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The interplay between values, acculturation and adaptation: A study on Turkish-Belgian adolescents

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Although there is a bulk of evidence for the relations between values, acculturation, and adaptation, the interrelations between these key concepts of the acculturation literature have not yet been investigated simultaneously. The present study proposes a model connecting value orientations (separatedness and conformity) to adaptation outcomes (sociocultural and psychological). Furthermore, this link was hypothesized to be strengthened by an indirect relationship where acculturation strategies (culture maintenance and culture adoption) would relate certain values to certain aspects of adaptation. The model was tested on 287 Turkish-Belgian adolescents with an average age of 16.27 years ($SD = 1.86$ years). SEM analysis confirmed the hypothesized indirect links underlining the crucial role of acculturation strategies as mediators in the adaptation process. Separatedness predicted sociocultural adaptation via culture adoption whereas conformity impacted psychological adaptation via culture maintenance. In addition, separatedness predicted poorer psychological adaptation. Results were discussed with reference to inverse benefits and costs of individualism and collectivism.

Malgré la masse de l'évidence concernant les relations entre les valeurs, l'acculturation et l'adaptation, les interrelations entre ces concepts-clé de la littérature n'ont pas été investiguées simultanément. La présente étude propose un modèle qui connecte les orientations de valeurs (différentiation et conformisme) aux résultats de l'adaptation (socioculturels et psychologiques). De plus, nous avons émis l'hypothèse que ce lien serait renforcé par une relation indirecte où les stratégies d'acculturation (maintien de la culture et adoption de la culture) relieraient certaines valeurs à certains aspects de l'adaptation. Le modèle a été testé sur 287 adolescents turco-belges ayant un âge moyen de 16.27 ans ($SD = 1.86$ ans). Une analyse de modélisation par équation structurelle a confirmé les hypothèses de liens indirects sous-jacents au rôle crucial des stratégies d'acculturation comme étant des médiateurs dans le processus d'adaptation. La différenciation a prédit l'adaptation socioculturelle à travers l'adoption de la culture alors que le conformisme a eu un impact sur l'adaptation psychologique à travers le maintien de la culture. De plus, la différenciation a prédit une plus faible adaptation psychologique. Les résultats sont discutés en référence aux bénéfices inverses et aux coûts de l'individualisme et du collectivisme.

A pesar de la existencia de una gran cantidad de datos sobre las relaciones entre valores, aculturación y adaptación, las relaciones entre estos conceptos clave de la literatura sobre aculturación no se han investigado simultáneamente. El presente estudio propone un modelo que conecta la orientación de los valores (separación y conformidad) a los resultados de la adaptación (socioculturales y psicológicos). Es más, se sugirió como hipótesis que este vínculo se fortalecería mediante la relación indirecta en la que las estrategias de aculturación (mantenimiento de la cultura y adopción de la cultura) relacionaran ciertos valores con ciertos aspectos de la adaptación. Se sometió a prueba el modelo en 287 adolescentes turco-belgas con una edad promedio de 16.27 años ($DE = 1.86$ años). El modelo de ecuaciones estructurales confirmó la hipótesis de que los vínculos indirectos, subyacentes al papel crucial que desempeñan las estrategias de aculturación, fungen como

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mediadores en el proceso de adaptación. La separación predijo la adaptación sociocultural mediante la adopción de la cultura, en tanto que la conformidad impactó la adaptación psicológica mediante el mantenimiento de la cultura. Además, la separación predijo una adaptación psicológica más precaria. Los resultados se discuten con respecto a los beneficios y costes invertidos del individualismo y el colectivismo.

Research on acculturation has revealed that immigrants with different values tend to differ in their acculturation strategies, i.e., in their orientations towards heritage and host cultures (Phalet & Swyngedouw, 2004; Ryder, Alden, & Paulhus, 2000) and adaptation to migration (Phalet & Hagendoorn, 1996). In addition, adaptation is primarily considered as an outcome that occurs as a function of immigrants' acculturation strategies (Ward & Rana-Deuba, 1999). On the basis of the relevant literature, one can argue that values, acculturation, and adaptation are all interlinked. Nevertheless, this argument has so far not been investigated by dealing with these key concepts of acculturation literature simultaneously.

The goal of the current study, therefore, was to combine the dimensions of values, acculturation, and adaptation within the framework of a causal model and to contribute to a more comprehensive approach to the acculturation process. Following Schwartz's (1992) argument for values as guiding principles for the selection of some actions over others, I hypothesized that different value orientations (i.e., separatedness and conformity) would predict different aspects of adaptation (i.e., socio-cultural and psychological) directly. Furthermore, I expected that different acculturation strategies (i.e., culture adoption and culture maintenance) would help persons with different value orientations to better adapt in different domains. Hence, the focus of the study on indirect as well as direct links between values and adaptation distinguishes it from previous studies. Hypotheses were tested on adolescents from Turkish immigrant families in Belgium. In the following sections, the major concepts of the study are described in relation to the reviewed research; the model and the reasoning underlying the model's construction are presented.

