11.Responding to Racial-Ethnic Diversity: A Mutual Acculturation Model of Prejudice Reduction[+][*]

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1. Introduction

Due to increased migration, many nations are increasingly characterized as multiracial/multicultural societies. Maximizing the conditions under which such societies achieve stability and harmony among various racial and cultural groups has become an important issue (see United Nations Development Programme, 2004). The present paper draws on concepts from cultural and social psychology to provide a theoretical perspective and empirical data concerning intergroup attitudes. The data are drawn from high school students in Los Angeles, a region of the U.S. that has long been a destination for people of many races, nationalities of origin, and cultural groups.

2. Immigrants, Minority Status, and Ethnicity in the United States

The US is among the most immigrant-receiving nations of world; 12% of its population are immigrants (US Census Bureau, 2004 as cited in The Economist, March 12, 2005). Its largest and most populous state, California, has a 2005 population of 36.6 million, 27% of which is foreign-born, compared to 15.1%

foreign-born in 1980 (Myers, Pitkin, & Park, 2005). A large proportion of those born in other nations can be considered immigrants. It is difficult to estimate the number of illegal vs. legal immigrants. However, it is clear that while legal immigrants arrive from many nations, clandestine immigrants overwhelmingly emigrate from the nations and diverse cultures of Latin America, with about 70% of these from Mexico (The Economist, 2005). Immigrants from Latin America form the largest current immigrant-receiving ethnic group in the U.S. Whether foreign-born or not, those U.S. residents who have roots in Latin American cultures are collectively known as Latino-Americans or simply Latinos. Latinos are a very diverse group with respect to dates of immigration. In fact, some Latinos' origins predate most of the other waves of European-American immigration to the U.S. because they live in formerly Mexican regions that were seized by the U.S. during the U.S.-Mexico war in 1848. The other major immigrant ethnic group is Asian-Americans, whose cultures and national origins differ even more greatly than those of Latin America by virtue of their many distinct languages of origin, religions and histories.

Latinos and Asian-Americans constitute two of the four major recognized minorities of the U.S. The remaining two are Native-Americans and African-Americans, neither of which are considered immigrants. Native-American peoples probably migrated from northern Asian regions via a land bridge to what is now Alaska about 20,000 years ago. African-Americans' ancestors nearly all arrived as slaves in the years between 1640 and 1810. Both groups share with Latinos in the U.S. a status as having been subject to overwhelming oppression in the past, either as the target of capture and involuntary transport to the US as slaves (African-Americans), as indigenous people whose lands were confiscated (Native-Americans and some Latinos) or as economic refugees from impoverished rural areas (many recently-arrived Latinos). Some ancestors of current Asian-Americans, notably Chinese, were brought to the U.S. involuntarily to build the western US railways and were long denied the right to buy land. During World War II, most Japanese-Americans residing on the West Coast were interned in concentration camps located in remote mountain areas. Today, most immigrant Asian-Americans are refugees from southeast Asian countries of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia who arrived between 1975 and 2000 (Daniels, 2004) following the US-

Vietnam war. In brief, in the US, the racial/ethnic minorities who are officially recognized as disadvantaged and therefore having a claim for educational, employment or other special consideration consist of a) four racial/ethnic groups that have been targets of oppression or systematic discrimination by reason of their race or ethnicity (i.e., Native Americans, African-Americans, Latinos, and Asian-Americans) and b) Indochinese refugees from the Vietnam war era.
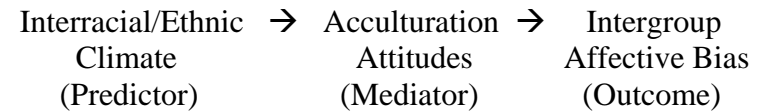
3. Intergroup Contact

Intergroup contact among racial/ethnic groups in geographic proximity presents a paradox to those committed to promoting tolerance. It is both an occasion for increased tension and an opportunity for learning tolerance. That is, while it is of one of the major contributors to intergroup conflict (e.g., Forbes, 1997), there is now substantial understanding of the conditions under which such contact can reduce prejudice (e.g., Hewstone & Brown, 1986, Pettigrew & Tropp, 2000).

