The Dynamics of Acculturation: An Intergroup Perspective

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Contents

Abstract

The growing global trend of migration gives social psychological enquiry into acculturation processes particular contemporary relevance. Inspired by one of the earliest definitions of acculturation [Redfield, R., Linton, R., & Herskovits, M. (1936). Memorandum on the study of acculturation. *American Anthropologist,*

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38, 149–152.], we present a case for considering acculturation as a dynamic intergroup process. We first review research stimulated by the dominant perspective in the field, Berry's acculturation framework. Noting several limitations of that work, we identify five issues which have defined our own research agenda: (1) the mutual influence of acculturation preferences and intergroup attitudes; (2) the influence of the perceived acculturation preferences of the outgroup on own acculturation and intergroup attitudes; (3) discrepancies between ingroup and outgroup acculturation attitudes as a determinant of intergroup attitudes; (4) the importance of the intergroup climate in which acculturation takes place; and (5) acculturation as a process—developmental and longitudinal perspectives. We review research of others and our own that document each of these points: longitudinal and experimental studies, rarities in the acculturation literature, figure prominently. Research settings include Turkish–German relations in Germany, indigenous–nonindigenous relations in Chile, African migrants to Italy and ethnic majority–minority relations in the United Kingdom. We conclude with an agenda for future acculturation research and some policy implications of our analysis.

Acculturation comprehends those phenomena which result 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, Linton, and Herskovits (1936, p. 149)

1. INTRODUCTION

Human beings, it could be said, have always been a migratory species. From Darwin (1871) onward, most anthropologists and biologists have been in agreement that the history of human evolution has also been a history of human *migration*. From earliest times, human beings have probably always explored new environments and have undergone many biological and cultural adaptations as a result (Cavalli-Sforza, 1997; Diamond, 1992; Stringer & McKie, 1996). Although the nature of those first human movements can only be guessed at from the paleontological and genomic record, there is little doubt about the scale of contemporary migration patterns. Every year sees millions of people on the move, fleeing natural disasters, persecution or wars, or seeking economic or cultural enrichment. According to recent international statistics, over 195 million people live in a country other than that of their birth (UN Department of Economic & Social Affairs, 2008).

Just as the earliest human migration must have brought about mutual adaptations of people and the environments they encountered, so too is

there likely to be much contemporary adaptation as migrants and the members of receiving societies deal with the challenges posed by mass migration. From a social psychological point of view, these challenges are several. Immigrants to a country may need to construct new social identities, learn new social mores, and will sometimes experience a decidedly frosty welcome from their new country of settlement. Members of the receiving society will often be confronted by groups with very different cultural values and practices which they may perceive as a threat to their economic well-being, to their traditional way of life, or both. It is exactly these mutual accommodations of minority (migrant) and majority (receiving society) groups—their nature, their causes, and their consequences—that provide the focus of this chapter.

The processes by which different cultural groups adapt to one another are commonly called acculturation. The study of acculturation began to interest social scientists in the first few decades of the twentieth century. Although they were not the first to conceptualize the process of acculturation—for example, Thomas and Znaniecki's (1918–1920/1984) classic study of Polish migration preceded them by nearly 20 years—the origins of most modern approaches to acculturation are often credited to Redfield et al. (1936), whose definition we have chosen as the epigraph to this chapter. As we shall see, their definition is particularly apt for our purposes because it highlights both the dynamic and intergroup nature of acculturation. Ironically, it is precisely those two aspects that have been somewhat neglected in most subsequent research on the topic.

In this chapter, we seek to address that neglect. We do so by presenting a program of empirical work in which intergroup relations play a central role and in which acculturation can be seen as a dynamic process of mutual influence between groups and over time. We begin by reviewing the major developments in the social psychology of acculturation over the past three decades. That review focuses mainly on the framework developed by Berry and his colleagues because that has come to dominate the contemporary study of acculturation. In our review, we identify five outstanding issues that are in urgent need of attention, and these issues provide the structure for Section 3, where we present some of the results of our work conducted over the past 10 years. In that work, we not only tackle several new theoretical issues, but we also occasionally employ methodologies seldom encountered in the acculturation literature—namely, longitudinal and experimental designs, both well suited for studying change. In our concluding section, we draw together the various threads of our argument to make the case for our dynamic intergroup perspective. We identify several new promising lines of enquiry and suggest some policy implications of our analysis.

2. THE SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY OF ACCULTURATION: A CRITICAL REVIEW

2.1. Theoretical approaches

The years following the publication of Redfield et al.'s (1936) brief memorandum witnessed a plethora of different acculturation theories and associated research (Rudmin, 2003). Of these, probably the most influential within psychology has been the framework developed by Berry and his associates (Berry, 1976, 1990, 1997; Berry, Phinney, Sam, & Vedder, 2006; Sommerland & Berry, 1970). This framework conceives of the process of acculturation in terms of two orthogonal dimensions: the wish to preserve aspects of one's cultural heritage (desire for culture maintenance) and the wish to interact with members of another group (desire for contact). Berry has proposed that, depending on their relative locations on these two dimensions, people can be classified as adopting one of four acculturation strategies or attitudes[1]: *Integration* (high on both culture maintenance and contact), *Assimilation* (low on culture maintenance, high on contact), *Separation* (high on culture maintenance, low on contact), and *Marginalization* (low on both).

The principal purpose of this framework has been to predict the adaptation outcomes of minority group members in terms of acculturative stress, mental and physical health, and other indicators of well-being. These are thought to depend in part on the prevailing societal climate within which the acculturation is taking place (Berry, 1997, 2008): where that climate is consistent with its constituent groups' acculturation preferences, the outcomes are predicted to be more positive than if there is discordance between them. Nevertheless, the general hypothesis has been that, all things being equal, the best outcomes should be obtained with Integration, the worst outcomes would be associated with Marginalization, with Separation and Assimilation yielding outcomes of intermediate favorability (Berry, 1997).

A number of other acculturation models exist which, although using similar nomenclature to Berry's and in some cases making similar predictions, differ in their conceptualization of the acculturation process and hence in their operationalizations. For instance, several accounts view acculturation as a question of identification rather than one of preferred

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[1] There is some terminological variability in the literature. In addition to "strategies" and "attitudes," one can find "preferences," "orientations," "styles," and "ideologies" being used more or less synonymously. Although there are doubtless valid arguments for preferring one term over another—for example, "strategies" and "preferences" might imply that the person holding them had exercised a degree of choice over the matter, which is not necessarily the case in all acculturation contexts (Berry, 1997)—such arguments are not really germane for our current purposes. Thus, we will tend to use "strategy," "attitude," and "preference" interchangeably.

behavioral practices (Hutnik, 1991; Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, in press; Phinney, 1990, 2003): do minority members primarily identify with their heritage culture, with the majority culture, with both, or with neither? Broadly speaking, such theories claim that identification with both cultural groups—so-called biculturalism or dual identification—confers psycho-social and adaptation advantages for ethnic minorities over identification with just one, although there may be contextual and personality factors that moderate this general conclusion (Benet-Martinez & Haritatos, 2005; Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2007, 2010; Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind, & Vedder, 2001; Ward & Kennedy, 1994).

Another potentially important variation to the Berry framework was suggested by Ward and Kennedy (1994) and further developed by Bourhis, Moise, Perreault, and Senecal (1997). These researchers pointed out that the two dimensions in Berry's framework have a different focus: culture main-tenance taps people's attitudes toward certain cultural practices of their group, while contact taps their intentions to interact with and form relation-ships with members of the outgroup. To resolve this inconsistency, Bourhis et al. (1997) proposed that the contact dimension be replaced by "culture adoption"—that is, attitudes toward cultural practices of the other group. As yet, it is not clear whether reconceptualizing the acculturation process in this way yields materially different results, either in terms of the distribution of people across the four acculturation "types" or in terms of relationships with psychosocial outcomes (Berry & Colette, 2008; Safdar, 2008; Snauwaert, Soenens, Vanbeselaere, & Boen, 2003; Van Acker & Vanbeselaere, in press; Van de Vijver, 2008). We return to this issue in Sections 3 and 4.

More directly relevant to the concerns of this chapter have been theo-retical developments that have highlighted an aspect of Berry's framework that is not always made explicit in the acculturation research that it has inspired. Recall that in Berry's model, the expectation of a favorable psychosocial prognosis for minority groups adopting Integration is contin-gent on the prevailing climate in the dominant society (Berry, 1997, 2008). Where the latter is antithetical to multiculturalism, those with Integrationist orientations are thought to be vulnerable to as much if not more stress than those with Assimilationist or Separatist outlooks. In other words, the out-comes of acculturation may depend on the concordance between the respective positions adopted by minority and majority groups in particular societal contexts.

This idea is central to the models developed by Bourhis et al. (1997) and Piontkowski, Rohmann, and Florack (2002). Bourhis and colleagues (1997) introduced the Interactive Acculturation Model (IAM), in which they propose that intergroup relations between minority and majority are best predicted by the relative "fit" between minority and majority acculturation preferences. The IAM distinguishes between three levels of fit: consensual,

problematic, and conflictual. Consensual fit is thought to lead to lowest acculturative stress, lowest levels of intergroup tension, most positive interethnic attitudes, fewest negative stereotypes, and lowest levels of discrimination, whereas conflictual fit is thought to result in the worst outcomes of all. Consensual fit is thought to be achieved only if both the minority and the majority groups prefer Integration or if both groups simultaneously favor Assimilation. All other combinations are thought to lead to either problematic or conflictual fit.

A slightly different conceptualization of fit was proposed by Piontkowski et al. (2002) with their concordance model of acculturation (CMA). They suggest that it is important to distinguish between discordance that arises from perceived differences over the issue of culture maintenance and discordance over the issue of contact. For them, consensuality refers to agreement between the two groups on both the culture maintenance and contact dimensions, a problematic situation results from a mismatch on just one dimension, and a conflictual situation is expected from a mismatch on both dimensions.

An important feature of both these models is a widening of their remit beyond individual psychosocial outcomes to encompass also the *intergroup* consequences of minority and majority groups having matching or mismatching acculturation preferences. For that reason, they formed an important point of departure for some of our own work to be discussed later in the chapter (see Section 3). Moreover, in contrast to Bourhis et al. (1997), Piontkowski et al. (2002) argue that the best predictor of intergroup outcomes will not be the fit between the real attitudes of both groups, but the fit between one group's desire and their *perception* of what the other group wants. This is another assumption shared with our own approach, as will become clear below.

2.2. Acculturation attitudes and adaptation

As noted earlier, a major goal of Berry's framework has been to predict the adaptation outcomes of members of minority groups. Such outcomes typically consist of a number of health and psychological indicators (e.g., well-being, depression, acculturative stress, physical health) as well as various sociocultural indicators (e.g., social competence in managing daily life tasks, local language competence, educational performance; Ward, 1996). Most reviews have focused on the effects of acculturation choices of minority members only and have not considered majority members' attitudes, despite the fact that the latter have been acknowledged as theoretically important (e.g., Berry, 1997; Berry, Kim, Minde, & Mok, 1987). A typical conclusion is that an Integrationist strategy among minority members is associated with the most favorable adaptation, Marginalization with the least favorable, and Assimilation and Separation fall between these two

extremes (Berry, 1997; Liebkind, 2001, 2006; Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2010; Phinney et al., 2001; Ward, 1996).

What might account for these trends is not clear. Berry (1997) speculates that Integration affords the individual some protection because it offers the possibility of social support from two cultural communities in the way that Marginalization, which implies the rejection of both communities, cannot. Another explanation could be that most studies of acculturation and adaptation have been conducted in predominantly multicultural societal contexts which offer a relatively good "fit" with an Integrationist strategy (Berry, 1997).

Two studies, published 30 years apart, will serve to illustrate the typical research designs and empirical results that have led commentators to reach the above conclusion about the merits of Integration and the demerits of Marginalization.

In the first, Berry (1976) reported the results from cross-sectional surveys conducted with adult members of nine indigenous groups in Canada in the 1970s (total $N = 464$). Among other measures, the researchers administered a scale of acculturative stress, which assessed respondents' general level of mental health, and discrete acculturation scales to measure respondents' preferences for three of the four acculturation strategies. A preference for Integration correlated negatively with acculturative stress (mean $r = -0.19$; range -0.02 to -0.33), as did a preference for Assimilation (mean $r = -0.18$; range $+0.14$ to -0.52), whereas a Separatist orientation (then labeled "Rejection") correlated positively with acculturative stress (mean $r = +0.23$; range $+0.46$ to $+0.05$). Marginalization was not measured in these studies.

The second study is a large cross-sectional survey of adolescents in 13 societies (Berry et al., 2006). Unusually for the acculturation field, both immigrant and native members of these different societies were included in the survey (total $N = 7997$). A comprehensive battery of instruments was administered, including scales of the four acculturation strategies, various adaptation measures, both "psychological" (e.g., life satisfaction, psychological problems) and "sociocultural" (e.g., school adjustment, behavior problems).

