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Fitting In:

How the Intergroup Context Shapes Minority Acculturation and Achievement

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Abstract (144 words)

Children of immigrants are at risk of underachieving in school with long-lasting consequences for future life-chances. Our research contextualizes the achievement gap by examining minority acculturation experiences in daily intergroup contact across different intergroup contexts. Acculturation researchers often find an adaptive advantage for minority youth with an integration-orientation (combining both cultures). But findings from Europe are inconclusive. Looking beyond individual differences in acculturation-orientations, this review shifts focus to the intergroup context of minority acculturation and achievement. We discuss longitudinal, multi-group, multi-level and experimental evidence of the up- and downsides of integration for minority inclusion and success in European societies. Our studies show that both (1) intergroup contact experiences and (2) intergroup ideologies affect achievement - either directly or through the interplay of (3) acculturation-norms, defined as shared views on acculturation in social groups, with individual acculturation-orientations. The findings suggest how schools can reduce achievement gaps through improving intergroup relations.

Key words: acculturation, integration, intergroup relations, achievement, diversity

Introduction

Estimated numbers of international migrants worldwide have increased from 173 million in 2000 to 244 million in 2015 (UN, 2015). In Europe 34.3 million people or 6.7% of the total population were born outside of the EU (Eurostat, 2016). The new scale of migration-related diversity has fueled public debates over the inclusion of immigrant minorities in European societies. A major hurdle to the inclusion and success of minority youth is the overlap of cultural diversity with persistent educational inequalities. In North-America and in Europe, disadvantaged minority youth lag behind majority peers in school (OECD, 2015)—with far-reaching consequences for their future life chances (Motti-Stefanidi & Masten, 2013). Especially in most stratified and ethnically segmented European educational systems, achievement gaps widen throughout school careers even when minority and majority students enter at the same level (Baysu & De Valk, 2012; Baysu & Phalet, 2012). A growing body of research addresses the question, which psychological processes connect minority status to school failure? Against the backdrop of mounting assimilationist pressures in Europe (Phalet, Baysu & Van Acker, 2015), our research inquires into the acculturation experiences of minority youth, and how they affect their school achievement.

This review identifies a significant problem with a predominant individual-differences approach in psychological acculturation research. The empirical focus of this approach is on the assessment of individual acculturation-orientations, distinguishing the orientations of minority people towards the heritage culture and the mainstream culture and towards the combined cultures (Sam & Berry, 2010). As will be illustrated below, acculturation-orientations refer broadly to individual differences in cultural preferences (such as one's attachment to heritage cultural values or customs), behaviours (such as language use and religious practice), or identifications (such as ethnic and national identities). In view of persistent ethnic educational inequalities across Europe (Heath & Brinbaum, 2014), this

review highlights minority achievement as a critical adaptation outcome. The first part of this article exposes the limits of an individual-differences approach, reviewing mainly cross-sectional evidence that relates the achievement of minorities to their individual acculturation-orientations. We posit that mixed evidence for the acculturation-achievement relationship reflects the fact that social context, in particular intergroup dynamics, has received scant attention in traditional acculturation research. We propose that the intergroup context considered at multiple levels, both from the bottom up and from the top down, must be taken into account.

The main part of the review articulates an alternative contextual approach to minority acculturation and achievement. This approach spells out how the intergroup context affects minority achievement *directly* as well as *indirectly* through the interplay with individual acculturation-orientations. We present illustrative findings from a series of large-scale field studies with minority samples in educational settings, combining comparative, multi-level, longitudinal and experimental research designs. The studies establish contextual variation in minority achievement and in the associations with acculturation-orientations. They identify critical conditions and test connecting processes in the intergroup context. Across the studies, minority participants are immigrant-origin youth – 'youth' refers broadly to older children, adolescents and young-adults. Participants are sampled from major disadvantaged minorities – Turkish, Moroccan and other Muslim minorities – in North-West Europe – Belgium, Netherlands, Austria, Sweden, Germany and England.

To assess achievement we use various measures of motivated learning and school success, such as behavioral and affective (dis)engagement, academic self-competence, verbal and non-verbal achievement tests, school grades, progress and attainment. The success of minority youth is premised on their inclusion in academic contexts (Juang, Simpson, Lee et al., 2018; Schachner, Van de Vijver & Noack, 2017). As measures of minority inclusion we

assess school belonging (O'Neel & Fuligni, 2013) and feelings of peer acceptance or rejection (Eccles, Wong & Peck, 2006). Lack of belonging is a critical developmental risk factor for minority youth (Motti-Stefanidi & Masten, 2013). Thus, academic contexts that threaten minorities' sense of belonging undermine their achievement (Inzlicht, Good, Levin & Van Laar, 2006). Conversely, felt acceptance by other students enables academic achievement for minority students (Cook, Purdie-Vaughns, Garcia & Cohen, 2012). Either way, school success or failure hinges upon the inclusion of minority students in the school environment (Schachner, Juang, Moffit & Van de Vijver, 2018; Walton & Cohen, 2007). Therefore, both success and inclusion are key components of a context-sensitive assessment of minority achievement. Our main interest here, however, is less how inclusion and success are interrelated, and more how schools as intergroup contexts shape both outcomes.

Acculturation and Achievement: An Individual-Differences Approach

Psychological acculturation research seeks to explain minority adaptation from the experience of acculturation: the process through which people from different cultures who are engaging in sustained contact adapt to one another (Berry, Phinney, Sam & Vedder, 2006). To study acculturation, researchers typically ask individual members of minority groups to report their own orientations towards the heritage culture of their country of origin and towards the mainstream culture in their country of residence: Do they prefer to maintain the heritage culture, to adopt the mainstream culture, or to combine both cultures? Individual acculturation-orientations are measured to predict individual differences in the adaptation of immigrant minorities (Dimitrova, Chasiotis & Van de Vijver, 2016). Although early acculturation researchers were clear that the adaptive value of individual acculturation-orientations also depends on the wider intergroup context (Berry, 1980; Bourhis, Moise, Perreault & Sénécal, 1997), this concern has only recently received systematic empirical attention (Brown & Zagefka, 2011). Instead, an individual-differences approach to

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acculturative adaptation examines which individual acculturation-orientations help minorities adjust to cross-cultural transitions (Berry et al., 2006). Due to predominant single-group and single-country studies of acculturation, contextual variability in acculturation experiences and outcomes has long been overlooked. Most research predicts health and wellbeing aspects of psychological adjustment – conceiving of acculturation as a source of psychological strain or 'acculturation stress' (Berry, 1980). A parallel line of research predicts individual differences in socio-cultural adaptation, which refers to competence aspects such as task performance and social skills (Van de Vijver & Phalet, 2004; Ward & Kennedy, 1993). Although minority achievement as our main outcome of interest has received less attention in acculturation research, it is commonly subsumed under the heading of socio-cultural adaptation (Schachner et al., 2018).

An influential bi-dimensional model by Berry (1980) distinguishes acculturation-orientations towards maintaining the heritage culture and towards contact with the mainstream culture. Both dimensions combine into four theoretical groups: integration is a combination of maintaining one's heritage culture and seeking contact with the mainstream culture; assimilation denotes relinquishing one's heritage culture in favour of mainstream culture contact; separation is defined as maintaining the heritage culture at the expense of mainstream culture contact. Finally, marginalization rejects both one's heritage culture and contact with the mainstream culture. Berry's (1980) famous model was seminal in stimulating a continuing stream of cross-cultural acculturation research that developed multiple measures, modifications and extensions of the four groups distinguished by their distinct acculturation orientations (see below).

Assessing Individual Acculturation-Orientations. Early research defined acculturation as a unidimensional process, that is, a change from the heritage culture of the country of origin towards the mainstream culture in the country of residence (Gordon, 1964).

More recently, a well-established bidimensional conceptualization of the acculturation process distinguished minority orientations towards both heritage and mainstream cultures (Ryder, Alden, & Paulhus, 2000). The most commonly used bidimensional model was proposed by Berry (see above). Another bidimensional acculturation model combines heritage culture maintenance with the adoption of the mainstream culture instead of the desire for contact (Bourhis et al., 1997). Still others extend acculturation-orientations beyond attitudinal measures to minorities' behavioral involvement in heritage and mainstream cultural domains, such as their language use or religious practice (Phalet, Hillekens & Fleischmann, 2018; Ryder et al., 2000).

