RESEARCH ARTICLES

Individual Values and Acculturation Processes of Immigrant Groups from Turkey: Belgium, Germany, and the Netherlands

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Abstract. This quantitative research describes the values of three ethnic groups in comparison with each other as well as with the native groups. It also discusses the acculturation processes of Circassians, Kurds and Turks in Belgium, Germany and the Netherlands. The first research question, "Do immigrant and native groups have similar values?" shows value similarities of Circassians with the French in Belgium, German and Dutch respondents. They have value differences from Flemish respondents. Kurds and Turks have value similarities with German and Flemish respondents, and they have value differences from the Dutch. The second research question, "What acculturation processes do immigrant groups go through?", confirms high hard assimilation means of Circassians, and high separation means of Turks and Kurds in the Netherlands. In Belgium, Turks have hard high assimilation means, is unexpected, given that Belgium has been a modestly multicultural country. In Turkey, Kurds and Circassians have high assimilation, and Circassians have high integration means. Contrary to the discourses about less participation of immigrants, research findings reveal value similarities of immigrant and native groups in three countries. The European authorities need to develop participative policies to reduce immigrants' sense of discrimination and natives' perception of threat for a peaceful society.

Keywords: *immigrant groups from Turkey, individual values, acculturation processes, discrimination-threat perception, European countries*

Introduction

This comparative research describes the values of three ethnic groups in comparison with each other as well as with the native groups. It also explains the acculturation processes of Circassians, Kurds and Turks in Belgium, Germany and the Netherlands. It argues that when immigrants establish daily contact with native citizens and share their experiences, their values turn out to be similar to those of the native groups. If such sharing does not happen, their values turn out to be different. Özgür (2014) found that Armenians (Christians) in Abkhazia, many of them
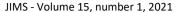
resettled in Abkhazia after the Armenian genocide during the Ottoman Empire in 1915, have similar values with those of Armenians living in Turkey. They also have values in common with the Abkhazians in Abkhazia. It is proof of Armenians having integrated into Abkhazia due to more multicultural policies implemented there. However, the values of Abkhazians and Circassians (Muslim) in Turkey, who have had similar life experiences after Circassian genocide and their exile since 1864, are more in line with those of Turks in Turkey. Their values are more different from those of the Abkhazians (Christians) in Abkhazia. It shows the assimilation of Abkhazians and Circassians in Turkey (Özgür 2014). It is linked to strong nation-building policies in place since the foundation of the republic in 1923, which aim to instil in citizens a homogenous Turk and Muslim identity (Focus Migration 2009; Özgül 2014; Türköz 2007).

These results guide us to conduct similar researches in Belgium, Germany and the Netherlands with groups having different ethnocultural and historical backgrounds. Three countries were chosen because of having different multiculturalism scores and implementations (MCP) (Tolley and Vonk 2016). Moreover, the acculturation processes of the groups are expected to be assimilation, integration, marginalization or separation (Berry 2013)

The article starts with immigrant groups, individual values, acculturation processes and multiculturalism. Researches on participation of immigrants, data and method, empirical results, and discussions and conclusion will follow. Contrary to discourses about less participation of immigrants from Turkey, the findings show that immigrants and native groups have similar values in three countries. So, the European authorities need to develop policies that reduce immigrants' sense of discrimination and host nationals' perception of threat for a coherent and peaceful society.

Circassians, Kurds and Turks: Their way to European countries

To develop the post-war economies of Europe, Germany signed a bilateral guest worker agreement with Turkey in 1961. Turkey also reached similar agreements with Belgium (1964) and the Netherlands (1964). The term "guest worker" was used for the immigrants, most of whom were single men expected to return to their homeland in two years (DW 2011). The guest worker agreements ended in the 1970s, but increasing immigrant populations from Turkey continued with family reunification in the European countries. The military upheavals of the 1970s and 1980s in Turkey contributed to growing political immigrants in these

countries. Since the mid-1980s, continuing armed conflict between the Turkish army and PKK (Kurdish Workers Party) that started to escalate after 1994 has led to "Kurdish (ethnic)" and "Alevite (religious)" immigration to Western Europe (Sirkeci and Cohen 2016, 388).

After being accepted as a nominee country to the European Union (EU) in 1999, Turkey's efforts to start accession negotiations meant to adapt its laws and regulations to meet the Copenhagen Criteria (1993), including political, economic and "acquis communautaire" (DEUA, 2019) that necessitated democratization.[1] The democratization process also changed, especially after the Gezi Park protests in June 2013, during which security forces attacked civilians seeking to protect one of the few parks left in Istanbul. The end of the ceasefire between state forces and PKK in 2015 stopped the peace process and increased pressure on civilians, especially in Kurdish populated regions. The coup attempt in July 2016 was used as a pretext to suppress criticism in Turkey during a state of the emergency until July 2018. Many critical academics and journalists were dismissed using decree-laws and forced into exile (BAK 2020; Özdemir et al. 2019). Besides, 18 articles of the Constitution were amended to change the parliamentary system into a presidential one in April 2017. In June 2018, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan was elected as the president under the new, and increasingly autocratic, presidential system (BTI 2020; Pişkin and Adal 2019).

Three immigrant groups – Circassians, Kurds, and Turks – have been chosen for this study. They have similarities because they come from Turkey, which has a collectivist culture (Hofstede 1991), but they have different languages, cultural and historical backgrounds. Circassians were deported from the Caucasus after the Russian–Caucasian War (1864) and resettled in the Ottoman Empire (Özgür 2011; Jaimoukha 2001), while Kurds are a native minority group involved in a conflict lasting about 40 years.

Circassians make up a population of around 3–5 million in Turkey and 700,000–800,000 in the Northwest Caucasus (Besleney 2016, 43, Özgür 2011). However, there is no data available about their numbers in Western Europe.