Berry and his colleagues (2006) observed that the modal acculturation preference among immigrants varied widely between countries. In seven countries, it was Integration; in two, it was Separation (labeled "Ethnic"); in one, Assimilation (labeled "National"); and in two, it was Marginalization (labeled "Diffuse"). In an overall test of how these preferences were related to adaptation, Integration was positively, if weakly, related to both psychological and sociocultural adaptation ($\beta = +0.06$ and $+0.13$, respectively); so was Separation ($\beta = +0.17$ and $+0.10$); and Assimilation was only related to sociocultural adaptation ($\beta = +0.04$). But by far, the strongest correlate of both forms of adaptation was perceived discrimination ($\beta = -0.24$ and -0.28).

There was some variation in these relationships across different groups. In two case studies—Vietnamese and Turkish immigrants—the Vietnamese showed a positive relationship for Integration only with sociocultural adaptation, whereas Separation was positively related to both forms of adaptation, and Assimilation to neither; Turkish youth, on the other hand, had slightly stronger relationships between Integration, Separation, and adaptation, with Assimilation again being unrelated to either kind of adaptation. Once again, perceived discrimination was consistently the strongest correlate of adaptation in both these groups. Finally, and consistent with Berry's (1997) proposal that the cultural context would have an impact on adaptation outcomes, cultural diversity (indexed as a combination of percentage of immigrants and ethnolinguistic fractionalization), and multiculturalism policies prevalent in a country were both related to adaptation. The former was *negatively* related to psychological adaptation; the latter was *positively* related to sociocultural adaptation.

At this juncture, we would like to make a few observations about these two studies and hence, because they are fairly typical, about the acculturation literature as a whole. The first point to note is that the magnitude of the observed relationships between acculturation variables and adaptation outcomes is not large, with correlations typically no larger than 0.20. The relationships also seem to be highly variable. Rudmin (2003) has noted that the correlations between Integration and *mal*adaptation in several early acculturation studies were often statistically indistinguishable from zero and were even, on occasion, significantly *positive*. This suggests that there must be at least one, but more likely several, factors moderating the effects of acculturation preferences on people's adaptation outcomes, an issue to which we will return in Section 4.1.

Second, these two studies, along with most other acculturation research, mainly involved adult or adolescent participants from ethnic minority groups. Relying on these samples has no doubt significantly improved our understanding of how members of such groups view and respond to the acculturation contexts that confront them. However, the focus on relatively older samples has also meant that we know little about acculturation processes in children. And yet, presumably children have to deal with many of the same challenges as their older counterparts as they negotiate how far they should maintain (or relinquish) their heritage culture and how much contact they should have with members of other groups.

Third, the dominant sampling strategy also means that there is a gap in our knowledge about the perspective of members of majority groups. Recall the Redfield et al. (1936) definition with which we began: acculturation is not just something that happens to one group in isolation, it is essentially an *intergroup* phenomenon. And yet, despite the widespread citation of that definition, members of the majority communities have received scant attention from researchers (with some notable exceptions,

e.g., Berry et al., 2006; Piontkowski, Florack, Hoelker, & Obdrzalek 2000; van Oudenhoven, Prins, & Buunk, 1998). Equally neglected has been whether, how or if the acculturation preferences of one group affect the acculturation preferences and practices of another. Again, the contrast between the frequent endorsement of the spirit of the inherently dynamic Redfield et al. conceptualization and the actual "static" practice of the acculturation research community is striking.

The last observation concerns the nature of the adaptation outcomes that have typically been of interest to acculturation researchers. As noted earlier, these have usually been *individual* outcomes—that is, the stress, well-being or educational adjustment and achievement levels of members of minority groups. This focus is understandable given that much of the initial impetus for researchers in this field was precisely to understand the factors which could protect minority members from—or make them more vulnerable to—the potentially stressful consequences of subordinate group status. Yet, other, more *social*, adaptation outcomes matter too. Just as it is important to understand the impact of different acculturation attitudes on the well-being of individuals, so it is pertinent to ask if and how those same orientations affect the well-being of communities, principally in terms of the quality of intergroup relationships within them. Until recently, this has not been a question much investigated by acculturation researchers.

2.3. Measurement and design issues

There are several measurement and design issues that merit a more in-depth discussion. Some arise due to the categorical nature of Berry's model, where four acculturation types are derived from two underlying dimensions, but others are just conventions that have developed within the field and can be questioned. According to one source, over 50 different acculturation scales have been published over the past 30 years (Matsudaira, 2006). Consistent with our focus inspired by the dominant Berry framework, here we discuss only those instruments that have attempted to capture the bi-dimensional nature of acculturation: culture maintenance and contact (or culture adoption).

From the beginning, Berry himself has consistently relied on attitude scales that attempt to measure directly the four acculturation strategies indicated by his model (Integration, Assimilation, Separation, Marginalization) rather than the underlying dimensions (i.e., culture maintenance and contact preference; Berry, 1970; Berry & Annis, 1974). Over the years, these scales have undergone much refinement, and a 20- item instrument (5 items per scale) is now the measure of choice of Berry et al. (2006). This measure contains items that combine two different statements (hereafter referred to as double-barrel items): for example, "I feel that (ethnic group) should maintain their own cultural traditions and not adapt to those of

(nationals)" (Separation) (Berry et al., 2006, p. 260). Other researchers have followed this practice also: for example, "To live in California means that we should give up our immigrant cultural heritage for the sake of adopting mainstream American culture" (Assimilation) (Bourhis, Barrette, El-Geledi, & Schmidt, 2009, p. 451).

These instruments have come under increasing critical scrutiny. In psychometric terms, double-barrel items are not usually advised because the part of the item with which a respondent is (dis)agreeing cannot be unambiguously determined (Arends-Tóth & van de Vijver, 2006; Ward & Rana-Deuba, 1999). Moreover, and perhaps because of the complexity of their constituent items, the internal reliability of traditional acculturation scales has sometimes been moderate at best. In Berry and colleagues' (2006) cross-national project, the *mean* Cronbach's alpha (derived from 26 respondent groups) ranged from 0.48 to 0.64, levels rather lower than psychometric orthodoxy recommends (Nunnally, 1978; but cf. Berry & Sam, 2003, for a rejoinder to this criticism). Other studies have also reported modest internal reliabilities (e.g., 0.49–0.68 in Berry, Kim, Power, Young, & Bujaki, 1989; 0.44–0.76 in Bourhis et al., 2009; 0.29–0.65 in Rudmin & Ahmadzadeh, 2001).

For these and other reasons, calls have been made to measure the two dimensions underlying the four acculturation strategies rather than the strategies themselves (e.g., Arends-Tóth & Van de Vijver, 2006, 2007; Ryder, Alden, & Paulhus, 2000; Ward & Rana-Deuba, 1999). In several studies using the dimensional measurement approach, internal reliabilities seem to be somewhat higher than is found with the conventional technique (Donà & Berry, 1994; Flannery, Reise, & Yu, 2001; Ryder et al., 2000).

Although there are debates about whether such a dimensional measurement approach typically yields two orthogonal dimensions as expected by the Berry framework (Arends-Tóth & van de Vijver, 2006; Dere, Ryder, & Kirmayer, 2010; Flannery et al., 2001; Ryder et al., 2000), there are other reasons for preferring it to the fourfold taxonomic approach. Measuring both underlying dimensions is essential in order to determine the independent effects of both underlying dimensions and their combined effect on relevant outcome variables. With the taxonomic approach, only the combined effect can be estimated.

Because of the categorical nature of Berry's framework, acculturation preferences have sometimes been measured in a dichotomous fashion. For example, Piontkowski et al. (2002) measured majority members' agreement with the contact dimension with the item "in my opinion, we should let them participate completely in our life" (basically yes or basically no). However, obtaining interval level measures of people's endorsement of each acculturation dimension allows the use of a wider and more powerful range of statistical analyses, for instance with multiple regression and other multivariate techniques. Moreover, if necessary for the purposes of testing a

particular hypothesis, the four acculturation "types" can be created by dichotomizing peoples' scores on the two dimensions (e.g., Donà & Berry, 1994), whereas the reverse does not apply (i.e., it is not possible to estimate people's positions on the underlying dimensions from dichotomous dimensional or taxonomic measures). For these reasons, we have adopted a dimensional and interval-scaled measurement approach in most of the studies reported in Section 3.

A last point worth noting concerns the typical design used in acculturation research. Both of the exemplary studies above, like the vast majority in the field, employed cross-sectional correlational designs (for some notable exceptions, see, e.g., Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2008; Maisonneuve & Teste, 2007; Oppedal, Roysamb, & Sam, 2004; Rohmann, Piontkowski, & van Randenborgh, 2008; Van Oudenhoven et al., 1998; Zheng & Berry, 1991). Although such designs are often the only ones practicable in many research contexts, they do obviously limit our ability to draw inferences about the nature and direction of any underlying causal processes (Berry, 1997, 2006; Fuligni, 2001). Our own work has also often had to content itself with cross-sectional survey designs, although we have at times been able to use longitudinal and experimental designs. Although the prime purpose of experimentation is to establish causal effects, longitudinal data can also provide clues about causality (see, e.g., Cook & Campbell, 1979; Finkel, 1995). However, it should be acknowledged that even longitudinal survey designs still yield basically correlational data and that very firm conclusions about causality can only be drawn from experimental data. Attempting a more precise examination of the causal direction of associations is a necessary precondition to developing an accurate picture of the dynamic acculturation process.

2.4. Some preliminary conclusions and a prolegomenon for a research agenda

From the above brief review of the contemporary acculturation literature, we conclude that, despite the burgeoning literature on acculturation which has developed over the past few decades, various pressing issues are still neglected which, mindful of our conceptual starting point of acculturation as a *dynamic* process (Redfield et al., 1936), we believe need addressing. Five issues in particular can be identified that need attention in order to progress to a more interactive—and therefore ultimately more useful—account of acculturation.

First, the majority of empirical work has focused on consequences of acculturative choices for psychosocial and health outcomes of minority group members. However, as we shall see, acculturation preferences also have repercussions for the *intergroup relations* between minority and majority groups. Arguably, such social adaptation outcomes are as important for

scientific and policy purposes as those more traditionally studied. Further, intergroup relations themselves might also have a causal impact on acculturation preferences. Conceptualizing acculturation simultaneously as an endogenous and exogenous variable and highlighting its interaction with intergroup relations variables are necessary prerequisites for capturing the true complexity of the acculturation process.

Second, a more dynamic account must consider how acculturation preferences of one group might impact on the preferences of another group. As will become clear, our own empirical excursions have aimed to shed some light on the dynamic process in which perceptions of outgroup preferences have an impact on own acculturation attitudes, as well as on the quality of intergroup relations itself.

A *third* concern is the notion that possibly the best predictor of harmonious or conflictual intergroup relations might not be the acculturation attitudes of one group, but the *fit* between both groups' preferences. Our own work has aimed to advance the knowledge of this dynamic process.

Fourth, acculturation processes always operate in particular intergroup contexts, and these may generate a climate which is sympathetic or antithetical to the goals of the acculturating groups. Although it has long been acknowledged that consequences of adopting various acculturation strategies depend on the intergroup climate, this has not received much empirical attention, and we have tried to make some headway in this respect.

Fifth, developing a more dynamic account of acculturation entails endorsing a conceptualization of acculturation as a process rather than a state. Although most theoretical accounts of acculturation pay lip service to this idea, few studies have followed it through to its methodological conclusion. In particular, little work has studied acculturation longitudinally in children. By such means one can gain insights into the developmental trajectories conditional on initial acculturation attitudes. Moreover, considering acculturation as a process also allows one to design and evaluate interventions with the goal of changing acculturation attitudes. These considerations have also informed some of the research that we report below.

These five conclusions provide a convenient introduction to the program of research that we embarked on over 10 years ago. As will become apparent in the next section, and as our title anticipates, we have consistently interested ourselves in intergroup and dynamic aspects of acculturation phenomena, focusing on both minority and majority groups in a variety of societal contexts. In doing so, we have also sought to broaden the methodological scope of the acculturation field by developing new measures, and by occasionally using longitudinal and experimental research designs.

3. Developing a Dynamic Intergroup Perspective

3.1. Acculturation attitudes and intergroup relations

A handful of—mainly cross-sectional correlational—studies have found systematic links between intergroup relations variables and acculturation preferences. For example, Zick, Wagner, van Dick, and Petzel (2001) found links between acculturation choices and prejudice among minority and majority members in Germany: majority members who favored integration were generally less prejudiced. Piontkowski et al. (2000) examined correlations between acculturation and various intergroup variables such as perceived similarity, permeability, and ingroup bias in samples in Germany, Switzerland, and Slovakia. Among majority members, integration tended to be associated with more perceived intergroup similarity and with less ingroup bias. In Portugal, Neto (2002) found that a range of demographic variables, as well as perceived discrimination, were related to acculturation choices of minority members. Although this study conceptualized perceived discrimination as an independent variable, the data were correlational and do not speak to the causal direction of observed effects. Among Iranian refugees in the Netherlands, perceived discrimination was again found to be related to acculturation choices (Te Lindert, Korzilius, van de Vijver, Kroon, & Arends-Tóth, 2008). In sum, although several studies have reported associations between acculturation choices and intergroup variables, few contributions to date have delivered good theoretical rationales for these patterns or have tried to investigate causality by utilizing longitudinal or experimental designs.