Yet another approach defines acculturation-orientations as cultural identifications, or minorities' commitment to heritage and mainstream cultural groups (Liebkind, 2006; Phinney, 2003). Applying the bidimensional acculturation model to cultural identifications, dual identifiers are strongly committed to both ethnic and national identities; those with a separated identity combine strong ethnic identification with weak national identification; those with an assimilated identity combine strong national identification with weak ethnic identification; and a marginalized identity is detached from both national and ethnic groups. Typically, dual identification does not require that both identities are *equally* important parts of the self. More often minorities' national identity is psychologically significant against the background of strong ethnic identities (Fleischmann & Phalet, 2015).

Acculturation-orientations are assessed using various procedures. One common procedure creates four statements for the four theoretical attitude groups (Berry et al., 2006; Van de Vijver, Helms-Lornz, & Feltzer, 1999; but see problems with this procedure, Brown & Zagefka, 2011). Another procedure uses separate statements for heritage and mainstream cultural orientations (Ryder et al., 2000). Individuals are classified into four groups by combining their scores on both acculturation-orientations, using median-split or cutting off at

the scale-midpoint (Berry & Sabatier, 2010). Still other procedures test the statistical interaction of both acculturation-orientations to identify attitude-groups (Baysu, Brown & Phalet, 2011); or use person-centered methods to assign individuals to inductively derived distinct groups (Berry et al., 2006; Schwartz & Zamboanga, 2008).

Measures also vary in how they operationalize both cultures. Some researchers assess cultural preferences globally ("How important to you is it to adopt the mainstream culture?"; Van Acker & Vanbeselaere, 2012). Others select specific cultural contents such as customs, language, food, friends, values or norms (Berry & Sabatier, 2010; Santiago, Gudino, Baweja, & Nadeem, 2014). Some measures are domain-specific, so that minorities can combine integration in school or at work, for instance, with separation in the private domain (Arends-Tóth & van de Vijver, 2006; Navas, Rojas, Garcia & Plumares, 2007). Still other measures reflect more complex forms of multiplicity or hybridity in the hyperdiverse environments of today's minority youth (Doucerain, Dere & Ryder, 2013). For instance, Ferguson, Bornstein and Pottinger (2012) distinguished three acculturation-orientations towards ethnic-Jamaican, African-American and European-American cultures for Jamaican immigrants to the U.S. and in Switzerland, Hoti, Heinzmann, Müller and Buholzer (2017) redefined integration as the combination of minority cultural and multicultural orientations -- including other minority cultures as well.

The various ways acculturation-orientations are conceptualized and measured have implications for their associations with minority inclusion and success. For our purposes acculturation-orientations refer broadly to both mainstream and heritage cultural orientations (attitudes, practices, identifications) with specific studies using different measures. Our studies supplement separate measures of mainstream and heritage cultural orientations with alternate direct measures of integration. Our primary interest in this review is in replicating acculturation–achievement associations across multiple measures.

Do Individual Acculturation-Orientations Predict Achievement? In line with Berry's 'integration hypothesis', many acculturation studies find that integration is most adaptive, with marginalization being least adaptive, and with assimilation and separation falling in between (Berry et al., 2006; Liebkind, 2006; Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2013; Ward & Kennedy, 1993). Specifically, benefits of integration (when minorities combine heritage and mainstream cultural orientations) have been attributed to increased social support and resources in culturally diverse social networks, as well as enhanced perspective taking, cognitive complexity, counter-stereotypical thinking, and creativity through repeated diversity experiences (Nguyen & Benet-Martinez, 2013). When integrated minorities find their dual identities denied, however, this undercuts the social and cognitive gains of culture contact and learning (Albeya, Sanchez & Gaither, 2019; Gharaei, Phalet & Fleischmann, 2019). Reviews and meta-analyses of acculturation studies show that acculturative adaptation varies with specific outcome measures for specific minority groups in specific receiving contexts (Bornstein, 2017). Below we review mixed evidence of the benefits of integration for minority inclusion and success.

The associations of individual acculturation-orientations with sociocultural adaptation show some robust general trends alongside less conclusive or seemingly inconsistent findings (Berry et al., 2006; Makarova & Birman, 2015; Mesquita, Deleersnyder & Jasini, 2017; Nguyen & Benet-Martinez, 2013). Thus, minorities who are more oriented towards mainstream culture contact or adoption consistently report better sociocultural adaptation. The adjustment benefits of minorities' heritage cultural orientation, however, vary considerably across contexts. Similar general trends appear from a handful of acculturation studies that specifically assessed minority achievement (Frankenberg, Kupper, Wagner & Bongard, 2013; Makarova & Birman, 2015; Schachner et al., 2017; Suinn, 2010). While mainstream cultural

orientations consistently and positively predict school outcomes, evidence for the benefits of heritage cultural orientations is mixed.

Combining mainstream and heritage cultural orientations, several studies assessed a distinct integration-orientation. Cross-sectional studies of over 5,000 minority adolescents in 13 Western countries reveal generally positive associations between integration and sociocultural adaptation (Berry et al., 2006). However, associations were rather weak; and integration was not significantly more adaptive than separation. Also in line with Berry's integration hypothesis, a meta-analysis of 83 cross-sectional acculturation studies concludes that integration is more adaptive than monocultural mainstream or heritage orientations (Nguyen & Benet-Martinez, 2013). Yet, integration effects on adaptation varied widely in direction and size from -.78 to +.87 across countries and minority groups. Integration was less adaptive in European countries than in the U.S. -- and less so for historically-disadvantaged African and indigenous minorities than for Latino, Asian or European minorities.

The evidence of an integration advantage is also less clear-cut for achievement than for well-being. In Germany, for instance, there is mixed evidence of an integration–achievement association (Spiegler, Sonnenberg, Fassbender et al., 2018: higher motivation) as well as an alternate assimilation-achievement association (Schotte, Stanat & Edele, 2018: higher achievement). Makarova and Birman (2015) reviewed 29 acculturation studies focusing narrowly on minority school success as adaptation outcome. Whereas cross-sectional findings support achievement benefits of minorities' mainstream cultural orientation, associations with their heritage cultural orientation range from positive to null or negative. Also associations with a distinctive integration-orientation vary. Repeated findings of achievement gains for assimilationist minorities in Europe suggest the adaptive advantage of integrationists may depend on the acceptance of integration in the intergroup context. In line

with prevailing assimilationism in today's Europe, however, schools often expect minorities to assimilate rather than integrate (Gharaei et al., 2018).

Cross-sectional evidence of individual acculturation-achievement associations leaves room for alternative interpretations (but see Asendorpf & Motti-Stefanidi, 2017; Spiegler et al., 2018, for recent longitudinal studies). In a *longitudinal* study of British minority children, we found evidence of benefits as well as costs of integration for their inclusion in school (Brown, Baysu, Cameron et al., 2013). The study administered repeated measures of acculturation-orientations and adaptation to Asian minority children (Mean age = 8, N = 215) who were surveyed three times with six-month intervals. To assess their inclusion in school, age appropriate self-report measures of peer acceptance and self-esteem in the school context were used, as well as teacher reports of emotional vulnerability. Heritage culture maintenance was measured by asking whether British-Asian children should learn the heritage language, dress according to cultural traditions, eat heritage cultural foods, celebrate their culture's holidays, and listen to traditional music. To measure children's orientations towards mainstream culture contact we inquired whether British-Asian children should be friends, eat lunch, and play together with White-English children.

In this study integration was the most prevalent acculturation-orientation. Older children (8-11 years) more often endorsed integration than younger children (5-7 years) (86% vs. 68.5%), while younger children were more often in favour of separation than older peers (18.5% vs. 2.8%). Moreover, children's acculturation-orientations longitudinally affected their school inclusion. Integrated children reported higher peer acceptance and self-esteem in the school context than other children, yet teacher reports also evinced more negative emotions. In less supportive intergroup contexts, maintaining heritage cultural practices can be psychologically challenging for minority children who are more oriented towards majority peers as well, because they are more vulnerable to negative contact experiences (Asendorpf &

Motti-Stefanidi, 2017). In summary, first longitudinal findings of adaptive gains *and* costs hint at a possible downside of integration.