Kurds are native to Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Syria. Turkey has around 10–20 million Kurds (Jongerden and Akkaya 2015), and they made up a third of the guest workers in Germany in the 1960s, and their population has reached to 800 thousand

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[1] The political criteria guarantee "institutions for democracy, the rule of law, human rights and respect for and protection of minorities" (for details, see https://ec.europa.eu/neighbourhood-enlargement/policy/conditions-membership_en).

(Özdemir 2011).

The largest ethnic group from Turkey, Turks, have a large population abroad – about 6.5 million that also include the other ethnic groups (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2020).

Values as components of culture

Hofstede defines culture as "the collective programming of the mind", including "symbols" (words or gestures), "heroes" (alive or dead), "rituals" (collective actions) and "values" (ideas of what is good and what is bad), which differentiates "the members of one group from another" (Hofstede 1991, 7). Culture may also be defined as "the subjective perception of the human-made part of the environment" (Triandis 2002, 3).

A key characteristic of culture, values are defined as "trans-situational goals" and serve as "guiding principles" for individuals or groups, and "motivators of behaviours" (Schwartz et al. 2012, 664).

Schwartz and Bilsky (1987) developed Schwartz's Values Survey (SVS) inspired by Rokeach's Values Survey (RVS 1973; Schwartz 1992). SVS is composed of "conflicts and congruities" of ten values having "a circular structure", and then combined with the Portrait Values Questionnaire (PVQ). As a result, the Refined PVQ (PVQ-RR) was developed and composed of items, values and higher-order values (Schwartz et al. 2012, 669) (See Data and methodology)

Some researches confirm the relationship between individual values and positive attitudes towards immigrants. One states that together with high education and low-security, "universalism" values positively contribute to the acceptance of immigrants (Schwartz 2007, 182). Another research also confirms the positive impact of "self-transcendence" values on supporting migration (Davidov et al. 2008, 583). Culture in general and values, in particular, are essential characteristics that define individuals, groups or societies and their relations. The similarities or differences in the values of immigrants with native citizens are critical for the inclusion of immigrants into the host countries. Therefore, our first research question is:

R1. Do immigrant and native groups have similar values?

Acculturation processes

Acculturation occurs "when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of either or both groups" (Redfield et al. 1936, 149). It affects

immigrants and mainstream groups, and driven by the desire of newcomers to keep their "heritage culture and identity" as well as establish "contact and participate in" the mainstream society (Berry 2013, 1127). When they want to keep "the heritage culture" and establish "contact with others" it is called *integration* (Berry & Sam 1997, 297). When they are "absorbed into the dominant group and lose their heritage culture" it is called *assimilation* (Berry 2011, 2.6). *Separation* occurs when people want to keep "their heritage culture" and avoid "interaction with others" (Berry 2013, 1128). Finally, *marginalization* occurs if individuals do not "want to maintain the heritage culture" and do not "establish contact" with others (Berry 2011, 2.6).

The three host countries in this research are defined as "individualistic" while the home country has a collectivistic culture (Hofstede 1991). Moreover, when there are attractive opportunities in the host countries, immigrants quickly establish contact with the native citizens and adapt their values to them (Triandis 1997, 57). Besides, identity recognition and implementation of multiculturalism in the receiving countries (Kymlicka 2012) might impact the participation of immigrants. Therefore, multiculturalism needs to be discussed.

Multiculturalism

Multiculturalism is "a political, social, and cultural movement [that] has aimed to respect the multiplicity of diverging perspectives outside of dominant traditions" (Willet 1998, 1). It is a supplement to citizenship (Kymlicka 2001, 153) and replaces "older forms of ethnic and racial hierarchy with new relations of democratic citizenship" (Kymlicka 2012, 1). For multiculturalism to function, measures to maintain diversity along with equitable and full participation of all groups in the larger society are essential (Moghaddam 2008; Kymlicka 2012). The receiving society needs to provide necessary settings for newcomers, such as opportunities to learn the host language, and immigrants need to establish contact with the host group(s) (Wets 2006). Further, host groups must also be ready for a "mutual change" (Berry 2013, 1125).

There are various multiculturalism policy indices measuring policies related to immigrants, national minorities and indigenous peoples (Banting and Kymlicka 2006) because of their different demands. For example, national minorities might demand "land rights or autonomy", while immigrants might seek "language rights" (Kymlicka 2012, 7). Kurds in Turkey as a national minority demand autonomy and

land rights, but in Western Europe, they ask for language and cultural rights. Circassians, who have an immigrant background, demand language rights both in Turkey and abroad, and land rights in the Caucasus.

European countries use several incorporation policies for immigrants and minorities, ranging from "assimilation to multiculturalism" (Banting and Kymlicka 2013, 581). These are a combination of multicultural and civic integration policies intended to increase "political participation, trust, and social cohesion" and to decrease "prejudices and far-right xenophobia" in their society (Kymlicka 2012, 16). This leads to our second research question:

R2. What acculturation processes do immigrant groups go through?

Research on participation of immigrants

Participation of immigrants is influenced by anti-migration sentiments and Islamophobia, which increased after the terrorist attacks in Europe in the early 21st century. Also, due to conflicts, environmental disasters and wars, immigrants and refugees have become more visible in Europe. Moreover, the increasing Syrian refugee population has resulted in "a rising anti-immigrant sentiments" especially for "the Turkish minority" in Germany (Şenay 2017, 2). Besides, right-wing, populist anti-migrant parties use immigration and refugee populations to attract their votes, and xenophobia contributes to this process (Rydgren 2008).