Values and adaptation

Individual diversities in social behaviours can be attributed to different underlying value orientations (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1996; Markus & Kitayama, 1991). Individualism and collectivism (I-C) have long been the basic dimensions of values to compare cultures and individuals (Hofstede, 2001; Schwartz, 1992). The mainstream literature

on I-C has conceptualized individualism and collectivism as bipolar dimensions basically representing self versus other directedness (Hofstede, 2001; Markus & Kitayama, 1991). However, cross-cultural studies on I-C failed to yield consistent and reliable findings, mainly due to the confounded conceptualizations and measurements that were constructed on the Western worldview of a "healthy individual" as an autonomous and separated entity (Kağıtçıbaşı, 2005; Oyserman, Coon, & Kemmelmeier, 2002). Given the vague conceptualization and measurement of I-C in the literature, recent attempts have concentrated on distinguishing relational and normative dimensions of values (İmamoğlu, 1998, 2003; Kağıtçıbaşı, 1996, 2005). Relational dimension addresses the orientation towards separatedness versus relatedness whereas normative dimension refers to conformity to normative expectations versus autonomy. In this view, relational and normative orientations represent distinct but complementary dimensions. In other words, one can possess different combinations of two dimensions, e.g., being separated and being conformist simultaneously.

The present study aims to investigate the impact of separatedness and conformity on acculturation and adaptation. It should be noted that separatedness and conformity are not totally equivalent to individualism-collectivism since the latter covers multiple aspects of a global set of worldviews (Oyserman et al., 2002; Schwartz, 1992). Nevertheless, separatedness can be regarded as corresponding to those components of individualism that refer to emotional disconnectedness and self-direction; conformity can be suggested as being related with those components of collectivism that address compliance to external norms (İmamoğlu & Karakitapoğlu-Aygün, 2004). Likewise, on an individual-level conceptualization of values by Schwartz (1992; Schwartz & Bilsky, 1990), self-direction and conformity-tradition values resemble relational and normative dimensions of values with regard to their emphasis on individual separatedness and conformity to normative rules, respectively. In the present study, in line with the above-mentioned conceptualizations, separatedness is defined as an orientation towards and approval of emotional disconnectedness

whereas conformity is identified as favouring the act of being in line with the community and accommodating oneself to normative societal rules without question.

Values, as underlying dimensions, were hypothesized to predict different aspects of adaptation. Adaptation was conceived as a process of changes in response to environmental demands, in accordance with Berry's (1997) definition. As a multifaceted phenomenon (Ward & Kennedy, 1992, 1993), adaptation is classified as sociocultural and psychological adaptation (Ward & Kennedy, 1993). *Sociocultural adaptation* has to do with functioning well in a new cultural context and is generally operationalized in terms of the amount of difficulty experienced in a variety of social situations (Ward & Kennedy, 1992, 1999). In line with this description, sociocultural adaptation was measured by language efficacy and feelings of belonging in the current study. In addition, school adjustment was included since it constitutes a major challenge for minority families in Western Europe (e.g., the Netherlands and Germany). For example, although academic aspirations of Turkish minority parents for their children are higher than those of native parents with similar status (Phalet, Andriessen, & Lens, 2004), Turkish minority parents are not as successful in transmitting their values of achievement as they are in transmitting the values of relatedness to their children (Phalet & Schönplflug, 2001). Academic underachievement is common among Turkish youth (Veenman, 2001). Therefore, school adjustment can be regarded as a crucial component of sociocultural adaptation (Vedder, 2005; Vedder & Virta, 2005). *Psychological adaptation*, on the other hand, is related to the feeling of well-being and mental health (Ward & Kennedy, 1992; Ward & Searle, 1991). Accordingly, I operationalized psychological adaptation in terms of the level of symptomology.

Regarding the relations between value orientations and adaptation, I hypothesized that separatedness and conformity would predict different aspects of adaptation. In Schwartz's (1992) classification of motivationally distinct value orientations, under self-direction there is a motivation towards openness to change, which refers to independence in action, thought, and feeling and readiness for new experiences. Ward, Leong, and Low (2004) postulated that openness to change is a valuable prerequisite for sociocultural adaptation, that is, "the ability to 'fit in' or negotiate interactive aspects of the new culture, and is more appropriately placed within a social learning paradigm" (Ward & Rana-Deuba, 1999, p. 424).

Accordingly, openness was found to be related to sociocultural adaptation in a sample of international students in New Zealand (Ward, Berno, & Main, 2002). Given the shared components of separatedness and self-direction, similar arguments can be made regarding the link from separatedness to sociocultural adaptation.

As the cultural distance is high between migrant and host societies and when the mainstream society and migrants have conflicting attitudes towards the migrants' acculturation, sociocultural adaptation can become more problematic (Bourhis, Moïse, Perreault, & Senécal, 1997; Ward & Kennedy, 1992, 1993). A study by Phalet and Swyngedouw (2004) demonstrated that conformity is valued more strongly than separatedness by both older and younger generation Turkish immigrants in Belgium. However, among the majority population the order of preference was reversed. The evidence also suggests that culture distance may accentuate conformity among migrants. In Phalet and Hagendoorn's (1996) study, Turkish adolescents in Belgium scored higher on normative collectivistic values (e.g., conformity, in-group favouritism and the like) as compared to rural-urban migrant youth in their country of origin. However, they were less distressed and less achievement oriented at the same time. The researchers concluded that normative collectivism helps migrants to cope with stress, but this seems to be achieved at the expense of culture learning.