The link between acculturation processes and intergroup relations was the focus of our early investigation into minority and majority attitudes in Germany (Zagefka & Brown, 2002). Why might one expect acculturation preferences and intergroup attitudes to be related? The contact dimension of acculturation preferences can be expected to impact on the positivity of intergroup relations on the basis of findings from research on intergroup contact. This considerable literature testifies that one of the most promising measures for improving intergroup relations is intergroup contact (Allport, 1954; Brown & Hewstone, 2005; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). It has also been found that actual contact might not even be necessary to produce prejudice reduction; the mere knowledge that other members of one's ingroup have outgroup acquaintances may be sufficient—the so-called extended contact effect (De Tezanos Pinto, Bratt, & Brown, 2010; Turner, Hewstone, & Voci, 2007; Wright, Aron, McLaughlin-Volpe, & Ropp, 1997). Indeed, even just imagining having contact might be sufficient to generate more positive intergroup attitudes (Crisp & Turner, 2009). In a similar vein, a desire for contact—one of the two key acculturation

dimensions—might have positive effects on intergroup attitudes, either because it has similar effects to imagined contact, or because such a wish for contact could be expected to lead to more actual contact.

A preference for culture maintenance might also be expected to affect intergroup relations. From the perspective of the minority group, in a climate where its members feel permitted to maintain an important aspect of their identity, they are less likely to feel threatened and more likely to feel accepted by majority members. This should lead to lessened intergroup anxiety (Stephan & Stephan, 1985) and hence to more favorable intergroup attitudes toward the majority (Brown & Hewstone, 2005). A similar argument can be made for the majority group. If majority members endorse culture maintenance as their preferred strategy for the minority group, then it implies an acceptance of that minority group culture. This is likely to lead to more tolerant intergroup attitudes. Of course, by itself, a majority preference for culture maintenance might not be enough. In some contexts, as we know, the majority's desire for a minority to preserve its culture can get distorted into forms of cultural or physical ghettoization or apartheid, social arrangements completely inimical to favorable intergroup relations. It is thus crucial that the majority's preference for culture maintenance is also coupled with a desire for intergroup contact. This combination of preferences signals a recognition of the minority culture *and* an approach orientation toward it. There are thus good grounds for believing that fostering Integrationist attitudes among both minority and majority groups will lead to greater intergroup harmony.

In a cross-sectional survey study among 193 German majority members and 128 minority members from Turkey and Russia, we investigated the relationship between acculturation preferences and intergroup relations (Zagefka & Brown, 2002). Participants filled out questionnaires indicating their acculturation preferences, their level of ingroup bias, and their perceptions of whether intergroup relations were harmonious or not.

The measurement of acculturation preferences merits further exposition because we have used variants of this measure in many of our subsequent studies. To measure desire for culture maintenance, participants indicated whether they wanted minority members to maintain their minority culture, religion, language, clothing, and way of living. To measure desire for contact, participants indicated whether they thought it was important to have outgroup friends and whether they thought it was important to spend time with outgroup members after school/work. In line with our discussion of measurement issues above, preferences on both dimensions were independently assessed with interval scales. To determine an overall acculturation preference for each participant corresponding to Berry's typology, responses on both dimensions were subsequently split at the median. Participants scoring above (below) the median were assigned to the group favoring (not favoring) culture maintenance and contact respectively.

The dichotomous preferences on the two dimensions were then combined into one overall preference per participant for Integration, Assimilation, Separation, or Marginalization.

We used median rather than mid-point splits because the latter strategy often results in very unequal cell sizes. Although mid-point splits are essential if one is interested in determining prevalent acculturation preferences in a given population, median splits are adequate to address questions about the *relative* correlates of different acculturation preferences, which was the focus of our investigation. It should also be noted that our measurement is rather crude in that it does not distinguish between different domains or topics. For example, it is likely that acculturation preferences will often be context dependent, such that minority members may favor different degrees of Assimilation and Separation at work or at home, or regarding clothing versus food or values (Arends-Tóth & van de Vijver, 2007; Navas, Rojas, Garcia, & Pumares, 2007; Phalet & Swyngedouw, 2004). Acknowledging this, we believe that it is nonetheless psychologically meaningful to ask people about their *overall* acculturation attitudes, which will express something akin to a "summary opinion" of all the more specific attitudes across different domains and contexts.

In this study in Germany, acculturation preferences were related to intergroup relations in systematic ways for both minority and majority groups. A preference for Integration correlated with more favorably perceived intergroup relations for both samples, and also with less ingroup bias for the minority sample (see Table 1). Further, in other (regression) analyses, both culture maintenance and contact preferences were independently associated with the intergroup indicators. Very similar results were obtained in another study conducted in Germany a few years later (Pfafferott & Brown, 2006).

Although our studies were conceptualized in terms of the effect of acculturation preferences on intergroup relations, they were only

Table 1 The association between acculturation preferences and intergroup relations

Strategy	I	A	S	M
Minority				
Ingroup bias	0.01	0.14	1.00	0.67
Intergroup relations	3.77	3.42	3.56	3.17
Majority				
Ingroup bias	0.77	0.45	0.60	1.85
Intergroup relations	3.46	3.16	3.03	2.25

Note: High values indicate more bias (scale -4 to 4) and a more favorable perception of intergroup relations (scale 1–5). Adapted from Tables 3 and 4 in Zagefka and Brown (2002). I, Integration; A, Assimilation; S, Separation; M, Marginalization.

correlational and hence did not permit inferences about causality. Indeed, it is perfectly plausible to suppose that intergroup relations could determine acculturation preferences, as well as vice versa. For both minority and majority group members, it seems very likely that a desire for intergroup contact might be attenuated by a perception that intergroup relations are strained. After all, people do not usually want to spend time with those they dislike or are in conflict with.

A desire for culture maintenance might also be affected by the perceived quality of the intergroup relations. Majority members should be more inclined to support a minority group's struggle to protect their distinct cultural identity if intergroup attitudes toward that minority group are positive because people will be more supportive of others' goals if they like them (Zagefka, Brown, & González, 2009). One might posit a similar determining role for intergroup relations on acculturation strategies for minority group members, though here the effects may manifest themselves more as passive constraints than active choices. For example, conflictual intergroup relations might decrease the perceived feasibility of culture maintenance because minority members will find it difficult to maintain their original culture if state policies are in place to prevent or discourage this,[2] and if so doing means that they will be exposed to discrimination and prejudice.

We tested the mutual effects of acculturation preferences and intergroup relations in two studies among nonindigenous Chilean majority members and their attitudes toward an indigenous minority, the Mapuche (Zagefka et al., 2009). The Mapuche are Chile's largest, culturally most significant indigenous group (about 8% of the total population). They were the last people to be subjugated by the colonizers on the entire South American continent, and their situation today—like that of many other indigenous minorities on the American continent—is still characterized by high levels of deprivation.

Two samples of nonindigenous participants ($N = 755$ and 390) filled out a questionnaire, and for a significant proportion of the samples, the same questionnaire was completed again after some time had lapsed (~ 6 months for study 1, and about 2 months for study 2). A longitudinal design was chosen to get a better insight into the causal direction of effects between acculturation preferences and intergroup relations. To measure acculturation preferences, participants indicated the extent to which they wanted Mapuche to maintain their original culture and to which they endorsed intergroup contact, using a Spanish version of the scales described above (Zagefka & Brown, 2002). Negative affect toward the outgroup was the primary measure of intergroup attitude.

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[2] A case in point would be recent (2010) legislative proposals in France and elsewhere to ban the wearing of face veils in public places (BBC, May 11, 2010; http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/europe/5414098.stm).

When analyzing whether negative affect impacted on desire for culture maintenance and contact and vice versa, a consistent pattern emerged across the two studies. Although the measures were correlated in various ways cross-sectionally, only one longitudinal—and therefore potentially causal—effect emerged, and that was from the acculturation dimension "contact desire" to "negative affect." The greater the initial desire for contact, the less negative affect that was subsequently expressed, even controlling for initial levels of negative affect. Hence, in this study, the only evidence we found was for a causal effect of acculturation preferences on intergroup attitudes but *not* vice versa. Further, this causal effect comprised only the *contact* dimension of acculturation preferences, not the culture maintenance dimension.

Although the research reviewed above focused on the relationship between acculturation preferences and intergroup attitudes or emotions, some further data exist which have highlighted the importance of another class of variables that features prominently in the intergroup relations literature: actual and extended[3] intergroup contact (Brown & Hewstone, 2005; Pettigrew, 1998; Wright et al., 1997). Given the powerful effects of intergroup contact as a prejudice reduction tool, a prime concern should be to see how intergroup contact might be related to acculturation preferences. Within the contact literature, there has been a growing realization of the important role that ingroup norms can play as a mediator of contact effects. First flagged up as an issue by Allport (1954), several recent investigations have shown that contact—and especially extended contact—is implicated in the generation of new social norms in favor of intergroup tolerance (De Tezanos Pinto et al., 2010; Paluck, 2009; Turner, Hewstone, Voci, & Vonofakou, 2008). Studies of multiculturalism have also revealed that ingroup norms about what are appropriate acculturation behaviors are correlated with support for multiculturalism (Breugelmans & Van de Vijver, 2004; Schalk-Soekar & Van de Vijver, 2008).

Some evidence that acculturation preferences, norms, and intergroup contact are linked was obtained in another longitudinal study with 700 Chilean majority members (Gonzalez et al., 2010). The time lag in this study was 6 months, and participants were asked about their preferences in terms of culture maintenance and contact toward Peruvian immigrants, again using Zagefka and Brown's (2002) scales. Due to Chile's relative economic advantage, there are significant numbers of workers who migrate from Peru to Chile to take up low-paid jobs. The aim of the study was to investigate how intergroup contact and acculturation processes combine in their effects on intergroup prejudice. Results showed that extended contact influenced perceived ingroup norms in favor of intergroup contact. In turn,

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[3] Extended (or Indirect) contact refers to the number of one's friends that have contact with outgroup members (Turner, Hewstone & Voci, 2007; Wright et al, 1997).

those ingroup norms amplified the desire for both intergroup contact and culture maintenance, both of which then reduced prejudice. Because these were longitudinal associations they are suggestive of causal effects—that is, *from* extended contact *to* acculturation attitudes and *thence to* prejudice (models incorporating the reverse direction of causality revealed an inferior fit with the data). Another point is noteworthy. As in the Zagefka et al. (2009) study, there were indications that desire for contact was a more potent longitudinal predictor of intergroup outcomes than the culture maintenance dimension.

In the Gonzalez et al. (2010) study, the primary antecedent of acculturation attitudes was extended contact. However, in other longitudinal research we have found that *direct* contact itself can be a reliable predictor of the desire for contact acculturation dimension (Binder et al., 2009; this research did not include a measure of culture maintenance). Moreover, actual contact and desire for contact seem to act on each other in a reciprocally causal fashion. This study of ethnic minority and majority samples in three European countries (Belgium, Germany, and the United Kingdom; $N = 1655$) used a measure of social distance as an indicator of prejudice (Park, 1924; Pettigrew & Meertens, 1995). Although not originally conceptualized as a measure of acculturation preferences, this social distance indicator is conceptually extremely close to the contact dimension of acculturation preferences. The data in this study showed that the quantity, and especially the quality, of interethnic friendships longitudinally predicted social distance so that those with more and better friendships subsequently had more desire to enter into interethnic relationships 6 months later (see Fig. 3.1). However, the other causal direction also held: those who had a stronger desire to enter interethnic relationships at time 1 also reported—maybe unsurprisingly—more and higher quality interethnic friendships at time 2.
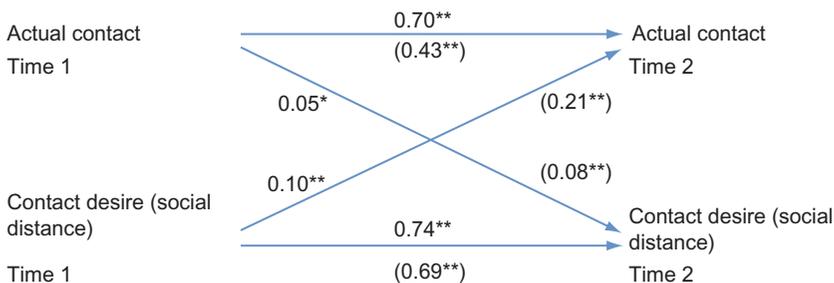
Figure 3.1 Predicting actual contact from desire for contact and vice versa. *Note*: Standardized regression coefficients are given. Free-standing values are for analyses pertaining to contact quantity, values in parentheses are for analyses with contact quality. ★$p < 0.01$, ★★$p < 0.001$. Adapted from Table 6 in Binder et al. (2009).

Corroborating evidence for acculturation preferences causally affecting intergroup relations also comes from a further longitudinal study among both minority ($N = 507$) and majority ($N = 1139$) members in the same three European countries (Zagefka, Binder, & Brown, 2010). Focusing on the two dimensions of preferred culture maintenance and preferred culture adoption (rather than "desire for contact"), both variables longitudinally predicted negative intergroup emotions. However, the pattern differed between minority and majority members: for majority members, a desire for culture maintenance reduced negative intergroup emotions over time, whereas it had little effect for minority members. And a desire for culture adoption increased negative emotions for majority members but decreased them for minority members.