On the other hand, there is an ongoing discourse about the high level of support for Erdoğan and his Justice and Development Party (AKP) among immigrants from Turkey in the European countries (Chambers 2017). The perception of being discriminated in the host countries contribute to their support for a more authoritarian system and politician at home. This perception reflects events in the host countries. A shift away from multiculturalism policies in the Netherlands has excluded "minorities" from the mainstream society (Entzinger 2006, 177). The power struggles between Flemish and French communities in Belgium might "enable" or "frustrate" the participation of ethnic and minority groups (Jacobs 2001, 107). At the same time, the place, social status or religion influence immigrants' perception of discrimination. For example, second-generation Turkish immigrants in Belgium feel discrimination more in the Flemish city of Antwerp than in the more diverse Brussels (Alanya and Swyngedouw 2014). "Race and ethnicity" are also perceived as possible reasons for "exclusion and discrimination" among second-generation, middle-class Turkish immigrants in Berlin (Barwick and Beamen 2019, 15). Besides, immigrants'

sense of discrimination affects their socio-cultural integration. Polish immigrants' identification with Germany increases over time, while such identification declines among Turks (Diehl et al. 2016, 169). However, high "power threat perception" in the host society results in low recognition of "discrimination against immigrants" (Verkuyten and Martinovic 2015, 257). The "cultural aspects" that is having similar values, and the "kind of education" that immigrants have, affect "perceived group threat" among European societies (Bello 2013, 11).

Multiculturalism model states that if people "feel secure and confident" about their own cultural identities there will be "positive mutual attitudes", whereas, when they feel their identities are threatened there will be "mutual hostilities" (Berry 2013, 1122). So, the multicultural model is essential to support immigrants' participation into the host societies and to decrease the threat perception of native groups.

Data and method

Sample
A total of 1,053 surveys are collected and analysed using the SPSS software. During the factor analyses of the values and acculturation dimensions, Varimax rotation is used. One-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) and posthoc Tukey analyses are used to compare mean differences between groups (Durmuş et al. 2016; Shingala and Rajyaguru 2015).

Females made up 49% and males 51% of the respondents. In terms of education, 57% did not have college degrees (12% had completed high school, 38% technical high school, and 7% primary or secondary school), 30% had bachelor's degrees, and 12% had postgraduate degrees. 29.2% live in Belgium, 22.3% in Germany, 23% in the Netherlands and 25.5% in Turkey. The respondents are grouped as Circassians (23.9%), Kurds (17.2%), Turks (26.4%), native citizens in the Western countries (15.3%) and those having double or triple identifications (17,2%) such as Turk - German, Circassian - Belgian - Turk or Kurd - Belgian. Their ages range from 18 to 77, with an average of 36.

Measurement tools
The survey is composed of two scales and demographics.
Values are measured by Schwartz's PVQ-RR, which is composed of 57 value items, designed to measure 19 values. These are achievement, benevolence (care),

benevolence (dependability), conformity (interpersonal), conformity (rules), face, hedonism, humility, power (dominance), power (resources), self-direction (action), self-direction (thought), security (personal), security (societal), stimulation, universalism (concern), universalism (nature), universalism (tolerance) and tradition (Schwartz et al. 2012, 686; See Figure 1).

Figure 1 The Circular Structure of Individual Values

Source: Schwartz et al., 2012: 669

There are three higher order values, of which only the first level is being used here. It comprises "openness to change, conservation, self-transcendence, and self-enhancement". Two value items are "It is important to her to be wealthy" and "[…] to be free to choose what she does by herself". The internal reliabilities of values change from "0.490 - the humility to 0.850 - tradition". The items are measured using a six-point Likert-scale (1 represents 'not like me at all' and 6 means 'very much like me') (Schwartz et al. 2012, 687).

Acculturation processes are measured by adapted East Asian acculturation scale that is based on Berry's (1980) acculturation scale and consists of 29 items. There are four dimensions: "assimilation (8 items), separation (7 items), integration (5 items), and marginalization (9 items)". The

reliabilities of dimensions range from "0.740 to 0.850" (Barry 2001, 194-6). It is measured by a 7-point Likert-scale (1 represents 'strongly disagree', 4 indicates 'neutral' and 7 stands for 'strongly agree').

Five demographic factors, age, country of residence, education, gender and ethnic identity, are measured by open-ended questions such as 'What is your age?'.

Multiculturalism policy (MCP) index scores are used to select three countries. They are measured for 21 countries (for 1980, 1990, 2000 and 2010). One of the eight[2] items is "the adoption of multiculturalism in school curriculum". The researchers grouped the countries as those with a score between 6 and 8, and are considered "strong" multicultural, "modest" countries score 3.5–5.5, and "weak" countries score below 3. Belgium has an increasing multiculturalism trend from 1980–2010 (1; 1.5; 3.5; 5.5); Germany has consistently weak (0; 0.5; 2; 2.5); and the Netherlands has a decrease after a steady period of improvement (2.5; 3; 4; 2) (Tolley and Vonk 2016, 2–6). The researcher calculated Turkey's MCP score using the same items and arrived at a score of 1.5 (1 is for dual citizenship, even though the individual needs to get permission before applying to the other citizenship; 0.5 is for the exemptions from dress codes). She used the constitution, regulations and the European Commission's report on Turkey to calculate this score (European Commission 2002).

Procedure

Translations of existing values in different languages were obtained from Shalom H. Schwartz, the lead author of the research (**Schwartz et al., 2012**). The English version of the survey was translated into Turkish, Dutch, and French by multilingual colleagues, and three other multilingual colleagues edited the translations. A quantitative methodology using a convenient sampling method was employed. The printed survey was used in Belgium, Germany and the Netherlands,

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[2] There are eight items as "affirmation of multiculturalism, school curriculum, media, exemptions, dual citizenship, funding ethnic groups, bilingual education, and affirmative action" (Tolley and Vonk, 2016: 4–6).

while an online link of the survey was sent to associations or NGOs that counted Circassians, Kurds, and Turks among their members in Turkey. Due to the low rate of return, the printed survey was then used in Istanbul in April and June 2016.