To conclude, cross-sectional findings from comparative studies and reviews reveal considerable contextual variation in the adaptive value of integration. Moreover, we found first longitudinal evidence of the potential (delayed) costs of early integration for minority children in British schools. Few acculturation studies directly address the intergroup context that enables (or undermines) potential benefits of integration. The next section develops a contextual approach from the intergroup context and its interplay with individual acculturation-orientations.

Acculturation and Achievement: Towards a Contextual Approach

Schools are key acculturation contexts where minorities learn to negotiate their minority status and cultural difference in daily intergroup contact (Umaña-Taylor, Quintana, Lee et al., 2014). As the school environment makes salient the distinct cultural identities of minority youth, it adds on an intergroup level to their interpersonal relations with teachers and peers (Rutland, Cameron, Jugert et al., 2012). According to Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986), people derive self-worth from their membership of valued in-groups. When their in-group is devalued in particular intergroup contexts, people experience identity-threat (Ellemers, Spears & Doosje, 2002). Identity-threat was shown to undermine achievement when minority identities are disregarded or devalued in mainstream settings (Ellemers et al., 2002), such as when their minority group is associated with low academic ability (Steele, Spencer & Aronson, 2002). Conversely, in intergroup contexts that value minority identities and see them as compatible with academic excellence, minorities do better (Derks, van Laar & Ellemers, 2007).

Minority achievement is thus contingent on various sources of identity-threat *and* protection at multiple levels of real-life intergroup contexts (see Figure 1). At the micro-level

of face-to-face social interactions and relationships, minorities experience identity-threat in negative intergroup contact, such as discrimination or negative stereotyping, as well as valuation in positive intergroup contact, such as friendship or support from teachers. In parallel, at the macro-level of intergroup relations, schools as institutional settings differ in the intergroup ideologies they communicate, for instance through the diversity policies and practices that are in place. Intergroup ideologies are defined here as the institutional values and rules that evaluate and regulate how different groups relate to each other and to the school (Thapa, Cohen, Guffey & Higgins-d'Alessandro, 2013). Thus, assimilationist policies such as banning the headscarf can threaten minority identity, whereas multicultural policies aim to protect minorities from identity-threat. At an intermediate meso-level of intergroup context, we define acculturation-norms as different ways in which social groups collectively define and manage acculturation issues. Acculturation-norms may refer to minority group as well as majority group views on acculturation. We distinguish acculturation-norms from individual acculturation-orientations, which can conflict with minority or majority group acculturation-norms – such as when individual integration conflicts with assimilationist majority group norms. While group members can come to share similar views on acculturation through intergroup contact (bottom-up), acculturation-norms also reflect prevailing intergroup ideologies (top-down).

The integrative conceptual framework in Figure 1 articulates hypothetical processes connecting minority acculturation (in the middle of Figure 1) and achievement (on the righthand-side) to the intergroup context (on the lefthand-side). The intergroup context refers to the quality of intergroup relations in schools. It is multi-layered, so that day-to-day intergroup contacts (micro-level) *and* protective or threatening intergroup ideologies (macro-level) *and* their interplay – such as when integration policies buffer negative contact experiences (cross-level) – jointly shape minority achievement (see light-grey and dark-grey

arrows in Figure 1). Moreover, the intergroup context affects achievement also indirectly through the interplay with individual acculturation-orientations (in the middle of Figure 1).

The framework articulates the hypothetical processes connecting individual acculturation and achievement to the intergroup context. First, minority achievement is contingent on the *quality of intergroup relations*, so that identity-threat undermines, and valuation ultimately enables inclusion and succes (light gray arrows indicate main effects of intergroup context in Figure 1). Second, associations between minority acculturation and achievement also depend on intergroup relations, so that the same individual acculturation-orientation can be helpful or harmful depending on the intergroup context. The interplay of minority acculturation-orientations with intergroup relations intersects multiple levels of context (moderation is indicated by dark gray arrows in Figure 1). Thus, individual integration might backfire when negative intergroup contact elicits identity-threat (at the micro-level). Moreover, the adaptive value of individual acculturation-orientations depends critically on acculturative *fit with group norms of acculturation*. While acculturative fit has been studied mainly with (perceived) majority group norms, in diverse schools minority group norms play a role too.

To flesh out the proposed contextual approach to acculturation, we review below relevant research on acculturation and intergroup relations and our own research at the intersection of both fields. The review is organised around multiple levels of intergroup context as hypothetical sources of identity-threat vs. valuation for minorities: from intergroup contact experiences (micro), to intergroup ideologies (macro), to group norms of acculturation (meso).

Intergroup Contact Experiences: Positive and Negative Contact and Threat.

Schools shape minorities' acculturation experiences and outcomes through the quantity and quality of daily social interactions and relationships. While supportive

relationships with school teachers and peers benefit all students, minorities especially profit

from positive contact (Juang et al., 2018; Thijs & Verkuyten, 2014). Due to their minority

status they are sensitive to contact quality in school, which they see as diagnostic of academic

fit or merit (Walton & Cohen, 2007). Asymmetric effects of contact quality on minority vs.

majority outcomes resonate with a social identity perspective on intergroup contact (Brown &

Hewstone, 2005). For minorities the quality of intergroup contact with peers and teachers

signals whether they are insiders or outsiders, good or not so good students. Negative

experiences of discrimination or negative stereotypes convey that their minority identity is

devalued (Derks et al., 2007; Purdie-Vaughns, Steele, Davies et al., 2008). Such experiences

induce identity-threat and leave minorities vulnerable in performance situations. In contrast,

experiences of positive contact with intergroup friends or supportive teachers are vital sources

of identity-protection (Derks et al., 2007). Our research relates the quality of intergroup

contact in school to minority achievement (see Figure 1: main effects of contact). Extending

an intergroup relations line of acculturation research (Brown & Zagefka, 2011), we further

examine how minority contact experiences affect the achievement benefits of integration (see

Figure 1: moderation effect of contact). In particular, we ask whether negative contact might

undercut the adaptive value of integration through eliciting identity-threat.

     Contingent Minority Outcomes. Positive and negative intergroup contact have mostly

been studied separately. But minorities in diverse schools are simultaneously exposed to

positive and ambivalent or negative contact experiences (Baysu, Phalet & Brown, 2014).

Moreover, different sources of intergroup contact matter (e.g., from teachers or peers; Byrd &

Carter-Andrews, 2016). Enduring relationships with teachers or peers matter more than less

frequent or more distant forms of contact (Brown & Chu, 2012). Minorities experience

positive contact when they spend time with majority friends or feel supported by teachers.

From a social identity approach to intergroup contact (Brown & Hewstone, 2005), such

positive contact signals the acceptance of minorities' cultural heritage in an academic context and should therefore protect academic achievement. Accordingly, intergroup friendship with peers in school or on campus positively predicted minority outcomes both cross-sectionally and longitudinally (Rutland et al., 2012; Shook & Fazio, 2008). Conversely, negative contact conveys disregard or derogation of minorities' cultural heritage and social standing, eliciting identity-threat and undermining achievement (Derks et al., 2007; Purdie-Vaughns et al., 2008; Verkuyten, Thijs & Gharaei, 2018). Thus, minorities who experience discrimination from teachers or peers do less well, as shown in both cross-sectional and longitudinal studies in the US (Benner & Kim, 2009; Levy, Heissel, Richeson & Adam, 2016) and Europe (d'Hondt, Eccles, Van Houtte & Stevens, 2016; Özdemir & Stattin, 2014). Also in the absence of overt discrimination, academic settings expose minorities to identity-threat whenever situational cues—implicitly—signal that their group is less valued (Derks et al., 2007; Purdie-Vaughns et al., 2008). Stereotype-threat as a situational form of identity-threat refers to the presence of salient negative stereotypes about a minority group's academic competence (Steele et al., 2002). Much experimental evidence links stereotype-threat to performance-decrements in minority students across Europe and the US (Appel, Weber & Spencer, 2015). Our research relates minority achievement to intergroup contact experiences with peers and teachers, looking at friendship and support, discrimination and negative stereotypes (see Figure 1: main effects of contact).