Other studies obtained similar results, indicating that among Turkish migrant youth (in Norway, Sweden, and the Netherlands) who emphasize conformity to normative expectations, psychological adaptation is high but sociocultural adaptation represents a challenging task. For example, academic achievement tends to be lower while the frequency of problem behaviours tends to be higher for this group (Sam, 2000; Smila, 1987; Sowa, Crijnen, Bengi-Arslan, & Verhulst, 2000). It is likely that in a context where background culture emphasizes subordination to group goals, migrants with a separational orientation would be more motivated to adapt to the host society. In fact, migrants who tend to leave their in-group and "go it alone" to move into the advantaged group (i.e., mainstream society) are those who perceive their ethnic group as an obstacle for their progress in the host society (Moghaddam & Perreault, 1992). Thus, in light of the findings summarized above, one can expect that individuals who are high on separatedness attempt to fit into the mainstream society more and will be better adapted socioculturally. Conformity-oriented

individuals, on the other hand, are expected to show a better psychological adaptation.

Values and acculturation

According to Berry (1990, 1997), immigrant individuals differ in their attitudinal and behavioural responses to acculturation; more specifically, in the degree of importance they give to maintain their cultural/ethnic identity (culture maintenance) and to being in contact with the members of the mainstream culture (culture contact). As the focus of this study was not only contact but also endorsement of values and customs of the mainstream society, the term "culture adoption" instead of "culture contact" will be used throughout this paper. In the bidimensional approach to acculturation, culture maintenance and culture adoption are assumed to be orthogonal (Berry, 1997; Ryder et al., 2000). Since both relational-normative value dimensions and acculturation strategies are culture-relevant core constructs, the assumption of orthogonality affords distinctive predictions regarding relations between these two variables. Namely, separatedness is expected to predict positive attitudes towards culture adoption while conformity predicts culture maintenance. I depicted these expectations mainly from the theoretical frameworks outlined by Triandis (1989).

Triandis makes a distinction between allocentrics, who value tradition/conformity, and idiocentrics, who favour separatedness. It is claimed that allocentrics pay more attention to the distinction of in-group/out-group than idiocentrics do. The degree of identification with the in-group tends to increase when in-group attributes are distinctive, as in the case of minorities, when the in-group is more emphasized during socialization and when it has clear norms and distinct values. Allocentrics, rather than idiocentrics, tend to fulfil the normative expectations of in-groups because of their reliance on the approval and acceptance of in-groups for self-validation. Idiocentrics, on the other hand, are less emotionally attached to their in-groups and tend to be included in in-groups where boundaries are more flexible. In agreement with the aforementioned arguments and findings, it can be argued that immigrants with a separational orientation would be more open to intercultural contact and the values of the dominant society, whereas those who are higher on conformity would tend to maintain their ethnic culture. In fact, there is direct evidence confirming the linkage from

separatedness to culture adoption and from conformity to culture maintenance among migrant groups (Ryder et al., 2000), including Turks (Phalet & Swyngedouw, 2004).

Acculturation and adaptation

Acculturating individuals can find one strategy more functional and satisfying than the others in a different context (Berry, 1997; Ward & Kennedy, 1993). For instance, maintenance of heritage cultural values may have an adaptive value in private circumstances such as a family environment, but favouring cultural contact with the host society may be a predictor for positive outcomes in public domains such as a school environment. Consistently, Turkish adolescents have been found to differentiate between public and private social domains and alternate acculturation strategies to function better (Phalet & Hagendoorn, 1996). More specifically, while endorsing intercultural contact and dominant culture norms in public domains such as a school environment, they tend to maintain heritage culture in private domains such as in the extended family environment (Phalet & Swyngedouw, 2004). Meeting up with often conflicting expectations of the dominant society and the ethnic community, it is argued that Turkish adolescents attain an optimal person-environment fit and adaptation.

Ward and Rana-Deuba (1999) suggest that psychological adaptation is relevant to the ability to cope with stress and is strongly predicted by social support. Past studies on different migrant groups also demonstrated that positive attitudes towards heritage culture tend to be the strongest predictors for both self-esteem and psychological well-being (Sam, 2000; Ward & Rana-Deuba, 2000). Sociocultural adaptation, on the other hand, is best understood from a culture-learning perspective and mainly predicted by involvement in the host culture (Ward & Kennedy, 1992; Ward & Searle, 1991). In accordance with these findings, I hypothesized that culture adoption would predict the sociocultural adaptation and that culture maintenance would predict the psychological adaptation.

Overview of the hypotheses

Based on the definitions of the sociocultural and psychological adaptation set by Ward et al. (Ward & Kennedy, 1992, 1993; Ward & Rana-Deuba, 1999; Ward & Searle, 1991) and the conclusions drawn from the theoretical frameworks of

Schwartz (1992) and Triandis (1989), I hypothesized that separatedness and conformity would predict sociocultural and psychological adaptation, respectively. In view of the literature on acculturation (e.g., Berry, 1990, 1997) and acculturation experiences of Turkish immigrants (e.g., Phalet & Hagendoorn, 1996; Phalet & Swyngedouw, 2004), acculturation strategies were expected to mediate between values and adaptation. Specifically, culture adoption was hypothesized to mediate the relation between separatedness and sociocultural adaptation whereas culture maintenance would mediate the link between conformity and psychological adaptation.