A second paradox is that, even in countries that are multicultural at the aggregate level, positive social contact across racial/ethnic or cultural boundaries tends to be restricted. For example, Forman and Ebert (2004) studied a U.S. national representative sample of Asian-, African-, Latino-, and Euro-American adolescents and found that about two in ten youth nationwide socialize with people of another race. Because migration has increased world-wide, many countries have recently experienced a dramatic rise in racial and ethnic diversity, leading to both increased positive and negative intergroup contact. Hostility against immigrants is common in immigrant-receiving countries, but it is milder in the four --the U.S., Canada, Australia, and New Zealand-- that are built on immigration (Cairncross, 2002)

Allport (1954) proposed various conditions that must be met to ensure that intergroup contact reduces prejudice. The most important four are: supportive norms, e.g., from authority figures; equal status among those in contact; interdependence; and opportunities to get to know each other as individuals. Schools are a major venue for constructing such interactions among ethnic groups and provide a major opportunity for acculturation of the children of immigrants (Glazer, 1998). The research we report here incorporates the classroom as both a theoretical variable and as a location of opportunity in which to study efforts to reduce intergroup prejudice. Our work is carried out in Los Angeles County, a region with a population of 10 million, 30% of whom are immigrants. Within this multicultural population of Angelenos, 44% are Latino, 32% are Euro-American, 14% are Asian-American, and 10% are African-American (US Census, 2003).

Adapting principles from Allport (1954) and Berry, Trimble, and Olmedo (1986), we conceptualize prejudice reduction (or tolerance promotion) as part of a three-component model, consisting of:

$$\text{Interracial/Ethnic} \rightarrow \text{Acculturation} \rightarrow \text{Intergroup}$$
$$\text{Climate} \qquad \text{Attitudes} \qquad \text{Affective Bias}$$
$$\text{(Predictor)} \qquad \text{(Mediator)} \qquad \text{(Outcome)}$$

Following this theoretical analysis, we summarize evidence from our high school-based research with adolescents 1) demonstrating that two variables drawn from acculturation theory explain major portions of the relationship between students' perceptions of the classroom interracial climate (assessed at the beginning of an intergroup relations course) and their post-course intergroup prejudice and 2) such acculturation variables also independently add to the prediction of intergroup prejudice. In doing so, we compare the dominant (social categorization) perspective to our alternative emphasis on mutual acculturation processes and show the latter to be a better fit to the data.

4. Social Categorization Perspective

The dominant viewpoint concerning mechanisms for reducing intergroup prejudice is provided by social categorization (e.g., Brewer & Brown, 1998; Dovidio, Kawakami, and Gaertner 2000), which emphasizes "the role of cognitive representations of the contact situation as a critical factor determining the outcome of intergroup interactions" (Brewer & Brown, 1998, p. 579). According to this perspective, among the most important cognitive representations relevant to improving intergroup relations are subgroup identities (e.g., viewing the interaction as among separate ethnic groups) and superordinate identities (e.g., construing everyone as sharing a common group identity). For example, the common ingroup identity

model proposes that reduction of intergroup bias is best accomplished if both the ingroup and outgroup are redefined in terms of one superordinate group (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000; Gaertner, Rust, Dovidio, Bachman, & Anastasio, 1994, 1996):

"Specifically, if members of different groups are induced to conceive of themselves more as members of a single, superordinate group rather than as members of two separate groups, attitudes toward former outgroup members will become more positive through processes involving pro-ingroup bias" (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1999, p. 103).