To set the stage, we compared the school careers of local-born Turkish and Moroccan minorities in seven European cities with those of majority reference samples (Baysu & de Valk, 2012; Baysu & Phalet, 2012). Drawing on large-scale TIES surveys ("The Integration of the European Second generation") in Belgium, Sweden, Austria and Germany (N = 4022; *M* ages = 24-27), we longitudinally documented widening achievement gaps between majority and minority youth through secondary and into higher education. Extensive face-to-

face interviews retrospectively reconstructed individual school careers: whether students were ever held back (i.e., forced to repeat a school year), to which school track they were assigned at entry, whether they changed tracks, completed secondary education, and accessed higher education. In addition, interviewees retrospectively reported early friendships with majority peers and perceived teacher support in lower-secondary school (e.g., "My teachers took care of me when I needed additional help"; OECD 2015), as well as perceived school diversity ("How many children of immigrant origin attended your lower-secondary school?" from 1 'almost none' up to 5 'almost all').

Baysu and Phalet (2012) compared Turkish Belgians (N = 358) to a same-age majority Belgian reference sample (N = 303) (*M* age = 25; *SD* = 4.78). Multinomial regressions revealed widening gaps between minority and majority school careers at successive transitions from lower to upper secondary and into higher education. Estimated gaps were controlled for entry levels, prior grade retention and parental education. Even Turkish Belgians who had started out in academic tracks without a history of retention were more likely to end up in vocational tracks *and* to drop-out from school than most similar majority Belgians. Next, we added measures of contact quality in relations with teachers and peers (controlling for family background and prior school careers). In support of the protective role of positive intergroup contact, later school outcomes were contingent on early contact quality. For minority and majority students alike, perceived teacher support significantly increased staying-on rates in academic tracks and reduced drop-out risks at later transitions. For minorities only, early friendships with majority Belgians further protected staying-on rates and reduced drop-out risks later on. In line with identity-protection, this finding highlights intergroup friendship as a powerful form of positive contact for minorities (Davies & Aron, 2016).

In a second study, Baysu and De Valk (2012) used cross-national extensions of the

TIES surveys (see above) to compare Turkish and Moroccan Belgians with Turkish-heritage

students in Sweden, Austria and Germany and majority reference samples in seven cities

(sample sizes ranged from N =230 to N =322 with approximately equal numbers of majority

and minority young adults in each city). By way of sequential analysis of their retrospective

school careers minorities were clustered in longitudinal trajectories through the different

school systems. Across countries they were less likely than the majority reference group to

follow 'straight academic trajectories' (starting in academic tracks and going on to

university). Conversely, they were more likely to end up in 'short trajectories' (not

completing secondary school) or 'straight vocational trajectories' (starting and completing

vocational training). While national school systems differ (with least minority disadvantage in

the comprehensive Swedish system), trajectories that over-represent minorities give less

access to stable and well-paid jobs across countries (Heath & Brinbaum, 2014). Looking

beyond unequal chances, the cross-national analysis replicates the protective role of positive

intergroup contact. Across groups and cities and conditional on school composition (self-

reported school diversity), minorities with at least one early majority friend were significantly

more likely to stay on in academic trajectories (versus vocational or short trajectories) than

those without majority friends. Plausibly, less restricted contact opportunities in more

comprehensive school systems explain in part why achievement gaps were smaller in Sweden

than in Belgium, Austria or Germany.

In summary, these cross-cultural and longitudinal findings suggest longterm benefits

of early experiences of positive intergroup contact for later achievement (see Figure 1, main

effects of contact). They corroborate a hypothetical identity-protection function of positive

contact with majority friends and teachers for minority students. On a cautionary note,

associations with perceived school diversity should be replicated with proper composition

measures. Also, retrospective findings should ideally be replicated with prospective longitudinal data, following up the future school careers of minority children. While controls for prior school careers make reverse causation less likely, possible retrospective bias in self-reported contact quality cannot be ruled out.

Expanding the explanatory focus, Baysu et al. (2014) asked how positive and negative intergroup contact jointly affect minority achievement (see Figure 1, main effects of contact). Drawing on the same large-scale cross-cultural TIES surveys (see above) in Belgium and Austria, we compared Turkish minorities in two Belgian and two Austrian cities with moderate to high levels of ethnic segregation (N = 1060). To test the additive associations of friendship *and* discrimination experiences with minority achievement, we supplemented the same perceived school diversity and intergroup friendship measures (see above) with measures of personal discrimination. Participants rated how often they had experienced discrimination ('hostility or unfair treatment') from teachers, headmasters or peers. They also reported any experiences of verbal harassment ('offensive words') due to their origin or background. School success was assessed as minorities' academic attainment (from higher education, over upper secondary, to less than full secondary), satisfaction ('How satisfied are you with the level of education that you have achieved?'), and self-efficacy (4 items; e.g., 'It is easy for me to stick to my plans and accomplish my goals.'). In multi-group structural-equation models, minority youngsters who reported higher percentages of minority peers in lower secondary school were less successful across cities (lower attainment, satisfaction and efficacy). Moreover, both positive and negative contact measures mediated the association of (perceived) school diversity with minority achievement. In line with hypothetical identity-protection, minority youth with more majority friends were more successful; and friendships were more frequent in schools with more contact opportunities (lower perceived percentages of minority students). As expected from identity-threat, minority youth who experienced

personal discrimination in school were less successful. Interestingly, the association of discrimination experiences with percentages of minority students in school was curvilinear -- with most frequent (self-reported) discrimination at intermediate levels of (perceived) diversity. Plausibly, highly diverse schools where minorities (were seen to) outnumber majority students offer some protection from discrimination. Along those lines, Latinx children in the U.S. who experienced discrimination from teachers did less well in predominantly White schools, yet no such association was found in predominantly Latinx schools (Brown & Chu, 2012). Restricted exposure or reduced vulnerability to discrimination in schools with fewer majority peers comes at a price, however, because minorities in those schools miss out on the achievement benefits of intergroup friendship. Note that the retrospective design of our data warrants due caution (see above).

As a rigorous test of contingent minority achievement, two large-scale field-experiments extend retrospective correlational evidence by applying a stereotype-threat paradigm in Belgian schools (Baysu, Celeste, Phalet, Brown & Verschueren, 2016; Baysu & Phalet, 2019). Both experiments randomly assigned Turkish and Moroccan minorities (and their majority classmates) to stereotype-threat vs. control conditions preceding verbal or non-verbal cognitive tests. In follow-up questionnaires, they were asked to recall personal histories of discrimination in school (TIES retrospective measure of discrimination; see above). We were specifically interested in the interplay of personal discrimination experiences as a chronic source of identity-threat with situationally induced stereotype-threat (Whaley, 1998). We asked whether early discrimination experiences affect later achievement over and above stereotype-threat in the achievement situation. In addition, we explored how discrimination may leave minorities vulnerable in the long run through making them susceptible to stereotype-threat. If we find that minorities with early discrimination experiences are the ones

who underperform under stereotype-threat, this would strongly support an identity-threat explanation of contingent minority achievement.

One major field experiment by Baysu et al. (2016) targeted Turkish and Moroccan Belgians (*M* age = 14; N = 735) in secondary schools (n=47). The experiment was embedded in large-scale school-based surveys in Belgian schools with moderate to high diversity levels (partial data from CILS Belgium). The sampling design was modelled on the international CILS4EU project (Dollman, Jacob & Kalter, 2014). Schools were randomly assigned to either stereotype-threat (272 minority students in 23 schools) or control-conditions (425 minority students in 24 schools). A non-verbal inductive-reasoning test assessed cognitive performance; and post-test questions indicated cognitive-behavioral disengagement from the test (4 items, e.g., 'During the test I acted as if I was working; … my thoughts were wandering off.'). Stereotype-threat was induced by making salient the minority identity and related negative stereotypes of low academic competence. In the experimental condition we asked ethnic (about their Turkish or Moroccan origin) and religious background questions (about their Islamic faith) *immediately preceding* the test; in the control condition the same questions were answered *after completing* the test. In addition, students reported their personal discrimination experiences (7 items, e.g., 'How often are you treated unfairly or in a hostile way; threatened or bothered; insulted or called names … in school?'). In line with expected identity-threat, minorities underperformed on the test in the stereotype-threat condition (relative to the control condition). There were no significant performance differences between schools in both conditions for majority students. Likewise, minorities who experienced more personal discrimination in school performed less well. Adding disengagement from the test as a motivational mediator, we estimated cross-level moderated mediation with stereotype-threat (manipulated at the school-level) and discrimination experiences (measured at the individual level) as predictors of test performance. Both

stereotype-threat and discrimination experiences harmed minority achievement through eliciting disengagement. Minorities who had experienced discrimination in school or who were exposed to stereotype-threat in the test situation would sooner disengage from the test, and hence underperformed. The findings provide a stringent test of contingent minority achievement. They show how situational and chronic sources of identity-threat in real-life academic intergroup contexts add up to undermine minority achievement.