METHOD

Participants

Data was collected from different secondary schools in neighbourhoods with high concentrations of Turkish migrant families in the Flemish part of Belgium. Three-hundred and three Turkish adolescents (i.e., born into a family consisting of a Turkish mother and father) were asked to participate. Sixteen adolescents (5%) either refused to participate entirely, or returned questionnaire forms partly or fully unfilled. Sixty-nine per cent of the remaining 287 respondents were from vocational schools and the rest were from schools where students are prepared for a higher level education. Age of the respondents ranged from 12 to 21 years, with a mean of 16.27 ($SD = 1.86$). Sixty-six per cent of the participants were females ($N = 186$) and 32% were males ($N = 89$), and almost all of them were born in Belgium (98%). The median for the reported number of siblings was 4. Participants were asked to indicate their household income in comparison to the general population on a 5-point Likert-type scale where 1 represented "very low" and 5 corresponded to "very high." The median for this perceived income was 3. As for the neighbourhood composition, 36% of the adolescents reported that they were living in neighbourhoods with predominantly Turkish residents while 31% were living in neighbourhoods with mostly Belgian residents. The neighbourhood composition of the remaining 30% was a mixture of native families and Turkish immigrants as well as other immigrant groups from Morocco, Italy, Greece, and so on. In addition, the participants indicated the level of sense of efficacy in the Turkish language on a 4-point scale (1 = "not efficient at all," 4 = "very

efficient"). The majority of the students (93%) reported that they feel either efficient or very efficient in Turkish.

The majority of the participants (94%) were coming from families with first-generation migrants to Belgium during the "guest worker" type of migration, which started in the 1960s. Fifty per cent of the mothers had primary school education while 90% of the fathers were equally distributed on primary, lower, and higher secondary school education.

Instruments and procedure

The questionnaire forms, prepared in Turkish, were administered to the students in their schools. In general, adolescents did not have difficulty in responding to Turkish questionnaires. However, a Turkish teacher who was efficient in both Turkish and Dutch was still asked for help to explain the questions when needed.

The questionnaire forms included measurement of value orientations, acculturation strategies, and adaptation variables in addition to demographic questions. All major variables were assessed on a 4-point scale (1 = "completely disagree"; 4 = "completely agree") by asking respondents to what degree they endorsed each item (for the measure of psychological adaptation the responses were formulated differently, as explained in the relevant section). High scores on each variable implied the high level of measured variables.

Value orientations. I selected the items to measure value orientations from *The Balanced Differentiation and Integration Scale (BDIS)*, which was developed by İmamoğlu (1998, 2003) and used among Turkish, American, and Canadian adolescent samples (Gezici & Güvenç, 2003; Güler, 2004; İmamoğlu & Karakitapoğlu-Aygün, 2006; Kurt, 2002). The scale consists of items to measure intrapersonal differentiation and interpersonal integration orientations. On the basis of the overlap between the content of the items and the definitions of value orientations, two items were chosen to represent *separatedness*: "In our times, the existence of strong emotional ties amongst people would hinder rather than support them" (SEP1) and "As societies develop, it is natural for interpersonal emotional ties to weaken" (SEP2). *Conformity* was measured with three items reflecting a normative frame of reference and compliance to societal values: "I prefer to identify with societal values rather than questioning them" (CON1); "Acting in

accordance with the society, rather than with oneself, would in the long run be to his/her benefit" (CON2); and "Being a person approved by those around is important for me" (CON3). The internal reliabilities were relatively low (.45 for separatedness; .49 for conformity).

Acculturation strategies. Acculturation strategies were measured by two acculturation scales. *The Bidimensional Acculturation Scale (BAS)* is a measure of attitudes towards culture adoption and culture maintenance developed by Ryder et al. (2000). The scale consists of 20 items, of which half measure culture adoption while the other half measure culture maintenance. For the current study, first all items were transformed to refer to Turkish and Belgian cultures and then the standard translation-back-translation procedure was followed (a social psychologist translated and another one back-translated the items). The correspondence between source and target scales was quite high (18 of 20 items). The lack of correspondence on two items was resolved by discussing the meaning of them, rephrasing the items, and comparing the rephrased items with a third psychologist's back-translation. This attempt resulted in a complete match between source and target scales. Cronbach's alphas were satisfactory for culture maintenance (.84) and culture adoption (.76).

To capture the other aspects of culture maintenance and adoption that BAS did not include (e.g., attitudes towards heritage and mainstream languages, worldviews, etc.), I developed an index with 14 items (*The Acculturation Scale; AS*). Half of the items measured the degree of positive attitudes towards heritage culture while the other half measured the positive attitudes towards mainstream culture (e.g., "I like the way of thinking and worldview of *Turks/Belgians*"). Item-total correlations were significantly high (between .56 and .78 for attitudes towards heritage culture and between .36 and .71 for attitudes towards mainstream culture, $p < .01$) and Cronbach's alphas were satisfactory for both culture maintenance ($\alpha = .81$) and culture adoption ($\alpha = .66$).