5. Mutual Acculturation Model

We began our own research in the late 1990's with a strong belief in the potential of social categorization approaches for reducing intergroup bias. Nevertheless, our data had led us to consider the merits of a complementary view that emphasizes the potential of mutual acculturation (Wittig & Molina, 2000; Molina, Wittig, & Giang, 2004) adapted from principles used by Berry, Trimble, and Olmedo (1986) to explain immigrant adaptation. Like Berry et al. (1986), we conceptualize acculturation as involving two major psychological processes: the tendency to value maintenance of one's cultural identity of origin (which we conceptualize as ethnic identity) and the tendency to value voluntary interactions with other cultural groups (which we conceptualize as outgroup orientation). Berry et al. (1986) proposed that one can vary independently along these two dimensions, resulting in the identification of four acculturation strategies: 1) Separation: retention of ethnic identity while *not* valuing interactions with members of other groups; 2) Integration: retention of ethnic identity while valuing interactions with members of other groups; 3) Assimilation: abandonment of ethnic identity while valuing interactions with members of other groups; and 4) Marginalization: abandonment of ethnic identity while *not* valuing interactions with other groups. This acculturation model can apply to both majority and minority groups in a society, acknowledging the potential for the minority group to influence the majority group.

Acculturation theorists have used the above four acculturation strategies to explain immigrants' adaptation to their new country. For example, Berry (1997) cited research showing that integration is the "best" acculturation strategy in that it leads to the highest level of adaptability to one's surroundings and the lowest acculturative stress. In contrast, we have adapted the underlying dimensions (outgroup orientation and ethnic identity) to the study of intergroup prejudice. Furthermore, we emphasize the potential mutuality of the process, because our research is conducted in highly multicultural contexts, in which no single ethnocultural group is in the majority.

6. Comparison of Social Categorization and Mutual Acculturation Approaches

Dovidio, Kawakami, and Gaertner (2000) suggest that subgroup and superordinate identities are similar to ethnic identity and outgroup orientation dimensions, respectively. We disagree. First, we propose that ethnic identity in acculturation attitudes is distinct from subgroup identity in social categorization. Ethnic identity in acculturation research pertains to the strength of identification with one's own cultural group of origin (e.g., feelings of being a worthy member of one's racial/ethnic group). In contrast, subgroup identity in social categorization research is operationalized as subgroup salience and refers to the way an individual categorizes others as being ingroup or outgroup members (e.g., conceptualizing the interaction as being among racial/ethnic ingroup and outgroup members).

Second, outgroup orientation in acculturation theory is a distinct construct from superordinate identity in social categorization. Conceptually, outgroup orientation is the value one attaches to spending voluntary time with people from groups other than one's own (e.g., liking to spend time with people of diverse racial/ethnic groups). In contrast, superordinate identity is the extent to which a person feels that he or she is part of a large and inclusive group (e.g., feeling like we are all Americans). People who value initiating and maintaining relationships with other groups (i.e., have high outgroup orientation) do not necessarily perceive their group and the other group(s) as belonging to one larger group (i.e., share a superordinate group identity with them). Aspects of our distinctions between the acculturation and social categorization constructs and their operational definitions

have been implicitly acknowledged and used by others. For example, a recent multi-national study (Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind, & Vedder, 2001) used a one set of items to assess outgroup orientation and another to measure the construct of national identity. Furthermore, the distinction between the items tapping mutual acculturation and those tapping social categorization constructs was confirmed via factor analyses reported in Molina, Wittig, and Giang (2004).