In 2016, the researcher visited NGOs, associations, restaurants, cafes and so on to reach out to immigrants from Turkey of different socio-cultural backgrounds. She completed research visits to immigrant associations in Brussels, Antwerp, Utrecht and Munich, and attended public events and seminars to reach immigrants from different ethnic groups. In all, two months in Belgium (Brussels, Antwerp, and Limburg), 15 days in Germany (Munich, Berlin), 20 days in the Netherlands (Amsterdam, Utrecht, Rotterdam, The Hague) and 21 days in Turkey (Istanbul) has been used to collect data. Most of the data for Circassians in Germany and the Netherlands collected during a spring meeting of the Circassian Cultural Association in Munich (TKM 2020). There were participants from Berlin, Bremen, Munich, Monchengladbach and Nuremberg in Germany, and Amsterdam, Utrecht and Rotterdam in the Netherlands.

The data for native groups was collected primarily from students at the University of Antwerp (Flemish) and the Université Catholique de Louvain (French) in Belgium; Humboldt University in Berlin; and Utrecht University in the Netherlands.

Figure 2 Research Model

Empirical results

Factor and reliability analyses

After the factor analyses, 10 values emerged and 51 of 57 values items were retained. Six value items (2, 3, 4, 6, 22 and 38) were excluded from further analysis because they had low factor loading, while one (humility) value with two items (7 and 54) was dropped due to low reliability (α = 0.473). Internal reliabilities of the remaining nine values were: power (dominance, resources) – achievement (α = 0.821), self-direction (action, thought) (α = 0.785), stimulation – hedonism (α = 0.700), conformity (rules) – security (personal) (α = 0.774), tradition – security (societal) (α = 0.836), benevolence (care, dependability) (α = 0.783), universalism (concern, tolerance) (α = 0.771), universalism (nature) (α = 0.816) and face (α = 0.691) (Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin, or KMO, Test for sampling adequacy= 902, variance = 55.5%, $p < 0.000$) (Durmuş et al. 2016) (See Table 1a).

Five acculturation dimensions emerged, while 24 acculturation items stayed out of 29. Five items were excluded due to low factor loadings. Assimilation was divided into two dimensions: hard and soft assimilation. Internal reliabilities of the five dimensions were: marginalization (α = 0.741), separation (α = 0.725), hard assimilation (α = 0.733), soft assimilation (α = 0.674) and integration (α = 0.560). Integration was retained for further analysis even though it had a low reliability score because of its importance to the research questions (KMO = 816, variance = 43%, $p < 0.000$) (Durmuş et al. 2016) (See Table 1b).

After the Pearson correlation analyses, there was no correlation over 0.7 between independent variables, which is an indication of the absence of multicollinearity (See Table 4). Country-based group mean differences of values and acculturation differences were checked using one-way ANOVA and post-hoc Tukey comparison tests (Durmuş et al. 2016, 156; Shingala and Rajyaguru 2015, 23).

Research questions

"Do immigrant and native groups have similar values?"

The results show that immigrant groups have a higher *conservation higher-order value* composed of three values. Immigrants have a higher *tradition – security (societal)* value means (i.e., maintaining traditional values and ways of thinking, or protecting the country itself against all threats) both in Belgium (F = 21.475; $p < .000$) and in the Netherlands (F = 16.484; $p < .000$).

Circassians have higher *conformity (rules) – security (personal)* value means

(i.e., not violating rules and regulations; staying personally safe and secure) compared to Flemish and French respondents in Belgium (F = 4.980; p < .000), and Germans and Kurds in Germany (F = 4.825; p < .000). Turks have higher conformity (rules) – security (personal) value means compared to the Dutch in the Netherlands (F = 3.711; p < .002).

All immigrant groups have higher *face* value means (i.e., avoiding humiliation or protecting public image) compared to Flemish and French respondents in Belgium (F = 8.318; p < .000), and the Dutch in the Netherlands (F = 10.484; p < .000) (Schwartz et al. 2012).

In Belgium, Kurds and Turks have a higher *power (dominance, resources) – achievement* value means (i.e., becoming wealthy or successful) compared to the French (F = 3.804; p < .001). In Germany, Circassians have a higher power (dominance – resources*) – achievement value means than Kurds (F = 3.804; p < .001), and in the Netherlands, Turks have higher scores than Dutch (F = 2.869; p > .010).

Circassian and Dutch respondents have a higher *self - direction (action – thought)* value means (i.e., forming views independently; being free) compared to Kurds in the Netherlands (F = 4.115; p < .001).

Finally, Circassians in Belgium have higher *universalism (concern – tolerance)* value means (i.e., believing that the vulnerable and weak in society should be protected; listening to and understanding people who are different) compared to Flemish respondents (F =2.255; p > .030). All immigrant groups a have higher *universalism (nature)* value means (i.e., taking part in activities to defend nature) compared to the Dutch in the Netherlands (F = 6.129; p < .000) (See Tables 2a, 2b, 2c,).

In Turkey, Circassians and Turks have both higher *tradition – security (societal)* (F = 8.270; p < .000) and *conformity (rules) – security (personal)* value means compared to Kurds (F = 7.696; p< .000). These are the items of *conservation* higher-order value. Turks also have higher *power–achievement* value means compared to Kurds (F = 3.235, p < .007). Besides, Turks have higher *stimulation – hedonism* value means (i.e., enjoying life's pleasures) than Circassians (F = 2.698; p < .021) (See Table 2d).

To summarize, the value differences exist in Turkey between Circassians and Kurds (two values), Circassians and Turks (one), and Kurds and Turks (three) continue for Circassians and Kurds living in Germany (three), and decrease for Kurds and Turks living in Germany and the Netherlands (one).

"What acculturation processes do immigrant groups go through?"

The results show that Circassians have higher *hard assimilation* means in the Netherlands than in Belgium (F = 2.330, p < .048). They have higher *soft assimilation* means compared to Circassians in the three Western countries (F = 39.810, p < .000 for all) and higher *integration* means in Turkey than in Belgium (F = 3.735, p < .025).