These findings highlight three issues. First, they confirm that longitudinal, and therefore potentially causal, links do exist from acculturation preferences to intergroup relations. Second, they also underscore the importance of investigating processes in both minority and majority groups, as these should not be assumed to be identical. Third, they suggest that focusing on culture adoption rather than contact might sometimes lead to rather different results. In our first 2002 study which focused on culture maintenance and contact (Zagefka & Brown, 2002), Integration was associated with the best intergroup outcomes for both minority and majority members. In this latest study which focused on culture adoption instead, the pattern differed for the two groups, and for neither group was Integration associated with the best outcomes. Although more research is undoubtedly needed to determine the particular circumstances under which Integration will be most favorable, these latest data do at a minimum underline that some causal links between acculturative choices and intergroup relations seem to exist.

We have seen, then, the first evidence for the dynamic interrelationship between acculturation preferences and intergroup attitudes. From the longitudinal studies we have presented here, it is apparent that the causal relationships between acculturation attitudes and intergroup relations run in both directions. To our mind, this is particularly important because it gives us the first clues as to the possible *antecedents* of acculturation preferences, something the field has long lacked (Berry, 1997; Sam & Berry, 2010). In the next section, we will find further pointers to antecedents as we examine the impact of the *perceived* acculturation preferences of the outgroup.

3.2. The influence of perceived acculturation preferences of the outgroup

If both minority and majority groups have acculturation preferences, then the question of metacognitions becomes relevant—that is, what one group perceives the other to want. Taking such metacognitions into consideration

will allow for a fuller account of the dynamic nature of the acculturation process. Several of our empirical endeavors have had the goal of illuminating how one group's perceptions of another's acculturation preferences might influence their own acculturation preferences and intergroup attitudes.

In two early experimental studies, Van Oudenhoven et al. (1998) investigated reactions of Moroccan and Turkish immigrants and Dutch majority members to excerpts of text in which a fictitious minority member described his acculturation attitudes. The content of the text was systematically varied so that attitudes reported exemplified the strategies of Integration, Separation, Assimilation, or Marginalization, respectively. Reliable effects were found for both minority and majority participants: among majority group members, affective reactions toward the person presented in the text were most positive if the minority member was believed to support Assimilation, closely followed by those in the Integration condition. In contrast, Minority members responded favorably only to an Integration position taken by a fellow ingroup member. As we note later, such a discrepancy in majority and minority perspectives is potentially significant. Corroborative evidence was obtained in France, where perceived acculturation preferences of immigrants were again manipulated via scenarios summarizing a minority members' acculturation preferences (Maisonneuve & Teste, 2007). Manipulating these preferences was found to have significant effects on majority participants' perceptions of warmth and competence of the target as well as on how much the target was liked.

Perceived acculturation preferences of minority members were also found to influence social perceptions of a sample of Italian majority members (Kosic & Phalet, 2006). The dependent variable in this study did not directly measure intergroup attitudes but focused on the tendency to (over) categorize unfamiliar faces as belonging to two immigrant groups. They found that perceived cultural maintenance was correlated with such overcategorization. Interestingly, the pattern of results was moderated by the participants' level of prejudice: the relationship between perceived culture maintenance and overinclusion held only for high prejudice people. We will return shortly to the idea that prejudice might be an important moderator of some of the effects of perceived acculturation preferences.

In our own work, we have also explored the effects of perceived acculturation preferences on intergroup attitudes, and on *own* preferences as well. We first review a study which investigated the effects of perceived acculturation preferences among minority members, and then move to a discussion of how perceived acculturation preferences might affect own acculturation preferences and intergroup attitudes among majority participants.

Once more, we turned to the Chilean context with its indigenous minorities (Zagefka, González, & Brown, in press). Two samples of

indigenous Mapuche ($N = 566$ and 394) filled out questionnaires, not only indicating their own acculturation preferences (again using scales similar to the ones described earlier) but also indicating whether they thought the nonindigenous outgroup wanted them to maintain their indigenous culture and whether they believed that the nonindigenous outgroup desired inter-group contact. To derive an index of overall preference for Integration, we multiplied own culture maintenance preference and contact preference. On this index, high values indicate a strong preference for Integration (with values on both underlying dimensions necessarily being high), low values indicate Marginalization (with values on both underlying dimensions being low), and Assimilation and Separation falling somewhere in the middle of the scale.

We predicted that Mapuche minority members would be conscious of how their acculturation options are restricted by the opinions of the more powerful majority, and that they would not try to pursue acculturation strategies which they believed were unfeasible because of majority opposi-tion. Therefore, we hypothesized that a perception that majority members value the minority culture and its maintenance would be linked to greater endorsement of culture maintenance among minority members. Further, we expected that a perceived desire for contact among majority members would increase contact desire among minority members in a similar way because minority members would be unlikely to choose acculturation options that they believe will entail an uphill struggle. Taken together, this should mean that endorsement of Integration among minority members will be facilitated by a perception that Integration is championed by the majority also.

Results bore out these predictions in both studies. A perception that majority members desired contact was associated with a greater preference for contact among the minority members as well. A perception that major-ity members desired culture maintenance was associated with more own culture maintenance. And, importantly, overall minority support for Inte-gration was highest if majority members were also perceived to support Integration by minority participants (see Fig. 3.2).

We turn now to the likely effects of perceived outgroup acculturation preferences on the majority group. Here the picture is more complicated. With regard to a perceived desire for intergroup contact in the minority, the prediction is straightforward: if the majority perceives that the minority group wishes to engage with it in a positive way or, in the alternative acculturation formulation (Bourhis et al., 1997), wishes to adopt the major-ity culture, then it is likely that the reaction will be favorable. The outgroup will be seen as making a positive approach to the majority, and this should elicit a positive response in its turn, that is, more favorable intergroup attitudes and more support for integration. Or, in the inverse situation, if the outgroup is perceived as *not* wanting contact with the majority or as *not*
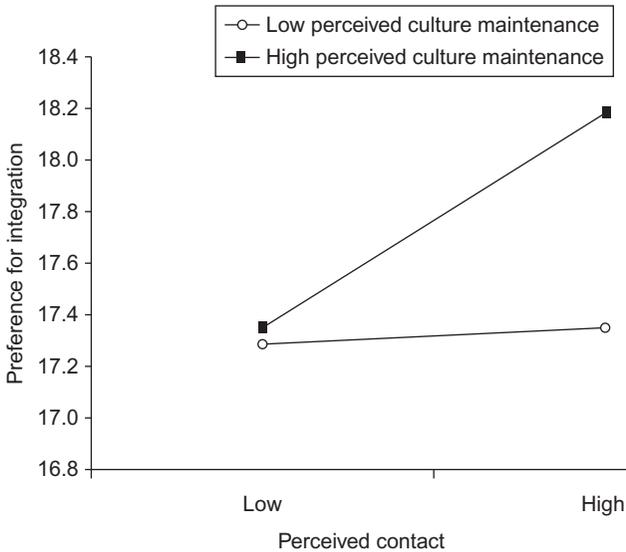
Figure 3.2 Predicting preference for Integration from perceived outgroup accultura-tion preferences. From Figure 3 in Zagefka et al. (in press).

wishing to adopt the majority culture, this will be seen as threatening by the majority. This reasoning is consistent with that to be found in Stephan and Stephan's (2000) Integrated Threat Theory, where prior contact is seen to be negatively linked to symbolic threat which, in turn, is seen as a determi-nant of prejudice.

With respect to a perceived desire for culture maintenance in the minority, there are two possible reactions: on one hand, the majority might again react favorably. After all, there might be many situations where majority members might be happy to accommodate the wishes of the minority and, under such circumstances, a perception that the minority desires culture maintenance might well lead to more majority support for culture maintenance or strategies which imply this (e.g., Integration). On the other hand, one might imagine that under some circumstances, a perception that minority members want to maintain their original culture will not be well received by the majority. Indeed, a purported failure of minority members to assimilate is a complaint often voiced by conservative commentators. Therefore, there is also reason to assume that a perception that minority members wish to maintain their culture might increase negative intergroup attitudes of majority members and reduce their support for culture maintenance and integration.

Bearing these different possibilities in mind, we investigated the reac-tions of majority members in several different majority–minority contexts in

Europe. The first study was conducted among majority members in Turkey ($N = 93$) and Belgium ($N = 106$) (Zagefka, Brown, Broquard, & Leventoglu Martin, 2007). In both countries, we asked members of the cultural majority about their attitudes toward immigrants in their country. We expected that the perceived acculturation strategies held by the minority would be linked to people's own support for Integration (defined as simultaneous endorsement of culture maintenance and contact). As a further predictor, we added perceived economic competition between majority and minority over jobs and services. As is well established from Realistic Competition Theory (Sherif, 1966), intergroup competition for resources, even if only perceived, usually leads to negative intergroup attitudes and prejudice (Brown, 2010; Esses, Dovidio, Jackson, & Armstrong, 2001; Struch & Schwartz, 1989). The mediator we focused on in these first two studies was negative intergroup attitudes.

Results showed that a perception that immigrants desired intergroup contact reduced negative intergroup attitudes in both settings, and those reduced negative attitudes in turn increased support for Integration (see Fig. 3.3). On the other hand, a perception that immigrants wanted to maintain their original culture did *not* increase negative intergroup attitudes. Instead, perceived culture maintenance had a direct positive effect on own support for Integration. In other words, Belgian and Turkish majority members endorsed Integration more if they perceived minority members to desire intergroup contact and culture maintenance.

These data support the idea that perceptions of outgroup acculturation preferences do not only affect own acculturation preferences, but that they may also impact on people's intergroup attitudes. This issue was also the focus of three experiments conducted in Italy ($N = 251, 220, 135$) with
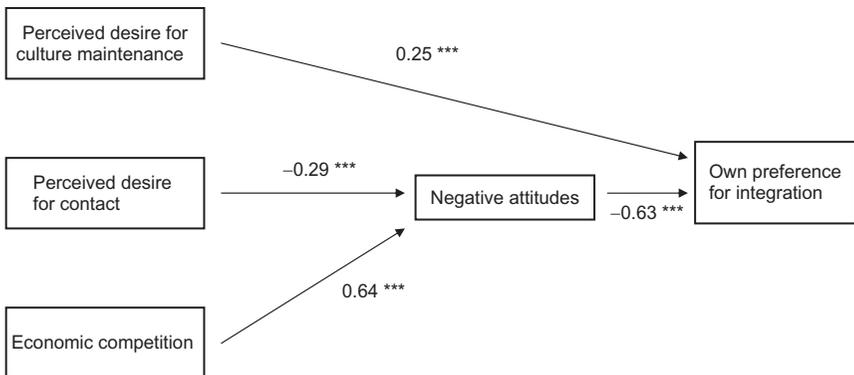
Figure 3.3 Perceptions of minority acculturation preferences are linked to majority endorsement of Integration. Taken from Zagefka et al. (2007), Figure 2. Structural equation model with good fit to the data. ★★★$p < 0.001$.

participants who, as it turned out, were generally rather low in prejudice (Matera, Stefanile, & Brown, 2011). Native Italian participants read a short extract from what purported to be an interview with an African immigrant. According to experimental condition, this immigrant indicated that he believed it to be important (or not) to establish and maintain contact with Italians, and also that he wanted to maintain (or not) aspects of his African culture. Thus, perceived desire for contact and culture maintenance were independently manipulated. Subsequently, participants' intergroup attitudes toward Africans were elicited.

The results were consistent across the three studies. The major determinant of intergroup attitudes was always the perceived desire for contact variable: when the interviewee expressed a wish for contact, in line with our findings from Belgium and Turkey (Zagefka et al., 2007), this always stimulated more favorable intergroup than when he did not. A similar positive effect was found for culture maintenance but this main effect was very much weaker than the effect for contact and, crucially, was always qualified by an interaction with the contact variable so that an immigrant who was perceived to endorse an Integrationist strategy (high on both independent variables) generated the most favorable intergroup attitudes of all. Importantly, when the immigrant was perceived *not to want* contact with the majority, the subsequent intergroup attitudes were always much less positive and his expressed wish to maintain his culture (or not) had no effect on majority attitudes.

One other result from this set of experiments is noteworthy. The main effects for contact on intergroup attitudes were partially mediated by symbolic threat: the immigrant who was seen to be ethnically exclusive seemed to threaten the Italian participants, and this symbolic threat then negatively impacted on their general intergroup attitudes in a manner consistent with Stephan and Stephan's (2000) Integrated Threat Theory. The experimental nature of these findings gives us some confidence in attributing a causal role to perceived acculturation strategies in influencing intergroup attitudes.

So far, we have seen that perceptions of the minority group's preferences for contact and maintenance both have positive effects on the majority group's own preference for integration and intergroup attitudes, especially when both perceived preferences are combined. However, as we hinted earlier, this may not always occur. Sometimes a perceived desire for culture maintenance in the minority may elicit a rather different response in the minds of majority members. We discovered this in three recent correlational studies ($N = 101, 108, 115$) that focused on the attitudes of white British majority members vis-à-vis Pakistani immigrants and ethnic minority members more generally (Tip et al., 2010). We initially chose to focus on Pakistanis because this is a particularly salient and vulnerable group in the British context due to recent Islamophobic trends (European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia, 2005), and we subsequently examined

whether the effects would generalize to other minority groups. In all three studies, we asked participants about a concept related to an Integration preference, namely their support for multiculturalism. Supporting multiculturalism means to value and actively support mutual cultural differences (Arends-Tóth & Van de Vijver, 2003). It was expected that any such support for multiculturalism would be dampened by majority participants feeling threatened by minority members. We were especially interested to assess how a perception that minority members favor culture maintenance, contact, and culture adoption, respectively, would impact on perceived threat. In other words, we examined the indirect effects of perceived acculturation preferences on support for multiculturalism, mediated by threat.