7. Overview of Model and Model-Testing

In our view, acculturation attitudes (namely outgroup orientation and strength of ethnic identity) are potentially important mediators of the relationship between positive perceptions of the intergroup contact situation and intergroup tolerance. The proposed relations among the variables in our mutual acculturation model are shown in Figure 1.
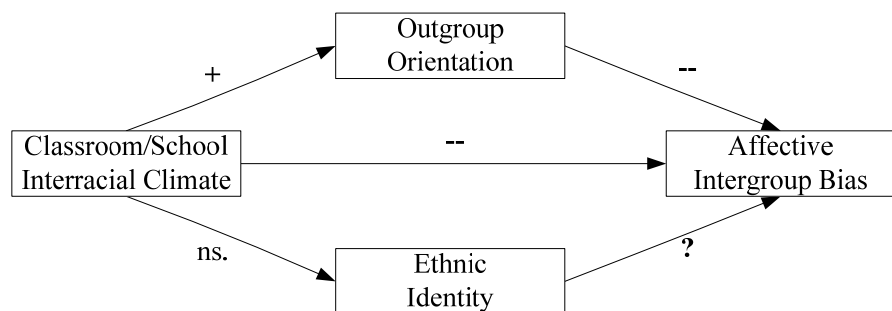

Figure 1. Mutual Acculturation Model of Prejudice Reduction

We have tested this model in recent publications (Wittig & Molina, 2000; Molina, Wittig, & Giang, 2004) via mediation analyses (Kenny, Kashy, & Bolger, 1998). In addition we have examined the extent to which the social categorization and acculturation variables add to the prediction of the students' intergroup attitudes, over and above that which can be predicted from knowing students' perceptions of the classroom interracial climate (Molina, Wittig, & Giang, 2004).

In brief, our analyses are of two types: a series of regressions testing mediation (to explain the intergroup contact -- prejudice relationship) and hierarchical regressions (to demonstrate how well the variables in the competing models predict student prejudice levels). We assess each of the two dimensions of the acculturation attitudes separately to 1) avoid compound questions and 2) because the dimensions are theorized to be independent (see Berry et al., 1986; Berry, 2001).

8. Overview of Studies

Based on our theorizing, we hypothesize that: 1) social categorization variables will not mediate the interracial climate – intergroup bias relationship, 2) acculturation attitudes, in particular outgroup orientation, will mediate that relationship; and 3) both social categorization and acculturation attitudes will add to prediction of intergroup prejudice after students' perceptions of classroom (or school) interracial climate are taken into account.

8.1. Mediators of the Interracial Climate --> Intergroup Prejudice Relationship

In a series of studies (Wittig & Molina, 2000; Molina, Wittig, & Giang, 2004), we examined acculturation attitudes and social categorization as possible mediators of the interracial climate – interracial bias relationship. The five samples were drawn from U.S middle school and high school students in suburban Los Angeles. Participants' mean age was approximately 15 years. All samples were ethnically diverse. Overall, they consisted of about 30-35% Latinos, 20-25% European-Americans, 15-20% Asian-Americans, 10-15% multiracial, 7-10% African American, 5% Middle Eastern, 2% Native American (by self-report, with 4-8% missing this information). The percentages of immigrants in Samples 1, 2, and 5 were not collected. In samples 3 and 4, 76.5% of the students were born in the US, 16.4% were not, and 7.1% did not report a birth country. Students were enrolled in various types of classes. Typically these were either classes in cultural awareness ("Life Skills"), personal and social skill development ("Teen Issues"), or conflict prevention ("Peace").

8.2. Design and Procedure

Students completed the same questionnaire in class near the beginning of the term and again four to eight weeks later. Except for demographic questions, all items used a 7-point Likert format ranging from 1 ("Strongly Disagree") to 7 ("Strongly Agree"). Further procedural information is presented in Wittig and Molina (2000) and Molina, Wittig, and Giang (2004).

8.3. Measures

Full details of the measures, including a list of items for the predictor, mediator, and outcome variables, are contained in Molina, Wittig, and Giang (2004).