Moreover, Kurds have higher *separation* means in the Netherlands than in Belgium and Germany (F = 2.794, p < .035 for both). They have higher *hard assimilation* means in Turkey than Belgium and Germany, (F = 3.604, p < .048 (BE); p < .019 (NL)), as well as higher *soft assimilation* means in Turkey compared to all European countries (F = 14.175, p < .000 for all). Turks also have higher *separation* means in the Netherlands than in Belgium and Germany (F = 8.999; p < .001 for both). They have higher *hard assimilation* means in Belgium than in Germany and the Netherlands (F = 4.747; p < .034 (DE); p < .016 (NL)) (See Table 3.). There is no significant difference between groups concerning *marginalization.*

Discussions and conclusion

This comparative research aimed to contribute to the literature on individual values and acculturation processes of Circassian, Kurd and Turk immigrants in Belgium, Germany, the Netherlands. The first research question "*Do immigrant and native groups have similar values?*" confirmed the value similarities and differences among immigrant groups, and between immigrant and native groups. In Belgium, there are value differences only between immigrant and native groups, which is a modest multicultural country with an MCP score of 5.5. It possibly allows immigrants to hold heritage cultural values while adopting the values of the host countries. Results show value differences among immigrant groups and between immigrant and native groups in Germany, and the Netherlands, which are defined as low multicultural countries and have low MCP scores (below 3) (Tolley and Vonk 2016).

The first group of differences are related to the *high conservation higher-order* values of immigrant compared to native groups. Immigrant groups have a higher *tradition – security (societal)* values in Belgium and the Netherlands. Moreover, Circassians in Belgium than to French and Flemish communities, and in Germany compared to Germans (and Kurds) have higher *conformity (rules) –security*
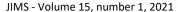
(personal) value means. The same is seen with Turks when compared to the Dutch in the Netherlands. All immigrant groups have higher *face* value means compared to French and Flemish communities in Belgium and the Dutch in the Netherlands.

The higher conservation values of immigrant groups can be attributed to their roots in Turkey, which is defined as a collectivistic culture (Hofstede 1991). Also, shared religion and culture might have caused immigrant groups to have similar values, as mentioned by Ralston et al. (2007). Immigrants from Turkey also have connections with both home and host countries because they regularly travel back and forth (Kaya, 2007). Further, Kurds and Circassians are defined as a form of "transnational diaspora" having identities and networks that go beyond national borders (Bauböck 2006, 29). Moreover, Kurdish diaspora elites have a dual identity in-between "homeland and diaspora" (Akkaya 2013, 121). It is also possible to consider immigrants from Turkey as bicultural individuals, who reaffirm their home identity while living abroad (Kozmitski 1996; Nguyen 2013). Benedict Anderson (1991) explains that the developments in technology and media, and increasing transportation facilities generate opportunities for individuals and groups to rethink or redefine their culture and identity, like an "imagined community". Immigrants from Turkey have more resources and opportunities to open cultural, religious centres or associations in liberal European countries compared to Turkey, which possibly helped them to rediscover their culture and identity like an "imagined community".

All immigrant groups have higher *universalism (nature)* value means compared to Dutch in the Netherlands. Moreover, Circassians have higher *universalism (concern – tolerance)* value means than the Flemish in Belgium. Universalism, which is a value under *self-transcendence,* "increases with age" and together with high education and low-security values, generate positive attitudes towards migration (Schwartz 2007, 179; Davidov et al. 2008). The participants from three host countries were the university students whose mean age was lower than the immigrant groups. Being young might be the reason for lower universalism values of Dutch and Flemish university students and needs further exploration.

Another difference is related to *power (dominance – resources) – achievement* value means, which is connected to be successful or wealthy, and belongs to *self-enhancement* higher order value. In Belgium, Kurds and Turks have higher power (dominance – resources) – achievement value means than French respondents, while in the Netherlands, Turks have higher means compared to the

Dutch. This indicates that these immigrants have goals that they aspire to reach. However, in Turkey, mainstream group Turks, have higher power (dominance – resources) – achievement means than Kurds.

The final higher-order value point of difference is in terms of *openness to change*. One of the two items is the higher *self-direction (action–thought)* value means of Circassian and Dutch respondents compared to Kurds in the Netherlands. This result shows that Circassians in the Netherlands have closer openness to change values with the Dutch people. The second value of *openness to change* occurred only in Turkey. Turks have higher *stimulation – hedonism* value means than Circassians.

The value differences of immigrant groups exist in Turkey continue for Circassians and Kurds living in Germany (three), and decrease for Kurds and Turks living in Germany and the Netherlands (one). Circassians have three value differences from Kurds and one from Turks. Circassians in Germany have higher *tradition – security (societal)* means than Turks and Kurds, and higher *conformity (rules) – security (personal)* and *power (dominance – resources) –achievement* value means compared to Kurds. The current research was done when decentralization and autonomy of Kurdish populated regions were publicly discussed, and pro-Kurdish People's Democratic Party (HDP) was increasing its votes. As Doğan (2009) and Kaya (2004) mention, Circassians in Turkey try to differentiate themselves from Kurdish politics. We might conclude that existing value differences and continued conflict in the Kurdish-populated regions contributed to the value differences between Circassians and Kurds in Germany. An examination of the values of Kurds living in Turkey is likely to find reflections of the current situation. They have *lower conformity (rules) – security (personal)* (i.e., not violating rules and regulations), and *tradition – security (societal)* (i.e., the state can defend its citizens) value means compared to Circassians.

The first research question also yielded results showing value similarities of immigrants with native groups. For example, Circassians have more similar values with Germans (two differences), and with the French in Belgium and the Dutch in the Netherlands (three differences). They have four value differences with the Flemish community in Belgium.

Moreover, Kurds and Turks have value similarities with Germans (no and one difference respectively) and with the Flemish community in Belgium (two differences each). Like Euro-Turks, who are defined as "European with their own cultural, economic or social identities" (Kaya 2007; Kaya and Kentel 2005, 69), immigrant

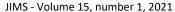groups carry both their unique cultural peculiarities and European values.