Another field-experiment by Baysu and Phalet (2019) randomly assigned individual students to stereotype-threat vs. control conditions to elucidate the interplay of stereotype-threat with their personal experiences of discrimination. We specifically targeted high-achieving Turkish and Moroccan Belgians in academic tracks of upper secondary education (M age = 18; N = 174). We asked whether early discrimination experiences might have long-term consequences through recursive cycles of threat whenever students' minority identity and related negative stereotypes are situationally salient. Immediately preceding a verbal cognitive test (selected difficult items from the "Groningen Intelligence Test", GIT), we made ethnic and religious minority identities salient (see above). Students also reported their personal experiences of discrimination in school (see above). We found the expected interaction of prior discrimination experiences with stereotype-threat, so that minorities who reported more discrimination in the past did significantly worse in the threat (vs. control) condition, B = -.90; p = .02 at high discrimination (+1 SD). On the positive side, stereotype-threat effects were non-significant when (high-achieving) minorities reported less discrimination, B = .70; p = .11 at low discrimination (-1 SD). In line with cumulative identity-threat, this finding suggests that personal discrimination experiences can have long-lasting consequences for minority achievement through sensitizing minorities to situational stereotype-threat (Baysu, 2011). Distinctive strengths of both field experiments are the stereotype-threat manipulation and the objective performance measures – in combination with

ecological validity in real-life academic settings. Still, causal inferences should be qualified in light of the correlational nature of discrimination-achievement associations.

In another extension of this line of inquiry, Heikamp, Phalet, Van Laar and Verschueren (2019) replicated the achievement costs of discrimination experiences in school. We specifically tested whether such costs were mediated through school belonging as a measure of inclusion. Participants were Turkish and Moroccan minorities (M age = 15; N=1050) and their classmates in 52 Belgian schools (subsamples from CILS Belgium, see above). Students reported how often they experienced discrimination from teachers (6 items, e.g. "How often do your teachers discriminate against you or favor others over you?") and how strongly they felt they belonged in their school (5 items, e.g., "I feel at home in this school"). In addition, a measure of academic engagement gauged students' cognitive (attention) and behavioral involvement (effort) in classroom activities (3 items, e.g., "I work as hard as I can in class.") as a reliable indicator of school success (Skinner, Kinderman & Furrer, 2009). Multi-level structural-equation models (controlling for student background and school composition) confirmed the expected achievement costs of discrimination: minority students who experienced more discrimination from teachers were less engaged in class. They also felt less school belonging which, in turn, predicted less engagement. In line with identity-threat in negative contact with teachers, discrimination experiences put minorities at risk of academic disengagement by threatening belonging. Conversely, disengaged students might also not feel that they belonged in school and hence experience more discrimination in recursive cycles of disengagement. In the absence of longitudinal evidence of mediation, associations may work both ways.

Summing up, across multiple data sources and intergroup settings discrimination experiences were revealed to be chronic sources of identity-threat undermining minority inclusion and success (see Figure 1, main effects of contact). Discrimination was harmful over

and above – and in part through activating – situational stereotype-threat in academic settings. On the positive side, retrospective longitudinal evidence corroborates robust and long-lasting protective effects of intergroup contact quality on minority achievement. Confirming theoretical expectations from identity-protection, intergroup friendship in particular mitigated identity-threat and enabled sustained academic engagement.

The interplay of Intergroup Contact with Acculturation-Orientations. In their review of acculturation research, Sam and Berry (2010) identified a close triangular relationship among contact, acculturation and adaptation. To the extent that contact quality signals the acceptance of minorities' cultural heritage in mainstream settings, contact experiences shape minority achievement directly as well as indirectly through their interplay with individual acculturation-orientations (see Figure 1: moderation by contact). In view of mixed evidence of an adaptive advantage of integration (see above), we examined the adaptive value of integration as a function of the quality of intergroup contact in school. In line with Berry's integration hypothesis (see above), integrated minority individuals – or dual identifiers – should ideally be most successful in school, since they combine bicultural competences and support networks from both minority and majority cultural groups (Nguyen & Benet-Martinez, 2013). In the presence of identity-threat, however, negative intergroup experiences may counteract a potential integration advantage.

Revisiting the same retrospective school career data on second-generation Turkish-Belgian youngsters (N = 576; TIES Belgium, see above), Baysu and Phalet (2019) examined the interplay of their individual acculturation-orientations with discrimination experiences in school. We used the same measure of personal discrimination in interactions with teachers, headmasters or peers (see above). Individual acculturation-orientations were measured as the relative strength of identification with Turkish and Belgian cultural groups. Applying Berry's bidimensional model, we operationalised integration as the statistical interaction of ethnic and

national identification (see above). We distinguished academic, vocational, and short careers as categorical outcomes, i.e., whether participants accessed higher education, completed secondary education, or left school early - conditional on their entry-levels at the start of secondary education (academic or vocational). We hypothesized that assimilated youth (weak ethnic identification) would do better than dual identifiers in the face of discrimination, because they distance themselves from the minority as target of threat. Separated youth (weak national identification) might also be less affected by discrimination than dual identifiers, because they are more distant from the majority group as source of threat. To test interactions with discrimination we contrasted dual, assimilated and separated identifiers with low identifiers (Berry's marginalization) as a reference-category.

In line with identity-threat for integrated identifiers in particular, they were less successful when they experienced more discrimination from teachers or peers (see Figure 2). Relative to assimilated and separated individuals, integrated identifiers were at once most at risk of early school leaving when they experienced discrimination *and* most likely to enter university when they did not. As expected, achievement costs vs. benefits of integration were contingent on identity-threat in the intergroup context. Whereas Berry's integration hypothesis was confirmed in the absence of discrimination, integration is associated with significant achievement costs in discriminatory intergroup contexts. In contrast, the achievement of assimilated identifiers was unaffected by discrimination; and separated identifiers did slightly better with more discrimination. Overall, separated individuals were least likely, and assimilated individuals most likely, to succeed, in line with prevailing assimilationism in Belgium (see below). On a cautionary note, cross-sectional associations do not warrant causal inferences and retrospective bias in self-reported discrimination cannot be ruled out.

As a rigorous test of the contingent achievement benefits of integration, Baysu and Phalet (2019) replicated the above findings in their field-experiment with (N = 174) high-achieving Turkish- and Moroccan-Belgian minority students in selective academic tracks. The experiment induced stereotype-threat by making salient participants' ethnic and religious (Muslim) identities immediately preceding a verbal achievement test (see above). A composite measure of bicultural identity integration (e.g., "I feel part of a combined Turkish and Belgian culture") was used here to measure individual integration. We hypothesized that high-integration individuals would outperform low-integration individuals only in the absence of threat (control condition) but not under stereotype-threat. A significant interaction of individual integration with stereotype-threat revealed the expected achievement costs for high-integration (vs. low-integration) individuals under threat. In contrast, we found a significant achievement advantage for high-integration (vs. low-integration) individuals in the absence of threat. The experimental findings fully replicate correlational evidence of the interplay between individual acculturation-orientations and identity-threat in academic contexts. While the experimental design and the objective achievement measure are distinctive strengths, we would ideally need repeated measures of acculturation before and after the experiment.