Results were strikingly consistent across the three studies: the effects produced by a perceived desire for contact and a perceived desire for culture adoption were almost identical to the ones we had observed in the Matera et al. (2011) studies above. The more the minority group was perceived to value contact with the majority (or adoption of its culture), the less threatened participants felt and the more they, in turn, endorsed multiculturalism. For perceived culture maintenance, in contrast, the results were the opposite. Now the more the minority group was seen to value maintaining aspects of its own culture, the *more* threatened the majority participants felt and the *less* they endorsed multiculturalism.

How can these disparate results be explained, whereby a perception that minority members desire culture maintenance leads to reduced support for Integration under some conditions but to increased support for Integration and positive intergroup attitudes under other conditions? A plausible explanation is that the nature of the effect of perceived acculturation preferences on own preferences depends on some other psychological variables, especially participants' prior level of prejudice.

One might suppose that majority members will be happy to accommodate what they perceive to be the wishes of the minority particularly if those majority members are low in prejudice. After all, people with a more liberal "live-and-let-live" attitude should have no reason to be prescriptive about choices that will affect minority members more than themselves; they should be happy to go along with whatever they perceive minority members choose for themselves. However, the picture might be different for more prejudiced majority members. If levels of prejudice are high, participants can be assumed to be against culture maintenance irrespective of whether minority members are perceived to desire culture maintenance themselves. It is plausible to assume that people will be reluctant to preserve the culture of or accommodate the wishes of a group they are prejudiced against. Thus, it is proposed that a perception that the minority wishes to maintain its culture will increase own support for integration (accommodation hypothesis), but *only* if levels of prejudice are comparatively low (Zagefka, Tip, Gonzalez, Brown, & Cinirella, 2010).

We put this to the test in a recent experimental study ($N = 113$), focusing again on white British majority participants' attitudes toward Pakistani minority members (Zagefka, Tip, et al., 2010). Participants in this study watched videos in which actors who posed as Pakistani minority members voicing different acculturation preferences. Their views were presented as representative of their ethnic group. The effects of this manipulation on white British majority participants' own acculturation preferences were measured. As expected, a causal effect of perceived acculturation preferences (manipulated through the videos) on own acculturation preferences emerged. The main effect showed that in this sample, own support for Integration was highest when Pakistani minority members were also perceived to desire Integration. However, as expected, this effect was qualified by an interaction with prejudice. Participants only accommodated the perceived culture maintenance wishes of the minority when their levels of prejudice were low, but not when prejudice was high.

Interestingly, a reanalysis of the Matera et al. (2011) studies described above, using prejudice as a moderator, yielded a similar result: the effects of perceived Integration were stronger for the less prejudiced participants. Moreover, the moderating role of prejudice was also evident in a recent correlational study among 90 white British majority members in South East England (Zagefka, Nigbur, Gonzalez, Brown, & Cinirella, 2010). Replicating Tip et al. (in press), perceived culture adoption and perceived contact desire were associated with less perceived threat, and perceived culture maintenance was associated with more threat. Further, the main effect for perceived desire for culture maintenance was again moderated by prejudice, albeit only marginally, indicating that whether or not people are happy to accommodate an outgroup's perceived wishes will depend on their levels of prejudice.

Although these data highlight the potential importance of prejudice as a moderator, it is of course possible that future research might unearth other variables that might powerfully qualify the relationship between perceived acculturation preferences and outcome variables.

For one thing, a perception that minority members favor culture maintenance might be linked to more positive outcomes among majority members (i.e., more positive intergroup attitudes, more support for integration) especially if the climate of opinion is broadly sympathetic to the goals of multiculturalism with its emphasis on recognizing and respecting cultural diversity.

Second, a positive reaction among majority members might be particularly evident if the perception of culture maintenance in the minority is simultaneously coupled with a perception of desire for contact (i.e., a perception of an Integrationist orientation). However, our data suggest that such a potential moderation by "perceived contact" is not straight forward, as we found evidence for this in some datasets (Matera et al., 2011) but not

in others (Tip et al., 2010; Zagefka, Nigbur, et al., 2010). This inconsistency hints at a potential three-way interaction, whereby whether or not "perceived contact" acts as a moderator might depend on yet another, so far still unidentified, variable.

Third, it is possible that the majority might react particularly negatively to a perceived wish for culture maintenance by the minority if this is equated—in the minds of the majority—with the minority wishing to maintain cultural values that are very different from or unfamiliar to the majority, or as rejecting the majority. Although the effects of perceived intergroup dissimilarity are not always straightforward (see reviews by Brown, 1984a, 2010; Jetten, Spears, & Postmes, 2004), there is some evidence that outgroups seen as endorsing rather different values to the ingroup's are liked less than more similar groups (Berry, Kalin, & Taylor, 1977; Brewer & Campbell, 1976; Brown, 1984b; Brown & Abrams, 1986; Struch & Schwartz, 1989). Future research could aim to identify variables that might determine whether or not perceived maintenance is equated with an insistence on difference, and establish whether this might serve as an alternative explanation for why perceived maintenance sometimes seems to have positive, and sometimes negative, effects.

The studies reviewed in this section add another dimension to our claim about the dynamic intergroup nature of acculturation processes. Not only do acculturation preferences influence intergroup variables and vice versa, but it is also clear that people's *perceptions* of outgroup preferences play a critical role: metacognitions impact on own cognitions and attitudes, for both minority and majority members.

3.3. The importance of the *relationship between* majority and minority preferences

As mentioned in Section 2, the effects of perceived acculturation preferences on own acculturation preferences are not the only way in which the attitudes of minority and majority groups might interrelate. It has also been suggested that the fit between the preferences of both groups—that is, whether they concur or not—is a better predictor of the quality of intergroup relations than the preferences of just one group taken singly. Earlier, we outlined the fit models of Bourhis et al. (1997) (IAM) and Piontkowski et al. (2002) (CMA). The latter was supported in two correlational studies of German majority members who were asked about their own attitudes and those imputed to Italians and Poles in Germany (Piontkowski et al., 2002). A higher level of concordance—as defined by the CMA model—was associated with lower perceived threat from immigrants and with higher perceived enrichment. Experimental—and hence stronger—evidence was also generated in four studies in which German majority members were asked about their own attitudes and in which the attitudes of Italians, Poles,

and two fictitious outgroups were systematically manipulated (Rohmann et al., 2008). Again, discordant acculturation attitudes led to higher perceptions of intergroup threat.

Despite these encouraging results, we proposed yet another conceptualization of fit distinct from that derived from the IAM and CMA models. We argued that lack of fit can be operationalized as the absolute discrepancy between own desire for culture maintenance and contact and the perception of the respective outgroup's desire for culture maintenance and contact (Zagefka & Brown, 2002). A considerable advantage of this approach is that, unlike the other fit models, a statistical evaluation of the relative contributions of discrepancies on the culture maintenance and contact dimensions becomes possible. This approach also preserves the interval-scaled nature of the measures which, of course, prevents a loss of statistical power associated with converting interval-scaled data into categorical data. The reliance on categorical data is necessitated in both the IAM and CMA models.

Note that, like Piontkowski et al. (2002), our discrepancy definition of fit considers own attitudes and *perceived* outgroup attitudes, rather than real outgroup attitudes as assumed by Bourhis et al.'s (1997) IAM. We chose this because we assumed that an individual's psychological responses to reality are mediated by the subjective perceptions of this reality, and that therefore the assessment of fit between preferred and perceived strategies is more valuable for the prediction of acculturative outcomes than some more direct, objective, measurement.

We found clear support for our discrepancy definition of fit in two samples of majority group ($N = 193$) and minority group members in Germany ($N = 128$) (Zagefka & Brown, 2002). As indicators of intergroup relations, the variables ingroup bias, perceived intergroup relations, and perceived discrimination were used. When regressing these outcome variables on culture maintenance discrepancy and contact discrepancy, intergroup relations were significantly associated with discrepancies on both dimensions for both samples, yielding evidence that discrepancy fit can indeed be a useful tool for predicting intergroup relations. Generally, the larger the perceived attitude discrepancy, the worse the intergroup outcome (see Table 2).

These data also suggested that the interval-scaled discrepancy fit is preferable to categorical conceptualizations of fit. With the same data, we also tested whether fit as categorically conceptualized by the IAM would be associated with our indicators of the quality of intergroup relations. Participants were assigned to one of the three levels of fit specified by the IAM (consensual, problematic, conflictual). Although the IAM fit showed a systematic relationship with the intergroup relations variables, the patterns for our discrepancy fit indices were clearly stronger, as one would expect from the greater power afforded by interval data.

Further converging evidence for the predictive value of the discrepancy definition of fit was obtained by Pfafferott and Brown (2006). In their

Table 2 Perceived ingroup–outgroup discrepancies and intergroup relations

Sample	Outcome variable	Standardized β weights	
		Discrepancy on culture maintenance dimension	Discrepancy on contact dimension
Zagefka and Brown (2002)			
Minority members	Ingroup bias	$\beta = +0.17\star$	n.s.
	Perceived intergroup relations[a]	n.s.	$\beta = -0.19\star\star$
	Perceived discrimination	$\beta = +0.24\star\star$	n.s.
Majority members	Ingroup bias	$\beta = +0.40\star\star\star\star$	$\beta = +0.15\star\star$
	Perceived intergroup relations	$\beta = -0.23\star\star\star$	n.s.
	Perceived discrimination	n.s.	n.s.
Pfafferott and Brown (2006)[b]			
Minority members	Ingroup bias	$\beta = +0.20\star\star\star\star$	n.s.
	Perceived favourable relations	$\beta = -0.22\star\star\star\star$	n.s.
	Prejudice	$\beta = +0.28\star\star\star\star$	n.s.
Majority members	Ingroup bias	$\beta = +0.42\star\star\star\star$	n.s.
	Perceived intergroup relations	$\beta = -0.46\star\star\star\star$	n.s.
	Prejudice	$\beta = +0.41\star\star\star\star$	n.s.

$\star p < 0.1$, $\star\star p < 0.05$, $\star\star\star p < 0.01$, $\star\star\star\star p < 0.001$.

[a] Perceived intergroup relations was a positively worded variable—that is, high scores indicate *favorable* intergroup relationships.

[b] The values reported here differ slightly from those reported in the original Pfafferott and Brown (2006) paper because the data have been reanalyzed without controlling for parental discrepancies, to make them comparable to the Zagefka and Brown (2002) results.

survey study of 134 Germans and 281 (mainly Turkish) ethnic minority members in Berlin, both the perceived quality of intergroup relations and participants' levels of intergroup tolerance were predicted by discrepancy fit (see Table 2). In these samples, a discrepancy on the culture maintenance rather than contact dimension seemed especially important. In addition, this study found that the discrepancy between own and perceived *parental* attitudes also had significant effects on the relevant outcome variables, but only for minority group members. Again, the greater the discrepancy between own and parent acculturation attitudes, the worse the outcomes.

Although Zagefka and Brown (2002) and Pfafferott and Brown (2006) were cross-sectional studies, we have recently also obtained some longitudinal evidence from a dataset already referred to above (Zagefka, Binder, & Brown, 2010). In our minority and majority samples in the United Kingdom, Germany, and Belgium, we not only measured own preference for culture maintenance and adoption but also perceived outgroup preferences, allowing us to test longitudinally the effects of attitude discrepancies on negative intergroup emotions. Doing this for both minority and majority samples yielded a pattern in which the perceived fit on the maintenance dimension did not act as a longitudinal predictor of intergroup emotions, but the perceived fit on the culture adoption dimension did: The greater the discrepancy, the more negative the affective outcome for both groups.

In these studies, we focussed on the absolute magnitude of acculturation discrepancies and, as we saw, these proved to be reliable predictors of intergroup outcomes. Meeus and Vanbeselaere (2006) have questioned whether such an absolute measure provides the most appropriate indicator of fit. These authors have presented some data which suggest that fit should best be operationalized as the *signed* discrepancies between own and perceived outgroup preferences on both dimensions. In other words, they propose to use a *relative* rather than an *absolute* discrepancy (see also Nigbur et al., 2008). It is quite plausible that in some situations perceiving the outgroup to want 100% more contact than oneself might have quite different consequences than perceiving the outgroup to want 100% less contact. Although more data are needed, it seems that taking the direction of the discrepancy into account might allow for an even more precise prediction of intergroup outcomes.

With the material reviewed in this section, the intergroup nature of acculturation has moved to centre stage. As the evidence clearly shows, to be able to garner a full picture of the mutual attitudes held by minority and majority groups, one needs to analyze not just each group's own acculturation preferences in isolation but how they relate to the preferences of the other group. If there is a reasonable match, one can expect a favorable intergroup outcome; if they are discrepant, intergroup attitudes become decidedly more negative.