However, as Chambers (2017) points out, there is an ongoing discussion on the low participation or lack of European values among immigrants from Turkey in Germany, especially in light of their support for AKP and Erdoğan during the elections in Turkey. Why do immigrants from Turkey, who benefit from liberal democratic rights and opportunities, support a conservative and authoritarian regime in their home country? The answer might rest in the fact that economic and democratic gains in Turkey started after the EU pre-accession process since 1999, and Erdoğan (who came to power in 2003) got the credit. The European refugee deal, signed after the war in Syria in 2015, has also been used to increase the popularity of AKP and Erdoğan (Riegert 2020).

We must also discuss the rising nationalism and exclusion of immigrants and minorities in the host countries as contributors to immigrants' support for the current regime in Turkey. Erdikmen (2018) explains that immigrants from Turkey face discrimination based on their names, dresses or at schools, cafes and other public spaces, and this pushes them to support the current regime. Diehl et al. (2016) state that the perception of discrimination affects the socio-cultural integration of immigrants over time. As a result, the identification with Germany decreases among immigrants from Turkey, which is just the opposite for the immigrants from Poland, whose identification with Germany increases in time.

Another finding of current research is that Turks and Kurds have the *highest value differences* with the Dutch in the Netherlands (Kurds: 5; Turks: 6). This might be associated with decreasing multiculturalism and increasing assimilationist policies since the 2000s. From 2000 to 2020, the MCP score of the Netherlands decreases by 50 per cent, (from 4 to 2). It is related to changes in three factors: "affirmation of multiculturalism" (from 0.5 to 0), "media" (from 1 to 0.5) and "affirmative action" (from 1 to 0) (Tolley and Vonk 2016: 72).

The second research question, "*What acculturation processes do immigrant groups go through?",* confirms different acculturation processes of immigrant groups. Circassians, who have more *similar values* with Dutch respondents than do Kurds or Turks, also have high *hard assimilation* means in the Netherlands. They are the immigrant group who have high *self - direction (action – thought)* values (together with the Dutch), which belongs to the *openness to change higher-order* values. We may assume that the similarity of values is due to Circassians' relatively small population and their assimilation in the Netherlands.

Although the Netherlands had a higher MCP score in 2000 (4), it decreased to two in 2010. This shift from more multicultural to assimilationist policies may result in the exclusion of minorities, in our example Kurds and Turks, "from the economic and social mainstream of Dutch society" (Entzinger 2006, 177). Having a more crowded community compared to Circassians, and a sense of discrimination and exclusion lead Kurds and Turks to communicate more with their heritage culture that is confirmed by their different values from the Dutch. It resulted in having *high separation* means. Separation occurs when people continue to keep "their heritage culture" and avoid "interaction with others" (Berry 2013, 1128).

The native groups' recognition of discrimination against immigrants can be affected by their threat perception (Verkuyten and Martinovic 2015, 257). Besides, immigrants' sense of discrimination is related to their socio-cultural integration and identification with the host country, which decreases for Turks and increases for Polish citizens over time (Diehl et al. 2016, 169). Since immigrants and native groups continue to live, it is necessary to reduce both the perceptions of discrimination and threat, which feeds each other, in diverse European societies.

There is also higher *hard assimilation* means of Turks in Belgium, and unexpected, compared to those in Germany and the Netherlands. Belgium is a modestly multicultural country, and its MCP score increased from 3.5 in 2000 to 5.5 in 2010. This is because of improvements in "school curriculum" (from 0 to 0.5), "funding ethnic groups" (from 0.5 to 1) and "affirmative action" (from 0 to 1) (Tolley and Vonk 2016: 19). The expectation was that immigrants in Belgium would have higher integration means due to the opportunities provided to practice their heritage culture while learning the host culture. However, Turks in Belgium have high hard assimilation means, voluntary or not, they practice the host culture and cease to practice their heritage culture. According to Jacobs (2001), the power struggles between communities can both "enable" or "frustrate" the participation of ethnic and minority groups. So, the power struggle between Flemish and French communities, and the nationalist, anti-migrant N-VA in Parliament, might also have contributed to the frustration of Turks and forced them to assimilate into Belgian society.

In Turkey, Circassians and Kurds have higher *soft assimilation* means than those living in all three countries; Kurds have higher *hard assimilation* means in Turkey compared to those in Belgium and the Netherlands. This can be related to Turkey's policies that aimed at assimilation rather than multiculturalism, and is confirmed with the low multiculturalism score counted by the author as "1.5".

Another unexpected result of the research is the significant *integration* scores

among Circassians in Turkey compared to those in Belgium. It might be associated with Circassians' acceptance of Turkey as the second homeland after having lived there for three to four generations since their exile from the Caucasus in 1864. This result suggests that further research will be helpful to explore the reasons for no occurrence of integration as an acculturation process in three European countries.

The sense of discrimination and exclusion of immigrants in the host countries, caused by increasing nationalism and perception of threat among native groups in the face of growing immigrant and refugee populations is dangerous (Şenay 2017; Rydgren 200) because these are obstacles for establishing contact and developing trust. Our research findings aimed to contribute to the literature confirming the value similarities of immigrant and native groups in three countries. The value similarities exist for all groups in Germany, for Turks and Kurds (with Flemish community) and Circassians (with the French) in Belgium, and Circassians in the Netherlands. As Bello (2013) mentions having similar cultural values are essential to decrease the threat perception of native citizens. These are significant results for immigrants and native groups who continue to live in the same country.

For this reason, the European authorities need to find out the antecedents of the sense of discrimination among immigrants vis-à-vis the perception of threat among native groups and seek solutions to decrease them. It is crucial to create a means to establish contact between immigrant and native groups that will lead to positive attitudes (Berry 2013; Kymlicka, 2012), such as building trust. The participation of immigrants as equal individuals with natives, need to be supported not only for the language and social skills for the economic life but also in all spheres, including social and political spheres in the host countries (Ottonelli and Torresi, 2012). It will contribute to coherent, colourful, diverse and peaceful European societies.