Sociocultural and psychological adaptation. Four indicator variables were used to measure *sociocultural adaptation*: academic grade, perceived school success, language efficacy, and sense of belongingness. For the first variable, participants were asked to indicate their GPA for the last semester. In order to measure *perceived school success*, an index with five items was formed (e.g.,

"I am happy with my performance at school"). Internal reliability of this index was acceptable ($\alpha = .79$).

Belongingness was measured by an index with three items (e.g., "I feel at home in Belgium"). Cronbach's alpha was relatively low yet satisfactory (.62). Finally, to investigate the level of *language efficacy*, students were asked to indicate "to what degree they think they are fluent in Dutch."

In order to measure the level of *psychological adaptation*, *The Brief Symptom Inventory (BSI)* was used. The BSI was developed by Derogatis (1992) and standardized into Turkish culture by Şahin and Durak (1994). Three subscales of the BSI were chosen for the current study: *somatization* (e.g., "fainting and dizziness"), *depression* (e.g., "feeling lonely"), and, because it included the items referring to irritation and anger (e.g., "feeling angry and frustrated easily"), *hostility*. The frequency of the symptoms during the previous week was asked using a 4-point scale from *not at all* to *extremely*. The reliability coefficient for the somatization subscale was $\alpha = .70$; for depression and hostility it was $\alpha = .75$. Since psychological adaptation was conceptualized in terms of lower levels of stress, the scores on somatization, depression, and hostility were reversed in the process of testing the hypothesized model.

Participants were informed of the general purpose and intended use of the research, the expected duration of filling the questionnaire, and their rights with respect to their decision to participate or to decline to participate entirely or in any part of the research. In addition, they were given the contact address of the researcher in order to communicate any questions, comments, or complaints about the research. After ensuring confidentiality and anonymity, the filling of questionnaires took approximately 1 hour.

RESULTS

Descriptive statistics

Table 1 displays means, standard deviations, observed ranges, and, where relevant, Cronbach alphas for each measurement. In order to see whether the adolescents tend to differ in the level of orientations towards separatedness and conformity, a *t*-test was conducted on the combined items. Conformity scores were found to be significantly higher ($M = 2.67$, $SD = 0.57$) than separatedness scores ($M = 2.46$, $SD = 0.68$),

TABLE 1
Descriptive statistics on major variables (N = 287)

	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>Observed ranges</i>	<i>Alphas</i>
SEP1	2.39	0.84	1.00–4.00	.45
SEP2	2.52	0.88	1.00–4.00	
CON1	2.44	0.82	1.00–4.00	.49
CON2	2.73	0.85	1.00–4.00	
CON3	2.85	0.83	1.00–4.00	
Culture adoption (BAS)	2.45	0.45	1.00–3.80	.76
Culture adoption (AS)	2.50	0.48	1.14–4.00	.66
Culture maintenance (BAS)	3.09	0.48	1.60–4.00	.84
Culture maintenance (AS)	3.17	0.56	1.00–4.00	.81
GPA	7.47	1.22	1.00–10.00	–
Perceived school success	3.04	0.49	1.60–4.00	.79
Perceived language efficacy	3.29	0.50	2.00–4.00	–
Belongingness	2.87	0.68	1.00–4.00	.62
Somatization	1.52	0.45	1.00–3.71	.70
Depression	1.68	0.60	1.00–3.67	.75
Hostility	1.84	0.65	1.00–3.80	.75

SEP1 and SEP2 = Separatedness scores measured by the BDIS; CON1, CON2, and CON3 = Conformity scores measured by the BDIS.

$t(284) = 4.01$, $d = .24$, $p < .01$. Adolescents can therefore be argued to have an orientation towards conformity rather than towards separatedness.

In addition, as revealed by a t -test and effect size computed on the combined scores of culture maintenance and culture adoption subscales of the BAS and AS, culture maintenance ($M = 3.13$, $SD = 0.48$) was found to be favoured more strongly than culture adoption ($M = 2.47$, $SD = 0.41$), $t(287) = 16.67$, $d = .98$, $p < .01$. Regarding adaptation, adolescents generally reported a high level of sociocultural adaptation and a low level of symptomatology.

Before testing the hypothesized model, I conducted bivariate analyses in order to assess the possible links of demographic variables (i.e., gender, parental education, and income) to variables representing value orientations, acculturation strategies, and adaptation variables. Analyses revealed few significant correlations. Gender was related only to academic grade (1 = girls, 2 = boys; $r = -.18$, $p < .01$); girls received higher GPAs than boys. Language fluency was positively correlated with paternal education and perceived family income ($r = .25$ and $.17$, respectively, $p < .01$). Paternal education had also a negative correlation with CON2 ($r = -.14$, $p < .05$) and a positive correlation with culture adoption measured by BAS ($r = .14$, $p < .05$). In addition, I compared the students from majority-Turk, majority-Belgian, and mixed neighbourhoods in terms of value orientations, acculturation strategies, and adaptation outcomes. A one-way ANOVA yielded no significant difference among

three groups on these variables as a function of neighbourhood composition. Similarly, the comparison of adolescents from vocational and non-vocational schools showed that there was no significant difference between groups in terms of the variables in question. Given that I had no a priori expectation for the impact of demographic variables and that the majority of the relations were not significant, these demographic and contextual variables were not included in subsequent analyses.