To conclude, we find first systematic evidence of the interplay between intergroup contact experiences and minorities' individual acculturation-orientations (see Figure 1, moderation by contact). Correlational and experimental findings support a contextual approach to the adaptive value of integration – or dual identification - from identity-threat in intergroup relations. They elucidate existing findings relating threat-related vulnerabilities of minority students to their national or ethnic identification. In German schools, for instance, assimilated identifiers outperformed less strongly German-identified peers on an achievement test under stereotype-threat (Weber, Appel & Kronberger, 2015). In the US, in contrast,

strong (vs. weak) Mexican identification buffered positive school outcomes for Mexican minority children who experienced teacher discrimination (Brown & Chu, 2012). The findings resonate with our own finding that assimilated as well as separated minorities were less vulnerable than dual identifiers in the face of discrimination. At the same time, they suggest country differences between German and American schools as intergroup contexts. The next section shifts focus from minorities' own intergroup experiences at the micro-level to the intergroup ideologies that define intergroup relations at the macro-level (see Figure 1, institutional intergroup ideologies).

Institutional Intergroup Ideologies: Multiculturalism vs. Assimilationism

Early acculturation researchers pointed out that for integration to be psychologically viable it may require a sympathetic societal climate, exemplified by Canadian multicultural policies (Berry, 1997). However, the intergroup ideologies that make up the societal climate have long remained invisible in acculturation research (Guimond, de la Sablonnière & Nugier, 2014; Phalet et al., 2015). Our primary interest is in the institutional support for multiculturalism in schools as macro-affordances of minority acculturation and achievement. Specifically, we contrast multiculturalism versus assimilationism as distinct intergroup ideologies that inform institutional views and practices pertaining to school diversity (see Figure 1, institutional intergroup ideologies). Other possible views such as colorblindness, alternate vocabularies, or more finegrained distinctions are beyond the scope of this review (e.g., Schwarzenthal, Schachner, Juang & Van de Vijver, 2019). Multiculturalism here refers broadly to intergroup ideologies that value cultural diversity and promote equal treatment in intergroup relations (Guimond et al., 2014; Verkuyten & Thijs, 2013). Such multicultural ideologies generally support positive intergroup relations in diverse schools, because they include minorities on an equal footing and value their distinct cultural heritage (Schachner, Noack, Van de Vijver & Eckstein, 2016; Schwarzenthal et al., 2019). In contrast, assimilationism is antithetical to

multiculturalism. Assimilationist ideologies reject cultural difference and justify unequal treatment of culturally different immigrant minorities (Guimond et al., 2014). Such ideologies tend to strain intergroup relations, because they put pressure on minorities to relinquish their heritage culture and turn a blind eye to discrimination, 'blaming the victim' instead for not fully adopting the mainstream culture (Van Acker, Phalet, Deleersnyder & Mesquita, 2014).

Contingent Minority Outcomes. Schools develop different policies and practices with a view to reducing costs and maximizing benefits of cultural diversity in an academic setting. These policies reflect the wider societal climate only in part and vary considerably across schools within the same country, giving rise to distinct intergroup ideologies at the school level. For instance, when schools ban headscarves or penalize multilingual practices they apply an assimilationist ideology, putting pressure on minority students to conform to the majority culture. Alternatively, when school curricula cover materials from different heritage cultures or when minority religious practices or languages are accommodated, schools apply a multiculturalist ideology, signalling to minorities that the school values their heritage cultural identity. Thus, assimilationism should exacerbate, and multiculturalism dilute, identity-threat for minority students, enabling or undermining their inclusion and success (see Figure 1, main effect of ideology). Accordingly, applied research on multiculturalism in organizations (Rattan & Ambady, 2013) and multicultural education in schools (Aronson & Laughter, 2016) documents potential benefits for minority inclusion and success. Specific multicultural policies and practices vary widely (Zirkel, 2008), but they share a common core that values cultural diversity and ensures equal treatment (Verkuyten & Thijs, 2013). The few studies that empirically tested cross-sectional associations of multiculturalism vs. assimilationism with minority school outcomes relied mainly on student perceptions of intergroup ideologies (Brown & Chu, 2012; Hoti et al., 2017). For instance, Schachner et al. (2016) related student perceptions of different intergroup ideologies in German schools to their adaptation outcomes.

In line with identity-valuation, minority children who perceived their teachers to promote equality and to include cultural difference reported better adjustment.

Looking beyond individual student perceptions, Celeste, Baysu, Phalet, Meeussen and Kende (2019) content-analyzed actual school policies as an external contextual measure of institutional intergroup ideologies. Sixty-six schools were randomly sampled to take part in CILS Belgium (see above) with school composition ranging from below 10% to over 60% of immigrant minority students. This large-scale school-based longitudinal survey followed N = 3131 students (mean age 15) over two years (waves 2 and 3 of CILS data), of whom 1747 were minorities of various immigrant origins and 1384 majority Belgians. Repeated self-report measures of school belonging (e.g., "I feel at home at this school") and school grades (standardized language and math exam scores) assessed inclusion and success, respectively. Relative to majority students, minorities evinced lower overall levels of belonging and performance. The size of belonging and achievement gaps varied between schools, however. We hypothesized that multiculturalist school policies would reduce, and assimilationist policies could widen, the gaps (over and above school composition). Multiculturalism and assimilationism ideologies were assessed at the school-level. We content-analyzed policy documents (school rules and mission statement) and identified distinct and coherent multiculturalism and assimilationism policy clusters. Assimilationist policies referred mainly to restrictions on minority languages and religious expression, such as a headscarf ban or penalties on minority language use. Multiculturalist policies included teaching about other cultures in class, respecting and valuing other cultures, and accommodating religious diets or holidays. As expected, multi-level models with school composition and policies as contextual predictors of minority and majority outcomes revealed significant interactions of minority status with the policy clusters. As expected from identity-valuation, schools that were more (vs. less) multiculturalist in their ideological orientation were associated with smaller gaps in

both belonging and performance over time through higher minority belonging and success. Conversely, more (vs less) assimilationist schools significantly widened the belonging gap through alienating minorities, in line with identity-threat. Neither policy significantly affected majority outcomes. Finally, belonging longitudinally predicted student grades, highlighting inclusion as a mediator of minority achievement (Walton & Cohen, 2007). Though other school policies are beyond the scope of this review, assimilationism and multiculturalism did not cover all relevant policies in our data. For instance, policies promoting secularism were relatively frequent and distinct from assimilationism proper. Nor did multiculturalism include policies that merely tolerated religious difference. Multi-level analysis allows a stringent test of policy effects across many schools, yet its reliance on broad clusters of most frequent formal policies limits our understanding of applied ideologies in schools.

The Interplay of Intergroup Ideologies with Contact. To understand how schools as institutional settings afford minority achievement, a key question is how intergroup ideologies mesh with minorities' own experiences of day-to-day intergroup contact in school. Institutional support is essential to Allport's (1954) original conception of optimal conditions for intergroup contact to be truly inclusive. Since multiculturalist ideologies convey institutional support for equality and cultural diversity, we zoom in on the interplay of multiculturalism with minorities' own experiences of intergroup contact in school (see Figure 1, moderation by ideology). Moreover, minorities are likely targets of discrimination even as they engage in positive intergroup contact. Accordingly, two studies specifically examined whether multiculturalist ideologies effectively buffer minorities from identity-threat in the face of discrimination or negative stereotypes.

The empirical starting point was a large-scale field experiment by Baysu (et al., 2016) as part of CILS Belgium. The experiment established significant performance decrements of Turkish and Moroccan minority students with personal discrimination experiences and under

stereotype-threat (see above). In follow-up analyses, Baysu et al. (2016) added the equality component of multiculturalism at the school-level as a hypothetical buffer of identity-threat. Intergroup equality was measured as shared student perceptions of equal treatment in school (2 items, e.g., "In my school some students are allowed to do more than others", reversed) and aggregated across majority and minority peers in the same schools. Next, perceived equality was specified as a contextual moderator of the associations between negative intergroup experiences (discrimination, stereotype-threat) and minority achievement (test performance, disengagement) in multi-level moderated mediation models. In support of institutional identity-protection, perceived intergroup equality enabled minority students to persist and perform better on the test. Moreover, more egalitarian schools (in terms of shared student perceptions of equal treatment) effectively buffered minority achievement under threat (see Figure 3). One limitation is that perceived equal treatment is only one component of multiculturalism as an intergroup ideology, which was aggregated across minority and majority students within each school and which might have a different, more colorblind meaning for majority than minority students. Another limitation is that the school-level analysis bypasses the varying classroom contexts of minorities' intergroup experiences.