3.4. Acculturation, adaptation, and intergroup climate

In our earlier overview of acculturation research (Section 2), we noted how it is commonly assumed that a preference for Integration will be associated with positive adaptation outcomes. However, as we also observed in that section, the observed correlations between Integration and adaptation are not always very strong, suggesting the influence of some moderating factors. Moreover, from a theoretical point of view, it is not clear that one should always expect a positive link between Integration and adaptation. Berry (1997, 2008), for instance, has consistently maintained that the consequences for a minority group of adopting various acculturation strategies depend crucially on the societal context in which those strategies are being pursued (Bourhis et al., 1997; Piontkowski et al., 2002). If that context is sympathetic to the goals of multiculturalism then, indeed, one would expect that adopting an Integrationist orientation would be optimally adaptive for members of minority groups. In other contexts, this might be less true. In this section, we examine the moderating role of the intergroup context confronting minority group members, and we do so in the domain of educational achievement, an adaptation outcome that is frequently of interest to acculturation researchers (Berry et al., 2006; Fuligni, Witkow, & Garcia, 2005; Oyserman, Brickman, Bybee, & Celious, 2006).

Research has often documented the poorer educational outcomes of children of many immigrant groups (Heath & Brinbaum, 2007; Marks, 2005). The case of Turkish students in Belgium, the focus of the research reported here, is no exception to this trend, with educational disparities between them and people of Belgian descent being among the largest in Europe (Phalet, Deboosere, & Bastiaenssen, 2007). The question arises, then, how much variance in that educational inequality is explicable by the acculturation orientations adopted by Turkish students?

In our research, we assessed acculturation orientations by means of minority group students' strength of identification with their ethnic (Turkish) category and the national (Belgian) category (Baysu, Phalet, & Brown, in press). As noted earlier, people's ethnic and national identifications can serve as reasonable proxies for the culture maintenance and culture adoption (or intergroup contact) acculturation dimensions within the Berry framework (Liebkind, 2006; Phinney, 1990, 2003).

What, then, might one predict about the educational outcomes for members of a minority group who are "dual identifiers" (or Integrationists)? At first glance, one might expect them to enjoy academic success: they are securely rooted in their heritage group identity and they are actively engaged with the majority culture. This should ensure that they have the (bi)cultural competence and social acceptance to succeed academically. However, this fortuitous combination might depend on the prevailing social climate in their schools. If the latter is geared more toward

Assimilation or, worse, is actively threatening because of repeated experiences of discrimination, then the "usual" benefits of biculturalism (or Integration) may not pertain. Indeed, there is a considerable literature on the deleterious effects of perceived identity threats on the academic performance of ethnic minorities, most especially in the form of stereotype threat (Deaux et al., 2007; Purdie-Vaughns, Steele, Davies, Ditlmann, & Randall-Crosby, 2008; Steele, Spencer, & Aronson, 2002).

Assimilationists—those who downplay the importance of their heritage identity and emphasize their superordinate national identity—may fare better in threatening contexts. Because they are less concerned with their heritage identity, they may be less affected by experiences of discrimination targeted at it. Moreover, they may even increase their efforts in the face of discrimination to prove that they are worthy of majority acceptance. Ironically, the same outcome may also be true for "ethnists" (i.e., those who only identify with the minority group—Separatists). This enhanced singular identity may protect them from an unsympathetic or hostile reception by the majority culture because they are little concerned with it. We used the Marginalization category as a "baseline" against which to compare the outcomes of the other strategies.

We tested these ideas in a large sample ($N = 576$) of Turkish young adults living in Belgium (Baysu et al., in press). We independently assessed their levels of Turkish and Belgian identification so we could classify them according to the Berry taxonomy. We also elicited the frequency of their experiences of discriminatory treatment at secondary school because of their ethnic origin. This allowed us to divide the sample into those who had experienced high or low discrimination. Finally, we assessed their educational achievement by examining whether they gained entry to university (high success), graduated from secondary school (moderate success), or failed to graduate from secondary school (low success). Initial educational attainment was used as a baseline control variable. As expected, "dual identifiers" (or Integrationists) did best if they had encountered relatively little discrimination at school, but worst if they had experienced much discrimination (see Fig. 3.4). In contrast, among those in that high discrimination group, it was the Assimilationists and Separatists who had the higher probability of academic success. These results underline yet again the importance of considering acculturation processes not in isolation but in relation to the intergroup context against which they are played out.

3.5. Acculturation as process: Developmental and longitudinal perspectives

Any approach with pretensions to be dynamic must address change. In the last section, we saw how students' educational fortunes depended on the combination of their acculturation orientation and the social climate
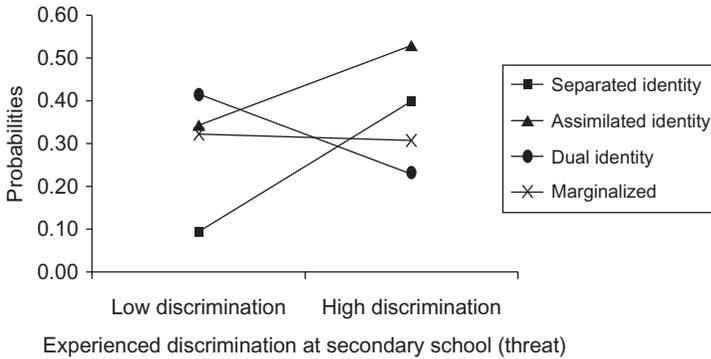
Figure 3.4 Probability of academic success in Turkish students in Belgium as a joint function of their acculturation strategies and perceived discrimination. Taken from Baysu et al. (in press, Figure 1).

in the schools they attended. In this section, we look at change again in more detail. In particular, we examine how temporal changes in well-being outcomes depend on initial acculturation preferences and how intergroup attitudes and acculturation preferences can be altered by experimental or quasi-experimental interventions.

All the work we have reviewed thus far has used adults or adolescents (13 years and older) as participants. A careful scrutiny of the acculturation literature reveals that very few studies indeed have attempted to study acculturation processes in children. This lacuna is as surprising as it is worrying.

It is surprising because, as Oppedal (2006) has convincingly argued, the children of minority or immigrant group families are likely to be confronted with many of the same acculturation issues as their older siblings and parents: in the nursery, kindergarten, or primary school, they too will be faced with decisions—sometimes made for them[4]—about culture maintenance and contact. Just as it is important to understand the mental health and other consequences of such acculturation decisions in adults, so we should be interested in the same sequalae in younger people also. The paucity of research on children is also worrying because immigrant and minority children have additional developmental hurdles to contend with (Oppedal, 2006). The "normal" trajectories of social and cognitive development are much more complex for them because they occur in a family context that may be culturally different from the other environments they encounter in their daily lives. Indeed, as we saw earlier, parent–child

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[4] For instance, schools may dictate the kinds of clothes that children may wear, or they may decide that certain languages may not be spoken inside the school gates (BBC, September 1, 2006; http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/europe/5305484.stm).

discrepancies in acculturation attitudes are associated with adaptation out-
comes (Pfafferott & Brown, 2006; see Section 3.3).

What is known about acculturation in young children? Van de Vijver,
Helms-Lorenz, and Feltzer (1999) found that their sample of immigrant
children in the Netherlands (aged 7–12 years) preferred Integration over the
other three strategies, and this preference was slightly more marked among
first generation and younger immigrants (we shall shortly have reason to
question the generality of this latter result). With an adolescent sample of
immigrants to Norway and in a rare longitudinal study, Oppedal et al.
(2004) found that both host culture competence (a proxy for culture
adoption) and ethnic culture competence (a proxy for culture maintenance)
independently and positively predicted self-esteem, and self-esteem was
positively related to mental health. Due to the longitudinal design, these
findings provide support for the causal role of acculturation attitudes in
promoting well-being.

Contemporaneously with Oppedal et al. (2004) and mindful of the
scarcity of longitudinal tests of Berry's model, we designed our own longi-
tudinal study of acculturation in young children (Brown et al., 2010;
Nigbur et al., 2008). We collected data from just under 400 British school-
children (mean age 7.5 years at outset), of whom just over half were
members of an ethnic minority, mostly of second or later generation
immigrant status. We tested the children three times, at approximately 6
month intervals, using age-appropriate measures of acculturation attitudes,
self-esteem, peer acceptance, and a quasi-objective measure of adaptation
provided by teachers' responses to Goodman's (1999) Strength and Diffi-
culties Questionnaire (SDQ) for each child.

The first result of interest was that, initially, the modal acculturation style
for both majority and minority children was for Integration (Nigbur et al.,
2008; see Fig. 5). A year later, this preference for Integration became even
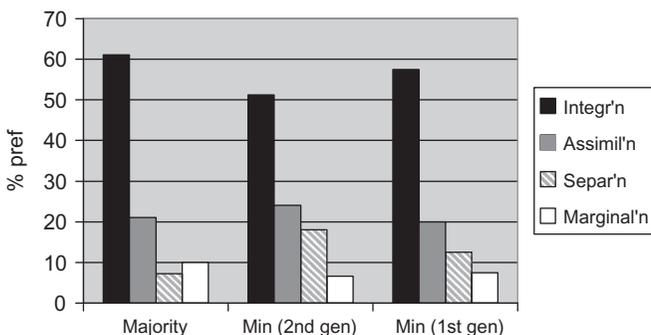
Figure 5 Acculturation preferences in young British children. From Nigbur et al.
(2008, Table 3).

more marked, at least for the minority children, with now over 75% of that group endorsing Integration (Brown et al., 2010). Further analysis revealed that older children (8–11 years) were slightly more pro-Integration than their younger peers (5–7 years) (Brown et al., 2010). This pattern of preferences of the minority children contrasts somewhat with that reported by Van de Vijver et al. (1999), described above.

The second and more important set of results from this study derives from its longitudinal design. We were able to show that acculturation attitudes in minority children exerted a longitudinal and therefore potentially causal influence on various well-being indicators (Brown et al., 2010). Two of the findings were entirely in line with what one might predict from the Berry framework: children who adopted an Integrationist perspective at an earlier time point had higher self-esteem and reported greater peer acceptance later on, even controlling for the temporal stabilities in those measures. However, a third result was more surprising: that same Integrationist preference was also predictive of a slightly greater incidence of negative emotional symptoms as noted by the children's teachers on the SDQ. In other words, and somewhat reminiscent of the findings on academic achievement we reported in Section 3.4, holding an Integrationist outlook proved to be something of a two-edged sword for these children: it increased their self-esteem and peer acceptance but it also made them more nervous, at least as observed by their teachers.

We believe that these equivocal results can be understood by appreciating the social challenges faced by Integrationist children. Because they are endorsing both acculturation dimensions, they are probably active in seeking out play opportunities with majority children while trying to retain aspects of their own group's culture, perhaps in their clothing or dietary preferences. Ironically, taking the lead in initiating intergroup interactions may also expose them to more opportunities for social exclusion, particularly if their culturally prescribed appearance or behavior might give rise to comment from other children. In certain respects, then, it is "harder work" adopting an Integrationist strategy.

The remaining two studies in this section focus on how acculturation concepts can be used to change the attitudes of majority children toward refugees. In recent years in Britain, as elsewhere, there has been much public debate about the numbers of immigrants seeking asylum that should be permitted to resettle in the country. Some areas of the country, particularly those near to ports and airports like those where these studies were conducted, have seen a rise in the number of refugee children attending school. This influx of immigrants to what were previously ethnically rather homogeneous communities has led researchers and educators to devise interventions that seek to ensure that majority children's attitudes toward these newcomers are more positive than those expressed by some adults in the editorial and letter columns of certain newspapers.

Cameron, Rutland, Brown, and Douch (2006) drew on developments in Contact and Extended Contact Theory (Brewer & Miller, 1984; Brown & Hewstone, 2005; Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000; Wright et al., 1997) to implement an experimental story-book intervention in some primary schools in southern England. Over a period of 6 weeks, white British children (mean age 8.8 years) were read stories that featured friendships between a refugee child and some majority British children.

The content of these stories and the accompanying poststory discussions were varied according to condition: in the *Dual Identity* condition, the ethnicities of the protagonists were somewhat salient throughout while their common school identity was repeatedly mentioned. This corresponds to an Integration orientation because both majority and minority cultures are emphasized (Dovidio, Gaertner, & Saguy, 2007). In the second, *One Group*, condition, only the protagonists' common membership of their school was emphasized and their respective ethnicities were downplayed. This corresponds to an Assimilationist intervention (Dovidio et al., 2007). Finally, there was a *Decategorization* condition which focused mainly on the protagonists' individual characteristics (Dovidio et al., 2007). This is equivalent to Marginalization. There was also a Control group who were read no stories at all.

One to two weeks after the intervention, the children's attitudes toward refugees were assessed. All three intervention conditions produced a significant improvement in the children's attitudes as compared to the Control group. But most favorable of all—and significantly more positive than the One Group and Decategorized conditions—was the Dual Identity condition (Cameron et al., 2006). Here, then, and consistent with the research presented in Section 3.1 earlier, is the first experimental evidence that an Integrationist orientation in the majority can produce positive social adaptation benefits.