Model testing

Measurement model. I hypothesized that there would be a direct as well as a mediational relationship between values and adaptation. The model was tested by conducting SEM (Structural Equation Modeling) and utilizing LISREL 8.30 (Jöreskog & Sörbom, 1993). The covariance matrix was used as the basis for SEM analyses. Before testing the proposed causal model, a confirmatory factor analysis was conducted to see if the indicator variables were reliable in creating the latent variables. A six-factor model with separatedness and conformity, culture adoption and culture maintenance, and sociocultural and psychological adaptation was hypothesized. The two items of separatedness (SEP1 and SEP2) and the three items of conformity (CON1, CON2, and CON3) were used as indicators for latent variables of separatedness and conformity, respectively. Since making use of multiple indicators is more advantageous than utilizing single indicators in terms of improving our ability to adjust for measurement error (Hoyle, 1995), the individual items were used separately, instead of using total scores of each value orientation as single indicators. For the latent variables culture adoption and culture maintenance, the sums of relevant items of BAS and AS served as multiple indicators. The scores of the BSI were reversed so that higher scores reflected better psychological adaptation. Table 2 shows the correlations between observed variables.

As can be seen in Figure 1, where latent variables are represented by ellipses and observed variables by rectangles, confirmatory factor analysis revealed that all the factor loadings of observed variables were significant on the corresponding latent variables (ranging between .33 and .99, $p < .05$). The measurement model yielded a good fit with the data, $\chi^2(89) = 127.63$, $p < .05$, RMSEA = .040, GFI = .95, AGFI = .93, CFI = .94. The correlations

TABLE 2
Correlations between variables (N = 287)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
1. SEP1	–															
2. SEP2	.25**	–														
3. CON1	– .03	– .06	–													
4. CON2	.12*	– .01	.19**	–												
5. CON3	.06	.03	.16**	.21**	–											
6. Culture adoption (BAS)	.16*	.18**	– .10	– .01	– .02	–										
7. Culture adoption (AS)	.06	.11	– .13*	– .03	.03	.57**	–									
8. Culture maintenance (BAS)	– .15*	– .01	.12*	.18**	.22**	– .05	– .01	–								
9. Culture maintenance (AS)	– .11	.02	.10	.16**	.19**	– .17**	– .12*	.74**	–							
10. GPA	.03	– .04	.01	.05	.09	.12*	.13*	– .09	– .12*	–						
11. Perceived school success	– .01	– .04	– .05	.02	.07	.12*	.07	.04	.02	.34**	–					
12. Perceived language efficacy	.12*	– .03	.06	.01	– .01	.27**	.12*	– .02	– .06	.09	.23**	–				
13. Feeling of belongingness	.04	.05	– .01	.06	.05	.31**	.24**	– .04	– .05	.11	.19**	.13*	–			
14. Somatization	.15*	.12*	.00	.02	.02	– .01	.03	– .15*	– .09	– .03	– .04	– .02	– .08	–		
15. Depression	.09	.14*	.02	.02	– .01	– .04	– .03	– .06	.01	.00	– .17**	– .10	– .13*	.46**	–	
16. Hostility	.14*	.14*	.02	– .04	– .02	.01	.02	– .18**	– .07	– .07	– .26**	– .05	.02	.47**	.53**	–

SEP1 and SEP2 = Separatedness scores measured by the BDIS; CON1, CON2, and CON3 = Conformity scores measured by the BDIS.

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$.

Figure 1. Results of confirmatory factor analyses and proposed structural model. (SEP1 and SEP2 = Separatedness scores measured by the BDIS; CON1, CON2, and CON3 = Conformity scores measured by the BDIS; BAS = Culture adoption and culture maintenance scores measured by the BAS; AS = Culture adoption and Culture maintenance scores measured by the AS; SUCC = Perceived school success; LANG = Perceived language efficacy; BEL = Belongingness; SOM*, DEP*, and HOST* = Reversed scores of Somatization, Depression and Hostility, respectively, measured by the BSE. Factor loadings represent standardized solutions of the measurement model. The significant path coefficients (parameter estimates) of the structural model are presented in italic. All the path coefficients were significant at $p < .05$.)

between two value dimensions (i.e., between separatedness and conformity) were not significant. Likewise, two dimensions of acculturation (i.e., between culture maintenance and culture adoption) were not correlated significantly, all confirming the argument that the dimensions are orthogonal. The measurement model was in general in line with the expected loading pattern. An unpredicted negative correlation between separatedness and psychological adaptation ($r = -.36$, $p < .05$) indicated that those who scored higher on separational orientation reported poorer psychological adaptation. Therefore, this link was added to the model tested in the following section.