In a follow-up study with Turkish and Moroccan minority subsamples from CILS Belgium (N = 1050; see above), Heikamp et al. (2019) aimed to replicate the interplay of minorities' discrimination experiences with institutional identity-protection. The study assessed perceived multiculturalism by minority peers as a contextual protective factor in multi-level analysis of school belonging as a measure of minority inclusion. Specifically, perceived institutional support for equality (2 items, see above) and cultural diversity (2 items, e.g., "In my school different cultures and religions are treated with respect.") formed one construct, perceived multiculturalism for minority students. Next, individual perceptions were aggregated over Turkish and Moroccan minority students within the same classroom (n = 274

classrooms in 52 schools). Multi-level moderated mediation analysis supported the

hypothesized interplay of perceived institutional support for multiculturalism (classroom-

level) with minorities' own experiences of discrimination (individual-level). In classrooms

where minority peers perceived their school to support equal treatment and to value cultural

diversity, minority students not only reported more school belonging overall, but their

belonging was also dissociated from personal experiences of discrimination, hence was more

stable. In accordance with institutional identity-protection, we conclude that minority

perceptions of multiculturalism effectively buffered school belonging, thus enabling sustained

academic engagement in the presence of discrimination (see above). Neither minorities' own

individual perceptions, nor majority peer perceptions of multiculturalism significantly

buffered minority belonging. Note that associations between discrimination, belonging and

engagement are cross-sectional rather than causal.

We conclude that minority achievement is critically afforded by institutional

intergroup ideologies and their interplay with minorities' own contact experiences (see Figure

1, main effects of ideology and moderation by ideology). To sum up, two components of

multiculturalism – institutional support for equality and value in diversity – protected

minority inclusion and success in the presence of discrimination or stereotype-threat. The last

part of this review turns to acculturation-norms within majority, minority and mixed peer

groups as an understudied intermediate level of intergroup context.

Acculturation-Norms: Integration vs. Assimilation as Group Norms

This section seeks to explain minority inclusion from group norms of acculturation and from

the acculturative fit of minorities' individual acculturation-orientations with group norms (see

Figure 1, main effects of norms and moderation by norms). Acculturative fit has mainly been

studied in relation to (perceived) majority group norms. Thus, minority individuals who prefer

integration may deviate from an assimilationist majority group norm (cf. Brown & Zagefka,

2011, for a review). Fit consistently predicts more positive intergroup relations on both sides, yet our interest here is how acculturative fit relates to minority achievement.

Acculturative Fit: The Interplay with Majority Group Norms. Majority acculturation-norms refer to shared views among majority members about how minorities should acculturate. Since majority groups powerfully define intergroup relations in society, minority acculturation interacts with majority acculturation-norms in the intergroup context. An intergroup relations tradition of acculturation research examined whether majorities expect members of minority groups to maintain the heritage culture, adopt the mainstream culture, or combine the cultures (cf. Brown & Zagefka, 2011). Perceived majority norms not only predicted minorities' own acculturation-orientations – for instance, when minorities perceived majority assimilation-norms, they preferred integration less. Majority norms also conditioned the psychological benefits of minorities' acculturation-orientations – for instance, when minorities perceived majority integration-norms, their own integration was more adaptive.

The relational acculturation model proposed by Bourhis et al. (1997) builds on Berry's (1980) model and centers on concordant or discordant majority and minority acculturation-norms and their relational outcomes. Thus, majority integration-norms accept that minorities maintain the heritage culture and simultaneously adopt the mainstream culture, whereas alternate assimilation-norms expect minorities to adopt the mainstream culture and relinquish the heritage culture (Berry & Sabatier, 2010). Concordance (fit) is achieved when both minority and majority groups endorse an integration-norm. When minorities prefer integration and majorities expect assimilation, however, discordance (lack of fit) would lead to problematic intergroup relations. Accordingly, (perceived) discordance predicted ambivalent or negative majority emotions (threat) and attitudes (prejudice) towards immigrant minorities (Brown & Zagefka, 2011). Our own research looks beyond general intergroup attitudes as

relational outcomes into the associations of acculturation-norms and acculturative fit with minority achievement.

Acculturative Fit Revisited: The Interplay with Multiple Group Norms. In today's highly diverse schools as key intergroup contexts for minority achievement, we conceive of acculturative fit as negotiated in relation to acculturation-norms in mixed minority and majority peer groups. Along those lines, Titzmann and Jugert (2015) measured acculturation-norms in mixed peer groups in German secondary schools and tested the interplay of both minority and majority group norms with immigrant minorities' individual acculturation-orientations and their socio-cultural adaptation. Using multi-level analysis, they specified actual group norms as school-level contextual moderators of individual-level acculturation-adaptation associations. As expected from acculturative fit with multiple group norms, both minority and majority acculturation-norms affect the adaptive value of minorities' own acculturation-orientations. Thus, minority students who prefer to adopt the German culture benefit only when they fit with acculturation-norms of their minority peer group in school: when the minority group rejects minority adoption of the German culture, individual acculturation-orientations towards the German culture were not adaptive. Likewise, minority students who prefer to maintain the heritage culture benefit less when they deviate from acculturation-norms of their majority peer group in school: when the majority group values minority contact with the German culture, individual acculturation-orientations towards the heritage culture were not adaptive.

Likewise, Celeste, Meeussen, Verschueren and Phalet (2016) assessed actual acculturation-norms in mixed peer groups at the level of diverse classrooms as immediate intergroup contexts in Belgian schools. Using subsamples of Turkish and Moroccan minority students from CILS Belgium (age $M = 15$; N = 681 students, n = 230 classes), we related their own acculturation-orientations to experiences of peer rejection as a measure of (the lack of)

inclusion in school. Acculturation-orientations were measured by single indicators of the preference for heritage culture maintenance and mainstream culture adoption: "How important is it for you to maintain the customs from Turkey or Morocco in school; and to adopt the Belgian customs in school?" Individual integration was distinguished from assimilation and separation by adding the interaction of both indicators (see above). Our self-report measure of peer rejection combined experiences of peer avoidance and victimisation (6 items; e.g., "How often do you experience that other students shut you out; … bully you?"). In multi-level analysis, we distinguished crossgroup acculturation-norms (aggregated over all peers in each class) from minority subgroup norms (aggregated over Turkish or Moroccan peers in each class) as contextual moderators. Acculturation-norms were indicated by the average agreement with heritage culture maintenance ("Migrants should do everything possible to maintain the heritage culture.") and mainstream culture adoption ("… should adopt the Belgian customs in this country."). Majority group norms could not be modelled separately due to very high levels of segregation at the classroom level (i.e., the absence of majority peers from many otherwise diverse classrooms).

The findings support the costs of a lack of acculturative fit with cross-group as well as minority group norms of acculturation for minority inclusion (see Figures 4a & b). In classes with stronger cross-group norms that minorities should adopt the Belgian culture, minority students with an integration-orientation experienced significantly more peer rejection. Conversely, in classes with stronger minority group norms that minorities should maintain the heritage culture, students with an assimilation-orientation experienced most rejection. The costs of a lack of acculturative fit for minorities establish the injunctive force of actual acculturation-norms in the intergroup context. Specifically, the adaptive value of individual integration for minorities depends on its interplay with both majority and minority acculturation-norms (see Figure 1, moderation by norms). On the one hand, individual

minority students who prefer integration can get caught between conflicting majority group or cross-group norms and minority group norms in school. On the other hand, minorities can collectively challenge prevailing acculturation-norms and redefine acculturative fit from the bottom up, especially in highly diverse intergroup contexts. As cross-sectional associations of acculturation-orientations with rejection experiences may work both ways, longitudinal analyses should further examine when minorities longitudinally increase acculturative fit – and avoid rejection – by conforming to group norms or by collectively redefining the norms. To trace complex norming processes in multiple-group contexts, future research may exploit more precise sociometric measures of who befriends or rejects whom within and across groups (e.g., Meeussen, Agneessens, Delvaux & Phalet, 2017).