Predictor variable: School or Classroom Interracial Climate (CIC). This variable consisted of 13 items adapted from Green, Adams, and Turner's (1988) School Interracial Climate Scale, comprising four subscales of several items each. Each subscale assessed perceptions of the interracial climate along one of the four dimensions specified by the contact hypothesis (Allport, 1954). As in Wittig & Molina (2000) and Molina, Wittig, & Giang (2004), the items had been made more suitable for use with a more racially and ethnically diverse sample, and, in samples 2, 3, 4, and 5 items were further modified to assess classroom interracial climate rather than school interracial climate primarily by substituting "class" in place of "school" (e.g., "The teacher in this class is fair to students of all races" replaced "Teachers in this school are fair to students of all races"). Answers to the 13 items comprising the classroom (or school) interracial climate (CIC) scale were averaged to form a composite CIC score at Time 1.

Mediator variables (Social Categorization vs. Mutual Acculturation). The four social categorization variables were comprised of a total of four items (identical to those used by Gaertner et al., 1994). The items assessed student perceptions of common ingroup identity, dual identity, distinct social identity, and personalization within their class at Time 1 and again at Time 2. For example, common ingroup identity was assessed by the item,

"Despite the different groups in this class, there is frequently the sense that we are all just one group." Responses to the four items were averaged to form a composite at Time 1 and used in the mediation tests. The two acculturation attitude variables consisted of eight items assessed at Time 1, four tapping outgroup orientation (e.g., "I like meeting and getting to know people from ethnic groups other than my own") and four assessing ethnic identity (e.g., "I have a strong sense of belonging to my own ethnic group") (Phinney, 1992). Answers to the four items tapping outgroup orientation were averaged to form a composite at Time 1 and used in the mediation tests.

Criterion variable (Affective Bias). The criterion variable was students' intergroup affective bias at Time 2. Affective bias (Abias) was measured by three items from the Quick Discrimination Index, Affective Sub-scale (QDI, Ponterotto, 1995), e.g., "I feel I could develop an intimate relationship with someone from a different race" [reverse scored]). A composite of Abias, formed by averaging the responses to the items at Time 2 was used.

9. Results

9.1. Test of Social Categorization and Acculturation Mediation Models Across Time

A series of mediation analyses was run to test Gaertner and colleagues' (1994, 2000) common ingroup identity model as well as our acculturation attitudes model (Wittig & Molina, 2000) across time. To systematically assess mediation, a series of regressions was performed to test each of the following relationships:

- CIC predicts ABIAS (when the proposed mediators are not in the equation);
- CIC influences the proposed mediators (social categorization or acculturation); and
- The proposed mediators influence ABIAS, when CIC and the proposed mediators are considered simultaneously.

Mediation is informally demonstrated if after the above three steps are confirmed, there is a decrease in the overall relationship between

predictor and outcome when the proposed mediator is included (Step 3) as compared to when it is not included in the regression equation (Step 1). A formal demonstration of mediation (MacKinnon, Lockwood, Hoffman, West, and Sheets, 2002) includes calculation of Z-scores for the proposed mediators via the Goodman (I) Test to determine which of the proposed variables is statistically significant. In the present paper, results reported as significant demonstrate mediation both formally and informally.

Using an approach in which all social categorization variables were entered into the equation simultaneously, results of analyses of samples 1 through 4 showed none of the time 1 social categorization variables mediated between students' perceptions school/ classroom interracial climate at time 1 and their time 2 affective bias. However, students' time 1 outgroup orientation (and in some samples their ethnic identity) were significant mediators of that relationship.

Table 1. Summary of Mediation Analyses for Sample 1 through Sample 5

	Wittig & Molina (2000)		Molina, Wittig, & Giang (2004)		
	Sample 1 Spring 1998	Sample 2 Spring 1999	Sample 3 Spring 2000	Sample 4 Fall 2000	Sample 5 Fall 2001
I. Acculturation Attitudes					
Outgroup Orientation	negative mediator	negative mediator	negative mediator	negative mediator	negative mediator
Ethnic Identity	positive mediator	ns.	positive mediator	ns.	ns.
II. Social Categorization					
Common Ingroup Identity	ns.	ns.	ns.	ns.	ns.
Dual Identity	ns.	ns.	ns.	ns.	ns.
Separate Groups Identity	ns.	ns.	ns.	ns.	ns.
Individual Level Identity	ns.	ns.	ns.	ns.	ns.