Structural model. Direct links from separatedness to sociocultural adaptation and from conformity to psychological adaptation were predicted. Furthermore, these links were expected to be strengthened by culture adoption and culture maintenance, respectively. The initial test of the proposed structural model that included the added path from separatedness to psychological adaptation yielded a good fit with the data, $\chi^2(95) = 149.62$, $p < .001$, RMSEA = .044, GFI = .94, AGFI = .92, CFI = .92. However, the paths from separatedness to sociocultural adaptation and from conformity to psychological adaptation were not significant. Eliminating insignificant paths from the model did not result in a significant change between

the initial and the current model, $\chi^2(97) = 153.25$, $p < .001$, RMSEA = .044, GFI = .94, AGFI = .92, CFI = .92; $\chi^2 \Delta(2) = 3.63$, $p > .05$. The results of this final analysis are displayed in Figure 1.

As can be seen in Figure 1, separatedness predicted culture adoption which, in turn, effected sociocultural adaptation. Conformity, on the other hand, predicted culture maintenance which, in turn, had an effect on psychological adaptation. As opposed to our expectations, there were no significant direct links connecting separatedness to sociocultural adaptation and conformity to psychological adaptation. However, Maruyama (1998) suggested that "indirect causal effects occur in path models when one variable causes a second, which in turn causes a third. In such circumstances, the first variable exerts influence on the third via the second, regardless of whether it has a path directly to the third variable" (p. 40). Following Maruyama (1998), an indirect effect pointing out the hypothesized mediational relationships can therefore be claimed to exist. In fact, the SEM analysis revealed a significant indirect effect of separatedness on sociocultural adaptation and of conformity on psychological adaptation (*indirect effects* = .15 and .07, $p < .05$, respectively). Finally, the path from separatedness to psychological adaptation indicated that adolescents with higher separational orientation had poorer psychological adaptation.

DISCUSSION

In this study, I combined the three key concepts of acculturation literature, i.e., values, acculturation, and adaptation, within the framework of a causal model. The findings provided partial support for the model that predicted direct as well as indirect links connecting values to adaptation. The SEM analysis revealed that the role of values on adaptation was indirect rather than direct. According to the social adaptation theory (Kahle, 1983), values are defined as a type of social cognition that function to facilitate adaptation to one's environment. Kahle (1980) argued that values, as most abstract social cognitions, guide individuals about preferences for specific situations and about what they do in those situations. In the process named *value*→*attitude*→*behaviour hierarchy*, causal influence of value flows from abstract values to less abstract or midrange attitudes to specific behaviours (Homer & Kahle, 1988). Parallel to this sequence, the indirect effect found in this study pointed out the crucial role acculturation strategies play as mediators between abstract value orientations and specific adaptation outcomes.

Separatedness predicted sociocultural adaptation via adoption of the dominant culture whereas conformity predicted psychological adaptation via heritage culture maintenance. Although there was a tendency for preference of a particular strategy in general (i.e., the endorsement of culture maintenance over culture adoption), a strategy integrating culture maintenance with culture adoption was most beneficial for functioning well in both sociocultural (external) and psychological (internal) domains. This finding was supportive of the earlier research (Coatsworth, Maldonado-Molina, Pantin, & Szapocznik, 2005). However, as expected, individuals high on separatedness and conformity orientations differentiated in their acculturation experiences. The former group was more advantageous in terms of sociocultural adaptation due to endorsement of and involvement in the dominant culture. However, those with separational orientation showed poorer psychological adaptation as well. Psychological adaptation was higher among those who were high on conformity (because of their orientation towards heritage culture and its members), but it was lower among those who approved separatedness.

This finding, in combination with the findings that conformity and culture maintenance predominated over separatedness and culture adoption, implies a process akin to that described by the notion "cultural trade-off." This refers to inverse benefits and costs of individualism and collectivism

for psychosocial adjustment (Kwan, Bond, & Singelis, 1997; Tafarodi, Lang, & Smith, 1999). As demonstrated by previous research, acting in line with the norms and expectations of the in-group increases the chance of approval and acceptance of others in a collectivistic context where personal goals are subordinated by group goals and the group bond is emphasized. In such a context, stressing differentiation tends to be discouraged as it is appraised as immature or deviant (Kim & Markus, 1999; Triandis, 1995), and intolerable (McAuliffe, Jetten, Hornsey, & Hogg, 2003). Mutual dissatisfaction and frustration is followed by ignoring or rejecting the person who tends to separate from the in-group. Hence, where the supportive network is primarily ethnic (Nauck, 2001) and when the group norms prescribe conformity, as it is among the Turkish second generation in Western Europe (Phalet & Hagendoorn, 1996; Phalet & Schönplflug, 2001), the pursuit of independence and uniqueness may cost one the social support of the community to cope with stress, by contributing negatively to one's psychological health.

Another plausible interpretation as to conflicting outcomes of value orientations can be made with reference to the Balanced Integration-Differentiation Model (İmamoğlu, 1998, 2003). The present study revealed that adolescents who endorse both separatedness and conformity are able to enjoy contact with both cultures, which in turn help them to adapt both socioculturally and psychologically. At the same time, they seem to experience internal adjustment problems. İmamoğlu (2003) conceptualizes conformity and separatedness as independent dimensions and describes individuals who are high in both value orientations as affectively detached but cognitively bonded; hence, they might gain comfort in accommodating themselves to their in-groups on a cognitive level but may experience negative affectivity toward their in-group members. The developmental milieu of such persons is characterized by restrictive control and low acceptance by significant others, which is detrimental to the development of independent thinking and emotional intimacy.