Cameron et al.'s (2006) study was a true experiment with random assignment of children to treatment conditions. Those implementing educational interventions in schools seldom have (or need) the methodological luxury of such experimental control; the exigencies of their professional situation usually permit class-room level treatment differences at best. Such was the setting for the Friendship Project, a multiculturalism education pack that was introduced into some primary schools in the south of England, again with the explicit goal of improving children's attitudes toward refugees. We were able to evaluate the impact of this intervention (Turner & Brown, 2008). The Friendship Project pack consisted of lesson plans for teachers that provided the basis for four lessons focusing on refugees and the intergroup relationship between them and members of the host society. The pack was administered in three schools, with some classes receiving it immediately (*Intervention*) and some others receiving it after a delay (*Control*). We assessed majority children's (mean age 10 years) attitudes toward refugees, and also their own and perceived others' acculturation attitudes, before and after the intervention.

The intervention proved to be a partial success, at least in the short-term. Attitudes toward asylum-seekers, as measured 1 week after the intervention, improved in the Intervention classes but remained static in the Control classes. The longer-term effects were less noticeable, however. The intervention also significantly affected the children's preferred acculturation strategies, with more Intervention children opting for Integration after the intervention than before, and fewer of them preferring Assimilation or Separation as a result of the intervention (see Fig. 6). The Control group's preferences changed rather less (and nonsignificantly) and, if anything, in the opposite direction.

Given the design limitations of this study, we could not make cast-iron inferences that the observed changes were solely attributable to the Friendship Project intervention, but the results were promising enough to give some hope that such interventions can effect measurable change in children's intergroup and acculturation attitudes, underlining the central argument of this chapter, that acculturation attitudes should be considered as dynamic processes.

4. TOWARD A NEW AGENDA

Summarizing the insights from the studies presented in the previous section (Section 3) yields a picture of the acculturation process as multifaceted and intricate. In Section 3.1, we saw that acculturation preferences can impact on intergroup relations, and that there is a bidirectional relationship
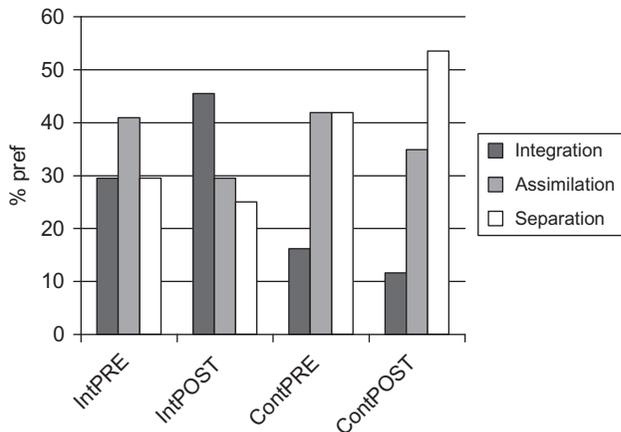
Figure 6 Changes in acculturation preferences after multiculturalism intervention. From Turner and Brown (2008, Tables 4 and 5); Int, intervention group (PRE and POST intervention); Cont, control (PRE and POST).

between the amount and quality of intergroup contact and acculturation preferences. In Section 3.2, we saw that perceptions of the outgroup's acculturation preferences can influence both intergroup relations—for example, in the form of intergroup attitudes and threat—and own acculturation preferences themselves. What is more, several of these studies suggested that intergroup relations variables *mediate* the effect of perceived acculturation preferences on own acculturation preferences, and there was evidence that intergroup prejudice can moderate the effect of perceived acculturation preferences. In Section 3.3, we saw that the fit between perceived outgroup and own acculturation preferences also functions as a predictor of intergroup relations, and Section 3.4 highlighted the fact that intergroup relations variables such as the quality of the intergroup climate and perceived discrimination can moderate the effect of acculturation preferences on outcome variables such as educational achievement. Finally, Section 3.5 addressed the temporal dynamics of acculturation processes, especially in young children. There we considered developmental and longitudinal trajectories as well as the effectiveness of interventions designed to change intergroup attitudes and acculturation orientations.

Acculturation researchers like to divide variables neatly into antecedent acculturation conditions, mediating acculturation orientations and acculturation outcomes (e.g., Arends-Tóth & van de Vijver, 2006). Although this is theoretically and aesthetically satisfying, the research reviewed here demonstrates that such a simplified version of events cannot satisfactorily account for the acculturation processes from an intergroup perspective. Intergroup relations variables are affected by acculturation choices, affect them in turn, and also moderate and mediate their effects. We turn now to a consideration of what we see as the most pressing—and the most promising—directions for future research on acculturation processes.

4.1. Meta-analysis

We noted earlier (Section 2) how the observed correlations between Integration and well-being have typically been in the 0.2–0.3 range, with considerable variation across groups and studies. However, this was an observation based on a visual inspection of an almost certainly incomplete set of acculturation studies. Moreover, the relatively small size of the Integration–adaptation relationship indicates the probable presence of some moderators of the effect. Both of these points suggest that a *first* research priority is a systematic review of the relationship between different acculturation strategies and various adaptation outcomes. This would not only establish more precisely the magnitude of the acculturation–adaptation relationships but would also provide valuable pointers to likely candidates for moderation.

Surprisingly, for a relatively mature and well-defined research domain, we have been able to locate only two meta-analyses that have attempted to document quantitatively the relationship between acculturation attitudes and adaptation (Moyerman & Forman, 1992; Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2010). These reviews suggest that the observed relationships depend on the type of measurement instruments employed, the kind of adaptation outcome, and the nature of the acculturation groups. Although these are useful first steps, they suffer from a number of limitations for our present purposes. The measures of acculturation included in the meta-analyses were extremely heterogeneous and often included nonattitudinal measures (e.g., years of residence, language proficiency; Moyerman & Forman, 1992) or did not examine correlates of acculturation attitudes other than Integration (or biculturalism) (Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2010). Moreover, they did not include some of the social adaptation measures that we have identified here, especially indicators of intergroup outcomes. The time is ripe, therefore, for a more focused metaanalysis that would establish the reliability of the respective relationships between Integration, Assimilation, Separation, and Marginalization and different adaptation outcomes. Such a meta-analysis should also be able to identify some new moderators of those relationships. From the logic of the intergroup perspective we have been advocating here, we suspect that such variables as the societal climate in which the acculturation is taking place (sympathetic or antipathetic toward multiculturalism) and the relative status position of the acculturating group will prove important variables.

4.2. The search for new moderators

Of course, the ability of meta-analysis to locate moderators is always constrained by the nature of the studies that have been conducted. In this section, therefore, we offer some pointers for the search for several new factors that we believe may moderate the acculturation–adaptation relationship.

The *first* concerns the conceptualization of nationality and ethnicity that prevails in given societal contexts. Some recent analyses of intergroup relations have suggested that an important variable is the way people conceptualize the various groups in their social milieu, both those that they belong to and those that they do not. Of particular interest has been whether those group conceptualizations are "essentialist" (or not) in character (Yzerbyt, Rocher, & Schadron, 1997). Essentialism, as several commentators concur, is a belief that all members of a certain group have some inherent and immutable features in common and, therefore, that category membership is an exclusive affair—one is a member of this group because of who one is and therefore one cannot be a member of other groups (Haslam, Rothschild, & Ernst, 2000; Keller, 2005; Medin, 1989; Yzerbyt et al., 1997; Zagefka, 2009; see also, Dweck's (1999) similar differentiation between "entity" and "incremental" lay theorists in the domain of intelligence).

Essentialist beliefs of this kind have been implicated in a range of intergroup phenomena: a greater tendency to engage in stereotypical inferences (Hoffman & Hurst, 1990); higher levels of prejudice (Epstein et al., 2006; Keller, 2005); judgments of collective responsibility (Denson, Lickel, Curtis, Stenstrom, & Ames, 2006); and collective guilt for ingroup misdeeds (Zagefka, Pehrson, Mole, & Chan, 2010). Of particular relevance here are findings that essentialist beliefs are correlated with a rejection of multiculturalism (Verkuyten & Brug, 2004), serve as a moderator of Asian Americans' assimilationist responses to American culture primes (No et al., 2008), and amplify the correlation between national identification and anti–immigrant sentiment (Pehrson, Brown, & Zagefka, 2009).

From these last three studies, it is plausible to predict that essentialism would also qualify several of the relationships between acculturation preferences and intergroup attitudes that we reported earlier. To the extent that people hold an essentialist view of their ingroup and outgroups, one would expect them not only to be less likely to endorse Integration or Assimilation (because these orientations imply a degree of flexibility and permeability of social identities), but they should also show a stronger association between Separation and outgroup rejection (because an endorsement of cultural separatism will be linked to a belief in more deep-rooted intergroup differences in such people).

Similar arguments could be made for a moderation by essentialism of the relationships between perceived outgroup acculturation preferences and prejudice, and between ingroup and outgroup acculturation discrepancies and prejudice that we discussed in Sections 3.2 and 3.3, respectively. For example, perceiving minority members to want to "enter" the ingroup (as in Integration or Assimilation) might lead to particularly strong adverse reactions and hence to more prejudice among high essentialists because those high essentialists will be particularly motivated to guard the ingroup boundaries and to deter perceived "trespassers." Along the same lines, a perceived discrepancy between own and outgroup acculturation preferences, particularly one in which majority members perceive a greater desire in minority members for culture adoption than they have themselves, might lead to particularly adverse reactions among those majority members high in essentialism. These and a range of related hypotheses could be tested by future research.

A *second* fruitful direction in the search for moderators would be the life domain to which the acculturation preferences refer. It now seems clear that the modal acculturation strategy in a group greatly depends on whether it concerns the public spheres of education or work, or the more private arenas of social relationships, dietary preferences, and religious customs (Arends-Tóth & van de Vijver, 2004; Navas et al., 2007). What have not yet been investigated are the possibly different implications of those preferences for adaptation outcomes, in public as compared to private domains. One might speculate that *personal* adaptation outcomes (e.g., well-being)

might be more contingent on acculturation practices adopted in private, but that *social* adaptation outcomes (e.g., intergroup attitudes) might be more sensitive to strategies adopted (or perceived to be adopted) in public. The consequences of different *perceived* outgroup preferences in private versus public have also been little studied. A first experiment on this topic, in which an immigrant group's presumed acculturation strategies in private and public domains were systematically varied, yielded some interesting pointers (Tip & Brown, 2010). The majority group's reactions to these outgroup acculturation strategies were affected by the perceived preferences of the minority in both domains. However, of particular interest were the majority's reactions when the minority's "private" preferences appeared to be at variance with their publicly endorsed preferences. Majority group members felt most threatened by combinations of public and private strategies that were inconsistent—for example, when the minority appeared to want Separation in public but Assimilation in private. Perhaps such apparently inconsistent positions are seen as attempts by the minority to achieve some political goal (e.g., greater recognition for their cultural identity), even if in private they seem to be rather less concerned about it.

A *third* potential moderator could be the magnitude of the perceived cultural difference between the majority and minority cultures. We noted earlier (in Section 3.2) how one factor governing majority group reactions to perceived preferences for culture maintenance by minorities could be perceived similarity. According to Stephan and Stephan's (2000) Integrated Threat Theory and Pettigrew and Meertens (1995) conception of subtle racism, large perceived cultural differences between ingroup and outgroup may be regarded as threatening, resulting in feelings of threat and prejudicial attitudes and discrimination. There is some correlational evidence consistent with this hypothesis (Curseu, Stoop, & Schalk, 2007; Stephan, Ybarra, Martinez, Schwarzwald, & Tur-Kaspa, 1998). And perceived intergroup similarity has also been found to be linked to acculturation attitudes in at least three different European contexts (Piontkowski et al., 2000). There are good prima facie grounds, therefore, for regarding the cultural differences between the acculturating groups as an important moderator of the effects of perceived acculturation attitudes. When these differences are large—for instance, when the groups differ in religion and other cultural practices—one might expect that perceived desire for cultural maintenance in the outgroup would have more negative intergroup effects than when the cultural differences are slight.

4.3. Methodological issues (but not only)

At several points in this chapter, we have drawn attention to methodological questions: How should acculturation preferences be measured? How should discrepancies between own and perceived outgroup preferences be assessed? How can we better understand the causal relationships between

acculturation attitudes and adaptation outcomes? In this section, we wish to identify some further methodological developments that we believe are needed in this field. However, as will become clear, these suggested developments are not purely methodological; they have important substantive implications also.

A *first* methodological issue concerns the conceptualization of one of the dimensions in Berry's (1997) framework, desire for contact with the outgroup. As we noted at the outset, some have proposed to replace this dimension with one of culture adoption (Bourhis et al., 1997) and, indeed, several studies have done so with mixed results (Snauwaert et al., 2003; Van Acker & Vanbeselaere, in press; Van de Vijver, 2008). It is clear that asking people how much they desire contact with an outgroup and how much they wish to adopt the culture of that group are quite different questions (Berry & Colette, 2008), which, not surprisingly, result in very different classifications of preferred acculturation strategies (Snauwaert et al., 2003).

