact met jongeren van dezelfde etnische achtergrond. Daarnaast blijkt dat jongeren behorend tot het integratietype effectievere leerstrategieën hanteren. Er is echter geen verschil gevonden tussen beide typen op schoolse taakmotivatie en op hun onderwijsposities.

Concluderend kan gesteld worden dat acculturatiehoudingen de leerstrategieën van minderheden beïnvloeden. Een combinatie van cultuurbehoud en cultuur*aanpassing* (integratie) bevordert effectief leren op school, meer dan separatie of eenzijdig cultuurbehoud.

Prestatiedoelen en schoolse inspanningen van leerlingen

In hoofdstuk 4 en 5 is de rol van prestatiedoelen onderzocht. Onderzoek naar prestatiedoelen van leerlingen heeft zich met name gericht op doelen van leerlingen in het hier-en-nu, en heeft daardoor weinig oog gehad voor doelen die verder in de toekomst liggen. Daarnaast is er weinig aandacht geweest voor sociale redenen van leerlingen om te leren en te presteren.

De motivationele voordelen van doelen die zich afspelen in de toekomst vormen het centrale thema van hoofdstuk 4. Hierin is onderzocht of het hebben van toekomstdoelen voor zowel minderheidsleerlingen als autochtone leerlingen positieve effecten zou hebben op schoolse motivatie en leerstrategieën. Toekomstdoelen kunnen intern regulerend zijn, wanneer zij bijvoorbeeld zelf gekozen zijn, of extern regulerend, wanneer er bijvoorbeeld sprake is van beloningen of externe druk. Intern regulerende toekomstdoelen zouden een grotere motivationele kracht bezitten, aangezien zij verbonden zijn met autonome betrokkenheid in een taak (vgl. Deci & Ryan, 2000). Daarnaast kan er een motivationele kracht uitgaan van toekomstdoelen wanneer scholieren de leerstof op een instrumentele manier in verband brengen met de te bereiken doelen in de toekomst (De Volder & Lens, 1982). Autochtone en allochtone (Turkse en Marokkaanse) scholieren die een positieve instrumentele relatie zien tussen doelen in de toekomst en wat zij moeten doen voor school en van wie het schoolwerk intern gereguleerd wordt door doelen in de toekomst rapporteren inderdaad een grotere motivatie voor schoolse taken en gebruiken meer effectieve leerstrategieën.

In hoofdstuk 5 is aandacht besteed aan de sociale redenen die scholieren kunnen hebben om te leren en te presteren op school. Het gaat hierbij om redenen zoals het krijgen van erkenning en goedkeuring van ouders en leerkrachten (Urduan & Maehr, 1995). Deze sociale redenen om te presteren zouden belangrijker zijn in niet-westerse en minderheidsculturen, omdat sociale verplichtingen aan familie en autoriteitsfiguren via deze weg vervuld zouden kunnen worden (Iyengar & Lepper, 1999). In toonaangevende motivatie theorieën, zoals doeltheorie (bijv. Maehr & Nicholls, 1980) staat een individuele benadering centraal, waarin autonomie, eigen keuzen maken en zelf beslissen als belangrijkste drijfveren worden gezien voor (westerse) leerlingen om te leren en te presteren op school. Uit de studie in hoofdstuk 5 blijkt echter dat autochtone Nederlandse leerlingen op dezelfde manier gemotiveerd kunnen worden door sociale doelen als Marokkaanse leerlingen. Over culturen heen worden leerlingen die autonomie belangrijk vinden meer gemotiveerd door individuele redenen om te presteren; terwijl leerlingen die conformisme belangrijk vinden hun motivatie voor school putten uit zowel individuele als sociale redenen om te presteren. Individuele prestatiedoelen zijn in beide groepen verbonden aan het gebruik van effectief leren, terwijl sociale prestatiedoelen zowel taakmotivatie als effectief leren bevorderen. Persoonlijke doelen, zoals autonomie en conformisme, die vaak verbonden worden met culturele verschillen, werken op deze manier dus door op leren en motivatie voor schoolse taken.

Conclusies

In deze dissertatie stonden twee onderzoeksvragen centraal: een eerste vraag naar het effect van sociaal-culturele factoren op schoolse inspanningen van leerlingen, en een vraag naar de cross-culturele validering van motivatie en leerstrategieën. In meerdere culturen kunnen we motivatie en leerstrategieën als concepten van elkaar onderscheiden, en kunnen theoretisch verwachte relaties ertussen aan elkaar gelijk worden gesteld. Daarnaast blijkt dat sociaal-culturele factoren een invloed hebben op schoolse inspanningen van leerlingen. Acculturatiehoudingen van minderheidsleerlingen hebben adaptieve effecten op schoolse vooruitgang wanneer zij afgestemd zijn op de context. In de schoolcontext

heeft een combinatie van cultuurbehoud en cultuuraanpassing een positief effect op de leerstrategieën van leerlingen. Autonomie en conformisme, concepten die in verband worden gebracht met culturele verschillen, hebben een effect op motivatie en leren via individuele en sociale prestatiedoelen. Sociaal-culturele factoren hebben daarmee inderdaad een effect op schoolse inspanningen van leerlingen. De vraag blijft of hiermee het etnische residu (de onverklaarde variantie) uit sociologische studies beter verklaard is. Uit deze dissertatie blijkt dat culturele verschillen op zichzelf onvoldoende redenen zijn om achterstand van allochtone leerlingen te verklaren. Een separatistische acculturatiehouding en de ervaring van lage acceptatie door de ontvangende samenleving hebben wel negatieve effecten op schoolse inspanningen van leerlingen. Waargenomen discriminatie kan daarmee een belangrijke demotiverende factor zijn voor allochtone scholieren. Tot slot is een belangrijke bevinding van deze dissertatie dat eenzijdige culturele aanpassing van leerlingen niet zonder meer tot succes op school leidt. In publieke contexten, zoals op school, worden de beste resultaten behaald door een combinatie van cultuurbehoud en cultuuraanpassing.

Curriculum Vitae

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Mijn middelbare schoolopleiding heb ik genoten aan het Utrechts Stedelijk Gymnasium. Na mijn eindexamen heb ik een jaar in Frankrijk (Brie Comte Robert) gewerkt als au-pair. In 1994 begon ik aan de studie Algemene Sociale Wetenschappen (ASW) aan de Universiteit Utrecht, en in 1997 startte ik daar met de afstudeerrichtingen 'Culturen en Minderheden' en 'Vrouwenstudies'. Mijn doctoraal behaalde ik in 2000 en direct daarop trad ik bij ASW in dienst als assistent in opleiding (aio) op het project 'normatieve integratie en schoolsucces van allochtone jongeren'. Dit project werd gefinancierd door NWO in het kader van het onderzoeksprogramma 'de Multiculturele en Pluriforme Samenleving'. In 2004 werd ik aangesteld als universitair docent aan dezelfde vakgroep ASW, een functie die ik tot op heden vervul.

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