On the other hand, the average scores on the value orientations revealed that the acculturation context of Turkish youth in the present study seems to induce a relatively high level of relatedness (as opposed to separatedness) and conformity. This finding is consistent with the empirical research pointing to the socialization of normative collectivism among Turkish immigrants in Western Europe. For example, when compared to the immigrant (from rural to urban areas) and non-immigrant adolescents in Turkey, Turkish-Belgian

adolescents scored highest on values such as family loyalty and conformity (Phalet & Hagendoorn, 1996). Similarly, Turkish older and younger generation migrants in Belgium favoured conformity and tradition values more and separatedness less strongly than Belgians did (Phalet & Swyngedouw, 2004). Moreover, normative collectivism was found to be transmitted across generations via conformity-oriented child goals (Phalet & Schönplig, 2001). İmamoğlu (2003) postulates that in a context where both conformity and relatedness are highly promoted, any kind of separation is seen as a threat to the group harmony. Hence, persons who favour relatedness and conformity simultaneously can be surrounded by emotionally close relationships but the need for autonomy remains unsatisfied. According to the model and related findings in different cultures such as Turkey and the USA (İmamoğlu, 1998, 2003; İmamoğlu & Karakitapoğlu-Aygün, 2004), the above-mentioned patterns of value orientations are unbalanced due to the price the person has to pay in terms of optimal self-realization.

An optimal—or balanced—psychological functioning, on the other hand, can be achieved by a higher-order organization of relatedness (versus separatedness) and autonomy (versus conformity) since integration and differentiation are basic needs for human beings (İmamoğlu, 1998, 2003; Kağıtçıbaşı, 1996, 2005). As is the case in the present study, Turkish culture provides a strong basis for a positive psychosocial development by endorsing relatedness. It is therefore important to implement culture-sensitive intervention strategies aimed at encouraging autonomy and developing tolerance to those who would like to differentiate and pursue personal goals. In the light of this study, Turkish immigrants can benefit from intervention programs such as the successfully conducted Turkish Early Enrichment Project (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1996), which aimed to encourage lower SES parents to support their children to become more autonomous while retaining intimacy with them. In such a program targeting the families in migration, adolescents and families can be encouraged towards a synthesis of relatedness and autonomy that is most beneficial in terms of the psychosocial health of the person, family, and community in the long run as well as in the short run.

LIMITATIONS

The items used to measure value orientations had low internal reliabilities, as in some other studies

on values. For example, Gaines et al. (1997) referred to many findings of low reliabilities and argued that values, as deep internal aspects of the self, are likely to be less salient and accessible. Hence, they are more difficult to measure in comparison to external characteristics of the person such as overt behaviours. Another reason for low alphas can be the small number of items. However, Schwartz (2003), who used 2- or 3-item value scales himself, claimed that low internal reliabilities from such scales do not constitute a problem when the general pattern of links to other variables is meaningful and substantial. In fact, the items used to measure separatedness and conformity connected in an expected way with the other variables of the present study. Furthermore, as revealed by the measurement model, the individual items showed significant reliability in constructing the relevant latent variables. However, low alphas of value orientations can still be regarded as the major limitation of the study. Future studies with more reliable and homogenous measures of values are needed to replicate the findings of the study.

The scope of the present study was narrowed to the investigation of the inter-relations between values, acculturation, and adaptation. Although demographic and contextual variables were proved to have an influence on the acculturation process in earlier studies (e.g., Bourhis et al., 1997; Phalet & Swyngedouw, 2004), the available data on gender, parental education, income, neighbourhood composition, and school type were not significantly related to the major variables of the present study. Future research is needed to uncover the adaptive functions of values (if any) by taking into account a broad range of contextual factors to extend the proposed model. In addition, female participants constituted the majority of the study sample. This gender bias could have influenced the findings about value orientations and acculturation. As different studies have indicated, women are in general more in favour of relatedness than men (Gabriel & Gardner, 1999). Younger generation Turkish women have also been found to be more autonomy-oriented than men (Phalet & Swyngedouw, 2004). It may be useful to verify the findings of this study with those consisting of a more balanced composition of men and women.

Apart from this, the study shares similar problems with many self-report studies. Given the use of correlational data in testing the proposed causal model, caution must be used in interpreting the direction of the relations. The limited number of correlations with high magnitude calls for additional caution relating to the

explanatory power of the findings and generalizing the results to other immigrant groups with a collectivistic background.

Collecting data from multiple immigrant groups and/or via longitudinal studies can foster the validity of the results and minimize the problem of common method variance. In addition, cross-cultural comparisons including samples from different minority groups would enable us to make safer conclusions about cultural (dis)similarities and determinants of choice of different acculturation paths.

CONCLUSION

To conclude: Focusing on an individual level analysis to explore the role of value orientations in the process of acculturation and adaptation, the current research has shown that the three central notions of acculturation literature (i.e., values, acculturation strategies, and adaptation) can be studied simultaneously. Such an approach helps to uncover the guiding sources and psychosocial outcomes of differential acculturation experiences and constitutes a crucial step to capture more fully the underlying dynamics of an optimal development and adaptation in an acculturation context.

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