This research used data from voluntary participants. It required reaching out to individuals with different socio-cultural backgrounds, so general demographic statistics or European values data could not be used, as they register immigrants by nationality. Therefore, the researcher instead contacted immigrant associations, NGOs, cafes and restaurants, and also visited conferences and activities attended by immigrants from Turkey. Consequently, it isn't easy to generalize the results for the larger society. Moreover, the researcher concentrated on ethnic groups and country of residence, and the findings on age, education and gender were not presented here. Further research will help to deepen the results.

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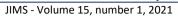
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Appendices

Table 1a Values – Higher-order Values

Values and an example item	Items	Factor loadings (min-max)	Cron. Alpha (α)	Variance
Conservation F3. Conformity (rules) – security (personal) COR:15, 31, 42 (42 – to obey all laws) SEP:13, 26, 53 (13 – to avoid disease and protect her health)	6	.449 – .654	.774	6.552
F5. Tradition – security (societal) TRA:18, 33, 40 (18 – to maintain traditional values and ways of thinking) SES: 35, 50 (35 – to have a strong state that can defend its citizens)	6	.484 – .776	.836	3.622
Conservation – Self-enhancement F9. Face FAC: 9, 24, 49 (49 – never to be humiliated)	3	.559 – .697	.691	2.338

Values and an example item	Items	Factor loadings (min-max)	Cron. Alpha (α)	Variance
Self-enhancement F1. Power (dominance – resources) – achievement POD:29, 41 (41 – to be the one who tells others what to do) POR:12, 20, 44 (20 – to be wealthy) Achievement: 32, 48 (32 – to be very successful).	7	.518 – .749	.821	19.011
Openness to change (O2C) F2. Self-direction (action - thought) SDA:16, 30, 56 (16 – to make her own decisions about her life) SDT: 1, 23, 39 (1 – to form her views independently) Achievement 17 (to have ambitions in life)	7	.415 – .723	.785	9.513
F8. Stimulation – hedonism ST:10, 28, 43 (28 – to take risks that make life exciting) HE: 36, 46 (36 – to enjoy life's pleasures)	5	.459 – .731	.700	2.464
Self-transcendence F4. Benevolence (care – dependability) BEC: 11, 27, 45 (11 – to take care of people she is close to) BED: 19, 27, 55 (27 – be a dependable and trustworthy friend)	6	.534 – .664	.783	4.519
F6. Universalism (concern – tolerance) UNC: 5, 37, 52 (37 – every person…have equal opportunities…) UNT: 14, 34, 57 (14 – be tolerant... to all kinds of people and groups)	6	.484 – .663	.771	2.836
F7. Universalism (nature) UNN: 8, 21, 45 (8 – to care for nature)	3	.769 – .821	.816	2.532
Self-transcendence – Conservation F10. Humility (not used for analysis – low reliability) HU:7.54 (7 – never to think she deserves more than other people)	2	.403 – .711	.473	2.124
Total variance explained				55.510
Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin-KMO- Measure of Sampling Adequacy Bartlett's Test of Sphericity	Approx. Chi-Square Df p			902 20329.054 1275

Values and an example item	Items	Factor loadings (min-max)	Cron. Alpha (α)	Variance
				0.000

Table 1b Acculturation Dimensions

Values and an example item	Items	Factor loadings (min-max)	Cron. Alpha (α)	Variance
Marginalization (There are times when I think no one understands me).	6 (-3)	.506; .695	.741	9.926
Separation (My closes friends are from my home culture)	6 (-1)	.528; .717	.725	9.455
Hard assimilation (I get along better with Germans than Turks)	4	.635; .754	.733	9.047
Soft assimilation (I write better in German than Turkish)	4	.573; .790	.674	7.929
Integration (I have both German and Turkish friends)	4 (-1)	.512 .653	.560* (low)	6.776
Total variance explained				43.133
KMO- Measure of Sampling Adequacy. Bartlett's Test of Sphericity		Approx. Chi-Square Df p		816 3871.717 351 0.000

Table 2a Value Differences – Belgium (ANOVA Tukey)

	Immigrant	Host	Mean diff.	SD	p
Conservation					
F5.Tradition – security	Circassian	Flemish	1.489	0.162	0.000
(societal)	Kurd	Flemish	0.936	0.179	0.000
	Turk	Flemish	1.147	0.155	0.000
	Circassian	French	1.400	0.156	0.000

	Kurd	French	0.847	0.173	0.000
	Turk	French	1.273	0.161	0.000
F3. Conformity (rules) – security (personal)	Circassian	Flemish	0.482	0.154	0.042
	Circassian	French	0.550	0.148	0.006
F9. Face	Circassian	Flemish	0.943	0.163	0.000
	Turk	Flemish	0.601	0.162	0.006
	Kurd	Flemish	0.589	0.180	0.027
	Circassian	French	0.902	0.157	0.000
	Kurd	French	0.553	0.168	0.018
	Turk	French	0.547	0.174	0.040
Self - enhancement					
F1. Power (dominance – resources) – achievement	Turk	French	0.628	0.178	0.011
	Kurd	French	0.684	0.199	0.015
Self-transcendence					
F6. Universalism (concern – tolerance)	Circassian	Flemish	0.465	0.136	0.017

Table 2b Value Differences – Germany (ANOVA, Tukey)

	Immigrant	Host / immigrant	Mean diff.	SD	p
Conservation					
F5.Tradition – security (societal)	Circassians	German	1.169	0.241	0.000
	Circassian	Kurd	1.189	0.250	0.000
	Circassian	Turk	0.776	0.288	0.018
	Turk	German	0.915	0.232	0.000
F3. Conformity (rules) – security (personal)	Circassian	German	0.645	0.193	0.022
	Circassian	Kurd	0.740	0.201	0.007
Self - enhancement					
Power (dominance – resources) – achievement	Circassian	Kurd	0.581	0.188	0.046