What is less clear is whether the *outcomes* of those different acculturation preferences also differ according to how they are arrived at. So far, our own evidence indicates that, at least in the realm of perceived outgroup acculturation preferences, it matters little for resulting intergroup attitudes whether one measures perceived desire for contact or perceived desire for cultural adoption (Tip et al., 2010). And a recent study examining Flemish Belgian people's attitudes toward Turkish immigrants also found little difference in the associations between intergroup attitudes and perceived acculturation strategies measured in the two ways (Van Acker & Vanbeselaere, in press). At the same time, there is evidence that the correlates of one's *own* acculturation preferences might differ depending on which method is chosen (cf. Zagefka & Brown, 2002; Zagefka, Pehrson, et al., 2010 in Section 3.1; Van Acker & Vanbeselaere, in press). A systematic investigation of the effects of acculturation preferences operationalized in the two different ways is still outstanding and would surely present an interesting question for further investigation.

A *second* direction that the acculturation field could usefully take is to conduct more comparative research using international samples and multilevel analytic techniques. Following Berry's (1997) and Bourhis et al.'s (1997) leads, we have stressed several times in this review how the effects of acculturation preferences on adaptation outcomes are likely to depend on the national context and intergroup climate in which they play out. Integration may be the "optimal" strategy only in settings where a multiculturalist outlook has gained wide acceptance or where essentialist definitions of ethnicity and nationality have little currency. A proper test of this hypothesis would necessitate comparing acculturation processes across a wide range of national contexts which are also representative of different kinds of ethnic and national self-definition. A promising role model for such a study is the large cross-national study by Berry and his colleagues (2006) that we

highlighted at the beginning of this chapter. Not only were there 13 different national samples represented in this study, but data were collected from both minority and majority groups within each country. As we noted, the correlations between acculturation preferences and adaptation outcomes varied considerably across nations.

That international study undoubtedly is something of a landmark in the field. Nevertheless, it is possible that, impressively large though its sample was, its conclusions regarding the potential moderation of acculturation–adaptation relationships by cultural context may have been limited by the relatively small number of countries sampled. To exploit fully the currently most powerful statistical techniques for simultaneously analyzing individual and country level variables and their interactions (e.g., multilevel modeling), it is likely that a larger number of nations would need to be sampled (Kreft & de Leeuw, 1998).

A recent example of some research of our own in a related field may help to illustrate the usefulness of such multilevel modeling techniques (Pehrson, Vignoles, & Brown, 2009). This research set out to investigate the correlation between strength of national identification and anti-immigrant prejudice. Analyses of responses from over 37,000 respondents in 31 different countries revealed only a weak positive association at an individual level ($r = 0.06$). Moreover, the same correlation at a nation level of analysis was substantially reversed ($r = -0.41$). In other words, countries that had a higher average level of national identification tended to have lower average levels of xenophobia. Of particular interest was the discovery that the magnitude of the individual identification–prejudice correlations was significantly moderated by the type of definition of nationality prevalent within each nation: in countries where a "civic" definition of nationality was preferred (Smith, 2001), the individual correlation between identification and prejudice was significantly weakened (e.g., Canada, $r = -0.04$); in countries that tended to adopt "linguistic" criteria for nationality (Shulman, 2002), the same correlation was significantly stronger (e.g., Denmark, $r = +0.37$). Our interpretation of this result is that a definition of nationality in terms of language proficiency is culturally more exclusive than one in terms of respect for and participation in civic institutions. Thus, where a "linguistic" conception of nationality prevails, the link between national identification and anti-immigrant prejudice is likely to be facilitated.

By extension to the acculturation domain, one could conceive of an international comparative study similar to Berry et al. (2006) in which national level indicators of multiculturalism climate and other relevant intergroup contextual variables could be obtained and then used to examine their ability to moderate acculturation–adaptation relationships at an individual level. According to the position we and others (e.g., Berry, 1997) have adopted, Integration will predict favorable adaptation, both at a psychological and at a wider social level, mainly in countries sympathetic

to multiculturalism; in other countries, Assimilation or Separation might well prove to be more adaptive, at least at a psychosocial level.

The same approach could be adopted to analyze the effects of ethnic diversity on acculturation phenomena. Recall from Section 2 that Berry et al. (2006) found that ethnic diversity (i.e., the proportion of ethnic minorities in a country) was negatively related to adaptation. One reason for this could be that, as the proportion of immigrants or ethnic minority people in a country increases, it can give rise to feelings of threat in the minds of the majority, either because of perceived economic competition (e.g., over jobs) or because of symbolic concerns about the preservation of a way of life. Some research has, indeed, found a country level association between ethnic density and anti–immigrant prejudice (Quillian, 1995), although there is also evidence that the effects of ethnic density on individual prejudice are buffered by the amount of contact with minorities (McLaren, 2003).

To give these hypothetical research designs additional interpretative power, it would be ideal to add a longitudinal element so as to be on surer ground when drawing causal inferences.

A *third* area ripe for methodological development would be to study acculturation processes as they operate in actual intergroup interactions. The overwhelming majority of acculturation studies employ attitudinal measures, tapping people's actual or, more usually, their ideal or preferred acculturation practices (see Navas et al., 2007, for a discussion of the significance of this ideal–actual distinction). Yet, as ever in the behavioral sciences, there may be less than perfect correspondence between people's attitudes assessed in the abstract and how they actually behave in concrete situations in the classroom or workplace (Eagly & Chaiken, 1998; Kraus, 1995; Wicker, 1969). To compound the problem, acculturation researchers have seldom simultaneously assessed the acculturation attitudes of both majority and minority groups (though see Sections 2 and 3 for exceptions). In short, we still know little about the likely outcomes of real–life encounters between members of majority and minority groups who hold similar or different acculturation attitudes.

Several promising leads in this direction have been provided by some recent experimental studies of intergroup interactions (Saguy, Dovidio, & Pratto, 2008; Vorauer, Martens, & Sasaki, 2009). Vorauer et al. (2009) underlined the important role that meta–stereotypes—what we believe the outgroup thinks of us—can play in facilitating or disrupting intergroup interaction. From our earlier analysis of how perceived discrepancies in ingroup–outgroup acculturation preferences are associated with unfavorable intergroup attitudes (Section 3.3), it is plausible to suppose that such perceptions (and misperceptions) will be implicated in determining the course of intergroup interactions also. Saguy et al. (2008) observed how, in intergroup interactions involving high and low power groups, those in

the latter group had rather different interaction goals than those in the former. Those in the disadvantaged groups, especially the most highly identified members, wanted to discuss inequalities and social change; those in the higher power groups—again, especially the most identified members—preferred to discuss things the groups had in common. It is often the case that majority and minority groups have different acculturation preferences—typically, minorities greatly prefer Integration over all other strategies, at least in public domains (Arends-Tóth & van de Vijver, 2004; Zagefka & Brown, 2002), whereas majorities usually tend to prefer Assimilation over Integration or are evenly divided between the two (Arends-Tóth & Van de Vijver, 2003; Van Oudenhoven et al., 1998; Zagefka & Brown, 2002). Hence, one can expect that during actual interactions between them, these discrepant preferences will emerge, probably with initially challenging consequences (see Dovidio et al., 2007).

Much would be gained by investigating such intercultural interactions experimentally—we have already noted the scarcity of experimental work in the acculturation literature—but that should not preclude their study in more naturalistic contexts also.

4.4. Policy implications

The body of research we reviewed in Section 3 is large and the findings are not always straight forward. We have flagged several inconsistencies between studies that still await further investigation. Nonetheless, a picture emerges which makes it possible to synthesize the most important insights into some concrete policy recommendations. In the following, we will outline seven policy implications that we see emerging from the research findings we have reviewed here.

In Section 3.1, we saw that Integration is related to more favorable intergroup attitudes. We also saw that there is a mutual influence between intergroup contact and acculturation preference: intergroup contact is generally related to more desire for both culture maintenance and contact (i.e., to more support for Integration). Two conclusions can be drawn from these patterns.

First, it appears that those policy makers interested in promoting intergroup harmony would be well advised to advocate the adoption of an Integration strategy among both minority and majority members because this is associated with more harmonious intergroup outcomes. There is, of course, a long tradition of social psychological interventions that have sought to promote multiculturalism and more favorable intergroup relations (Bigler, 1999; Paluck & Green, 2009; Stephan, 1999). A recurring debate in that literature has been about the optimal content of curriculum materials and other forms of intervention: should these interventions attempt to "individuate" members of outgroups and deemphasize category boundaries

or, rather, should some recognition of group differences be an integral part of any prejudice reduction program in the interests of promoting diversity (Aboud & Fenwick, 1999; Bigler, 1999; Brown & Hewstone, 2005; Paluck, 2006)? These contrasting strategies are well illustrated by the studies reported by Aboud and Fenwick (1999), which found some positive effects of an "individuating" intervention, particularly among more prejudiced schoolchildren, and by Cameron et al. (2006; see Section 3.5 above) and Cameron and Rutland (2006), who found that an indirect contact intervention that stressed both subgroup and superordinate identities simultaneously was more efficacious than one that focused on individual attributes. From the evidence we reviewed in Section 3.1, and in line with other arguments about the social benefits of Integration, we currently favor the latter approach.

A *second* conclusion is that interventions geared at improving intergroup contact will also likely have beneficial effects on support for Integration. Although support for Integration has not traditionally been included as an outcome measure in contact interventions, our data suggest that such positive effects are to be expected. There is, of course, a large body of research evaluating and demonstrating the beneficial effects of intergroup contact as a prejudice reduction tool (Brown, 2010; Brown & Hewstone, 2005; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). Policy makers interested in improving intergroup harmony could draw on this body of work, and by using such methods also procure positive effects in the acculturation domain. Looking at the other side of the coin, our findings clearly suggest that social policies which have the intentional or coincidental effect of reducing intergroup contact—for example, establishing separate religious/denominational schools, a policy endorsed by both the previous and current UK governments (Berkeley, 2008; Paton, 2010)—will have negative implications for acculturation attitudes. They are likely to reduce support for Integration and therefore ultimately be detrimental to intergroup harmony.

Turning now to the results presented in Section 3.2, those demonstrated that perceptions of what the other group wants will impact on own acculturation preferences. For minority members, most own support for Integration can be expected if perceived support for Integration amongst the majority group is also high. For majority members, the same holds true, with the notable exception that perceived culture maintenance does not seem to have positive effects for more prejudiced majority members. This, then, gives rise to a *third* policy implication: we would suggest that policy makers interested in promoting intergroup harmony must take perceived outgroup preferences into account. The success of interventions aimed at improving people's own support for Integration might be jeopardized by perceptions that the outgroup (whether majority or minority) rejects this strategy. Moreover, there is evidence that majority group perceptions of what the minority group wants are often not particularly accurate

(Schalk-Soekar et al., 2004; Van Oudenhoven et al., 1998; Zagefka & Brown, 2002). In those situations in which such misperceptions are negative (e.g., where majority members perceive minority members to support Integration to a lesser extent than they actually do), it might be wise to precede any intervention with informational campaigns to correct such negative perceptions.

Moving to the *fourth* implication, the research in Section 3.2 suggests that high preexisting levels of prejudice can endanger the otherwise beneficial effects to be expected from perceiving that minority members wish to integrate. This implies that before embarking on any intervention or informational campaign, it would be judicious to assess the "starting point" of the population whose attitudes one wishes to affect. If intergroup relations are strained and prejudice levels are high, those will need to be addressed before any acculturation-focused intervention can be initiated.

The *fifth* recommendation emerges from the findings presented in Section 3.3, which demonstrated that large perceived discrepancies between own and outgroup acculturation preferences will have a negative impact on intergroup relations. From this result, it can be concluded that policy makers interested in improving intergroup relations would be well advised always to focus on *both* minority and majority groups. Ironically, interventions aiming to improve intergroup relations usually focus on only one side of the divide, the majority group (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006; Tropp & Pettigrew, 2005). Our data suggest that, in order to be effective, policies designed to increase support for Integration must be developed with *both* groups in mind.

The *sixth* recommendation arises from the research presented in Section 3.4, which showed that whether or not Integration is associated with positive effects will depend on the prevailing social climate. If levels of perceived discrimination and intergroup tension are high, minority members endeavoring to pursue Integration might make themselves vulnerable to rejection and might experience poor psychological and sociocultural adaptation. Turning this pattern into a policy recommendation, we conclude that it is vital to communicate that there is strong institutional support for multiculturalism and Integration, and that acts of discrimination will be negatively sanctioned. This idea allies closely with similar proposals set out in the Contact Hypothesis (Allport, 1954; Brown & Hewstone, 2005) in which it is held that such institutional support is crucial for the development of new social norms in favor of tolerance and cross-group interaction which, as we noted earlier, are implicated in the causal nexus between acculturation attitudes and intergroup relations.

The *seventh* and last point emerges from the research presented in Section 3.5. In this section, we saw that—at least among young children—Integration can sometimes be a double-edged sword. It undoubtedly can have positive consequences in many domains, including psychological

and sociocultural adaptation and intergroup relations. However, the pursuit of Integration seems sometimes also to put minority members at risk because they may become more susceptible and vulnerable to rejection from majority members. Although, on balance, the positive effects of integration seem to outweigh the negative ones (at least if the social climate is benign), this pattern of results nonetheless suggests that socially engineering and altering acculturation preferences may occasionally have a negative impact on those very groups who already occupy marginalized and low power positions in society. Although we do not want to imply that interventions aimed at encouraging Integration are inherently problematic, we do want our last comment to be a cautionary note: We believe that any intervention launched should not only focus on improving intergroup relations generally, but that it must particularly consider the impact on those most vulnerable groups within society and be mindful of safeguarding their interests.

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