Thus the series of studies did not support any of the social categorization variables, while partially supporting our acculturation attitudes model. Details of tests on samples 1 and 2 are given in Wittig and Molina (2000); details of tests on samples 3 and 4 (including inconsistent support across samples for mediation by one or another social categorization item when entered into the equation individually instead of as a group) are given in Molina, Wittig, and Giang (2004).

We then tested the generalizability of our model on a fifth sample (suburban Los Angeles County public middle school students enrolled in a different type of curriculum) and confirmed our prior results. That is, the social categorization perspective on mediation of the conditions of contact --> intergroup bias relationship was not confirmed, while the acculturation approach was partially confirmed. Table 1 summarizes the results of the mediation analyses for all five samples.

9.2 Hierarchical Regression Results for the Five Samples

In addition to the above analyses, we analyzed data from all five samples to test the extent to which social categorization and acculturation variables each add to the prediction of affective interracial prejudice, after classroom interracial climate (CIC) has been taken into account. We used hierarchical multiple regressions of CIC at time 1 as a predictor at Step 1, the set of mediators specific to each model (social categorization variables at time 1 or acculturation variables at time 1) at Step 2. Results showed that social categorization added to the prediction of students' level of prejudice at time 2 Nevertheless, in each sample, acculturation attitudes were more than twice as important in predicting students' level of prejudice. Table 2 displays the results for this set of analyses.

10. Discussion

Our series of studies have demonstrated support for outgroup orientation as a mediator of the interracial climate – interracial prejudice relationship, while showing no reliable mediation for the individual social categorization items. Strength of ethnic identity was a mediator in some samples, but not in others.

Table 2. Summary of Percent of Variance in Affective Bias Accounted For in Hierarchical Regressions

	Wittig & Molina (2000)		Molina, Wittig, & Giang (2004)		
	Sample 1 Spring 1998	Sample 2 Spring 1999	Sample 3 Spring 2000	Sample 4 Fall 2000	Sample 5 Fall 2001
I. Acculturation Attitudes					
Classroom/School Climate	7%	*	6%	9%	15%
Acculturation Attitudes	13%	*	18%	12%	10%
Total R^2	20%	26%	24%	21%	25%
II. Social Categorization					
Classroom/School Climate	6%	7%	6%	9%	15%
Social Categorization Variables	ns.	*	7%	6%	4%
Total R^2	7%	9%	13%	15%	19%

not available

Our results underscore the relative utility of our acculturation attitudes model of prejudice reduction in classroom contexts, as compared to the social categorization approach. In addition, we showed that student perceptions of school or classroom interracial contact prior to an educational program, combined with measures of our two mutual acculturation variables (outgroup orientation and ethnic identity) assessed at the same time, account for on average 23% of the variance in intergroup affective prejudice at the conclusion of the course. In contrast, when social categorization variables are substituted for mutual acculturation variables, about 13% of the variance in such prejudice is accounted for, on average.

Taken together, the studies in our research series demonstrate that classroom contact among students of various racial and ethnic groups leads to reduced levels of prejudice in part because it promotes openness to, and anticipation of, positive interactions with outgroup members. Furthermore, we have clearly shown that recategorizing oneself and others as members of the same team or into a common group plays little or no mediating role in reducing intergroup prejudice in the multiracial/ethnic classes of adolescents we have studied.