Table 2c Value Differences – the Netherlands (ANOVA, Tukey)

	Immigrant	Host / immigrant	Mean diff.	SD	p
Conservation					
F5. Tradition –	Circassian	Dutch	1.389	0.211	0.000
security (societal)	Kurd	Dutch	0.997	0.196	0.000
	Turk	Dutch	1.520	0.173	0.000
F3. Conformity (rules)Turk – security (personal)		Dutch	0.579	0.143	0.001
F9. Face	Circassian	Dutch	0.994	0.213	0.000
	Kurd	Dutch	0.972	0.198	0.000
	Turk	Dutch	1.112	0.174	0.000
Self-enhancement					
F1. Power (dominanceTurk – resources) – achievement		Dutch	0.545	0.174	0.033
Openness to change					
F2. Self-direction	Circassian	Kurd	0.474	0.135	0.010
(action - thought)	Dutch	Kurd	0.498	0.118	0.001
Self- transcendence					
F7. UniversalismCircassian (nature)		Dutch	1.137	0.245	0.000
	Kurd	Dutch	1.104	0.227	0.000
	Turk	Dutch	0.720	0.201	0.007

Table 2d Value Differences – Turkey (ANOVA, Tukey)

	Immigrant	Host / immigrant	Mean diff.	SD	p
Conservation					
F5. Tradition –	Circassian	Kurd	0.989	0.195	0.000
security (societal)	Turk	Kurd	0.860	0.203	0.000
F3. Conformity (rules) –	Circassian	Kurd	0.641	0.174	0.004
security (personal)	Turks	Kurd	1.052	0.181	0.000
Self - enhancement					

| F1. Power (dominance –Turk resources) – achievement | Kurd | 0.541 | 0.184 | 0.041 |

Openness to Change

| F8. Stimulation – hedonism Turk | Circassian | 0.474 | 0.140 | 0.010 |

Table 3 Acculturation Differences – Groups (ANOVA, Tukey)

	Country I	Country II	Mean diff.	SD	p
Circassians					
Hard assimilation	The Netherlands	Belgium	0.702	0.257	0.048
Soft assimilation	Turkey	Belgium	2.406	0.255	0.000
		Germany	2.038	0.263	0.000
		The Netherlands	1.793	0.297	0.000
Integration	Turkey	Belgium	0.452	0.154	0.025
Kurds					
Separation	The Netherlands	Belgium	0.701	0.247	0.035
		Germany	0.729	0.258	0.035
Hard assimilation	Turkey	Belgium	0.704	0.260	0.048
		The Netherlands	0.806	0.266	0.019
Soft assimilation	Turkey	Belgium	1.779	0.336	0.000
		Germany	1.589	0.346	0.000
		The Netherlands	1.736	0.323	0.000
Turks					
Separation	The Netherlands	Belgium	0.773	0.213	0.001
		Germany	0.801	0.220	0.001
Hard assimilation	Belgium	Germany	0.627	0.249	0.034
		The Netherlands	0.662	0.238	0.016

Table 4 Correlations

	PA	SD	CS	B	T	UCT	UC	SH	F	M	S	HA	SA	I	Age	G	CL	EI	Edu
Power (dom.-res.) – achievement	1																		
Self-direction (action-thought)	,139**	1																	
Conformity (rules) - security (personal)	,368**	,171**	1																
Benevolence (care - dependability)	,144**	,483**	,357**	1															
Tradition-security (societal)	,356**	,087**	,560**	,413**	1														
Universalism (concern - tolerance)	,009	,506**	,287**	,492**	,229**	1													
Universalism (nature)	,085**	,309**	,251**	,265**	,169**	,401**	1												
Stimulation-hedonism	,339**	,425**	,160**	,276**	,106**	,272**	,185**	1											
Face	,393**	,224**	,415**	,403**	,465**	,245**	,307**	,151**	1										

Marginalization	-,081*	,101**	-,063	,069	-,043	,091*	-,015	,054	-,105**	1									
Separation	,090*	-,041	,070	,127**	,278**	,014	-,004	-,073	,132**	-,175**	1								
Hard assimilation	,125**	-,038	,144**	-,100**	-,018	-,049	,003	,042	,032	-,261**	-,232**	1							
Soft assimilation.	,081*	,138**	-,024	,019	-,048	-,001	-,098**	,142**	-,054	,051	-,088*	,160**	1						
Integration	,125**	,192**	,051	,186**	,066	,142**	,062	,156**	,098**	,170**	-,001	-,017	,248**	1					
Age	-,043	,009	,048	-,023	,061*	,117**	,333**	-,222**	,241**	-,084*	-,013	,078*	-,277**	-,058	1				
Gender	,076*	-,080**	-,103**	-,117**	-,001	-,097**	,052	-,051	,061*	,030	,025	-,048	-,065	-,031	,158**	1			
Country live	-,002	-,087**	,007	-,052	-,051	-,108**	-,247**	-,036	-,184**	,051	,004	,073	-,332**	-,134**	-,110**	-,075*	1		
Ethnic ID	-,021	,012	,038	-,037	-,034	,013	-,050	-,016	-,044	-,003	-,140**	,122**	,009	-,084*	,026	-,015	,283**	1	
Education	-,036	,228**	-,059	,052	-,166**	,090**	-,010	,081**	-,103**	,213**	-,078*	-,117**	,307**	,186**	-,030	-,051	-,135**	,007	1
Mean	3,37	5,20	4,27	5,21	4,36	5,13	4,66	4,35	4,74	4,43	4,48	3,10	3,82	5,63	36,03	1,51	2,43	43,89	3,02
SD	1,01	0,62	0,96	0,67	1,20	0,74	1,09	0,87	1,02	1,23	1,36	1,36	1,79	1,07	14,24	0,50	1,10	60,83	1,20
N	1053	1053	1053	1053	1053	1053	1053	1053	1053	706	706	706	706	706	1053	1053	1053	1053	1053

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).   *. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).