11. Current and Future Research Directions

In our tests of the mutual acculturation model across five different samples, we found that strength of identification with one's ethnic group is a mediator of the conditions of contact --> prejudice relationship in two of our samples, but not in three others. Our current research in progress, which aims to understand the influence of attachment to one's ethnic group within that relationship, is informed by several theoretical perspectives, including Social Dominance Theory (SDT, Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). Prior research in the SDT tradition has found that the more one identifies with membership in a high status ethnic group the greater one's prejudice against outgroup members (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). Levin, Sidanius, Rabinowitz, and Federico (1998) demonstrated an ideological asymmetry whereby, for high status ethnic groups, there is a strong positive relationship between strength of ethnic identity and prejudice, while for low status ethnic groups, there is either no relationship or a negative relationship between strength of ethnic identity and prejudice. Taken together, these findings from the social dominance literature suggest that the relationship between beliefs in social hierarchies, strength of ethnic identity and prejudice toward outgroups may be higher among high status group members as compared to low status group members.

After statistically combining data from several of the samples reported in the present paper, Ainsworth (2002) found a pattern whereby there was a stronger relationship between ethnic identity and prejudice among adolescents who categorize themselves as Asians or Caucasians than among those who categorize themselves as Latinos or African-Americans. Since the former two groups are perceived as relatively higher in status than the latter two groups (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999), Ainsworth's finding is in accord with social dominance theory and the ideological asymmetry literature (e.g. Levin et al., 1998). Nevertheless when the groups were statistically compared, the patterns of differences were not significant, perhaps due to low power. In order to increase statistical power and directly test the ideological asymmetry hypothesis, current analyses (Ainsworth, Wittig and

Rabinowitz, 2005) are being conducted comparing a single high status group (e.g. combining Euro-Americans and Asian Americans) to a single low status group (e.g. combining Latino Americans and African Americans) in a multisample analysis.

To further understand the potential role of ethnic identity, our current research is following two directions. First, we are employing latent variable modeling as an analytic tool that will allow us to identify the extent to which Ainsworth's (2002) results are due to true relationships among the variables and how much is due to measurement error and/or random variability (Ainsworth, Wittig, & Rabinowitz, 2005). The second direction we are pursuing is the identification of additional variables (e.g. ethnic identity exploration and social dominance orientation), which may contribute to the relationship among classroom climate, strength of ethnic identity and prejudice (as either an additional mediator or as moderators). For example, with respect to ethnic identity exploration, Whitehead, Wittig, and Ainsworth (2005) incorporated this variable and showed that, adolescents' engagement in an exploration of the meaning of their ethnic identity facilitates their feelings of affirmation and belonging to their ethnic group. In turn, to the extent that these feelings are positive, they are predictive of warmth toward their own group and are positively related to warmth toward outgroups. In brief, engagement in a meaningful process of exploration of what it means to be a member of an ethnic group provides an important foundation for developing one's sense of belongingness to an ethnic group, which in turn provides a basis for positive feelings toward one's own group and other groups. These results are fairly consistent across ethnocultural groups and suggest that when ethnic identity *exploration* is high, ethnic identity *strength* is likely to promote positive intergroup attitudes. This finding is more consistent with developmental and multicultural perspectives than with the social identity perspective. It has potentially important implications for the design of interventions aimed at reducing intergroup prejudice, which we discuss below.

12. Implications

The results of our studies have implications for the design and implementation of prejudice reduction programs targeting multiracial/ethnic groups of adolescents. A social categorization approach tends to emphasize adopting a common superordinate group. However, this emphasis may inadvertently threaten ethnic minority individuals (Mummendey, Klink, Wenzel, & Blanz, 1999; Mummendey & Wenzel, 1999), while failing to recognize and/or respect valued subgroup identities (Barreto & Ellemers, 2002; Branscombe, Ellemers, Spears, & Doosje, 1999; Hornsey & Hogg, 2000; Huo & Molina, in press; Huo, Molina, Sawahata, & Deang, 2005). In contrast, intervention programs based on a mutual acculturation approach attempt to increase the extent to which the students value the various cultural, religious, and ethnic traditions of outgroups because of the opportunities they provide for enrichment and mutual respect. These opportunities include confirming as well as challenging the value of one's own cultural traditions. Such interactions with outgroup members are less one-sided, and thus potentially less threatening to one's subgroup identity, especially for minority group members.

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