Discussion

In view of persistent and often widening achievement gaps between immigrant minority and majority school careers in Europe, our research inquires into the acculturation and achievement of minority youth in schools. Berry's well-established bidimensional model of acculturation-orientations distinguishes between minority individuals who prefer to adopt the mainstream culture, or to maintain the heritage culture, or to integrate both cultures. We reviewed extensive evidence across different immigrant groups and receiving countries associating the inclusion and success of immigrant minorities with their acculturation-orientations. The evidence for an alleged adaptive advantage of integration was mixed, with achievement benefits *as well as costs* for youngsters who integrate both cultures. Considerable contextual variability in the adaptive value of integration exposes limitations of a prevailing individual-differences approach and points to the need to account for the contextual affordances of successful integration.

Looking beyond individual acculturation-orientations, therefore, we proposed an integrative contextual framework that anchors minority acculturation and achievement in the

intergroup context (see Figure 1). The framework takes a social identity approach to spell out hypothetical processes of identity-threat and protection for minority persons at multiple levels of intergroup relations. We applied this framework to schools as intergroup contexts of minority acculturation and achievement. In a nutshell, we established distinct sources of identity-protection and threat –and their interplay – both at the micro-level of intergroup contact and at the macro-level of institutional intergroup ideologies. As expected, our findings reveal that integration is psychologiscally costly in the presence of identity-threat – such as when minority students experience discrimination or face negative stereotypes in their school. Also, minority students who integrate both cultures are at risk when they deviate from acculturation-norms of either minority or majority group peers in shool. Conversely, we expected and found that positive contact experiences and school policies of multiculturalism (vs. assimilationism) buffer identity-threat and boost minority achievement. Moreover, fit with peer group acculturation-norms protects individual minority students who integrate both cultures. Below we discuss what these key findings add to the state of the art in intergroup contact, stereotype-threat, and acculturation research. We acknowledge limitations and suggest some avenues for future research as well as applied implications.

Intergroup contact experiences. At the micro-level of minority students' daily contact experiences, school segregation sets the stage for their future school careers through restricting the quantity and quality of early intergroup contact experiences (Baysu et al., 2014). In particular, cross-national (retrospective) longitudinal findings reveal long-lasting achievement benefits of early intergroup friendship for minority students in less segregated schools (Baysu & De Valk, 2012; Baysu & Phalet, 2012). Conversely, early experiences of discrimination cast a long shadow over minority school careers. Essentially, they gave rise to chronic identity-threat through leaving minority students vulnerable to recurrent stereotype-threat in assessment situations (Baysu, 2011). Moreover, longitudinal and experimental

findings show how identity-threat puts minority students at risk of school failure by undermining their sense of school belonging and by eliciting affective or behavioural disengagement from academic activities or tasks (Baysu et al., 2014; Baysu et al., 2016; Baysu & Phalet, 2019; Heikamp et al., 2019).

Our research adds a distinct minority perspective to the extensive research literature on intergroup contact, which has mainly focused on the reduction of majority prejudice. Although intergroup contact is generally less effective in bringing about attitude change on the minority side (Tropp & Pettigrew, 2005), less is known about whether and how intergroup contact relates to actual disparities in minority inclusion and success. Against the background of real gaps in minority versus majority inclusion and success (Celeste et al., 2019), robust evidence of a protective function of early intergroup friendship in minority school careers opens up new avenues for future intergroup contact research. Also, applied research screening and monitoring achievement gaps would benefit from including psychological measures of intergroup contact frequency and quality – in addition to school composition.

Beyond the ecological validation of stereotype-threat experiments with large immigrant minority samples in Europe (Appel et al., 2015), our findings articulate the interplay of identity-threat with the schooling experiences of minority youth. Whereas stereotype-threat is conceived as a situational source of threat 'in the air', we found that it operates in conjunction with minorities' early experiences of discrimination. Such negative experiences may linger on and switch on stereotype-threat during tests or exams, thus resulting in chronic identity-threat. In addition, the combination of positive contact with discrimination measures integrates largely separate research lines on contact and threat in intergroup relations. First evidence that intergroup friendship buffers minority achievement in the face of discrimination highlights a critical identity-protection function of majority friends when minorities also experience discrimination. So far, the evidence for identity-protection

was limited by the retrospective nature of our longitudinal design. Prospective longitudinal and experimental designs should test more rigorously hypothetical protective effects of early contact experiences. Future research may also complement self-report measures of contact with social network data on intergroup ties (Wölfer & Hewstone, 2017). Such data can elucidate early intergroup contact and discrimination effects by modelling how valenced intergroup interactions evolve over time.

Turning to the acculturation literature, we found that integration – combining heritage and mainstream cultural practices and social ties – can be psychologically demanding for minority youth (Brown et al., 2014); and we raised the question when the school environment affords successful integration. Longitudinal and experimental studies revealed integration as a two-edged sword, so that integrated minority students underperformed under threat, yet they outperformed their peers in the absence of threat (Baysu et al., 2014; Baysu & Phalet, 2019). The latter finding replicates a well-documented adaptive advantage of integration (Nguyen & Benet-Martinez, 2013), establishing significant achievement benefits for integrated minority youth in the absence of discrimination or stereotype-threat. When schools fail to effectively protect minority identities, however, this 'integration advantage' cannot be taken for granted – as evident from a downside of integration for minority achievement under threat. To increase its explanatory leverage, therefore, acculturation research would need to consider minority experiences of intergroup contact and discrimination and their interplay with individual integration.

To conclude, the series of studies reviewed here consistently support the explanatory potential of minorities' intergroup contact experiences and their interplay with acculturation-orientations – in line with the proposed contextual framework (see Figure 1). Despite remaining gaps and limitations, the current findings have applied implications for public policies pertaining to school (de)segregation. To the extent that positive contact experiences

such as intergroup friendship are more likely in more diverse schools (that is, schools with a significant presence of both majority and minority students), public policies should encourage greater school diversity and discourage less diverse single-faith schools, as well as other majority-only or minority-only schools. However, our research also warns against mere social mixing as a simple solution, since segregation may shield minority youth from the harmful consequences of discrimination experiences in negative intergroup contact. If educational policies are to promote more diverse schools, then, policy makers will have to invest in improving intergroup relations in those schools, for instance, by educating school teachers as effective 'diversity managers' who foster positive contact and act against discrimination in diverse classrooms.

Institutional intergroup ideologies. At the level of institutional ideologies as macro-level intergroup contexts, multiculturalism values cultural difference and ensures equal treatment, thus protecting minority inclusion and success. In contrast, assimilationism rejects cultural difference and hence threatens minority inclusion. Empirical evidence on intergroup ideologies in schools comes from multi-level analyses which specify shared student perceptions or actual policies of multiculturalism as contextual affordances of minority inclusion and success (Baysu et al., 2016; Celeste et al., 2019; Heikamp et al., 2019). Taking into account school composition and using multiple outcome measures within time and over time, we consistently found significant achievement benefits for minority students in more multiculturalist schools – in line with institutional identity-protection. Conversely, more assimilationist schools increased the gap with majority students – in line with asymmetric identity-threat for minority students. Last but not least, institutional support for multiculturalism effectively protected the achievement of minority students in the face of stereotype-threat or discrimination (Baysu et al., 2016; Heikamp et al., 2019). In this way,

multiculturalist schools directly boost as well as buffer minority inclusion and success from identity-threat.

These multi-level findings are only beginning to disentangle multiple sources of identity-threat and identity-protection – and to articulate their interplay – across micro- and macro-levels of real-life intergroup contexts. Whereas intergroup contact research has focused mainly on the micro-level of face-to-face intergroup encounters, Allport (1954) originally advanced institutional actors as architects of his 'optimal conditions' for intergroup contact. Our research builds on Allport's now classic theorizing of institutional design and resonates with multi-level evidence of the additive benefits of equal status in the contact situation (micro-level) and egalitarian intergroup ideologies (macro-level) for effective intergroup contact (Kende, Phalet, Van Den Noortgate et al., 2018). Similarly, extensive social-psychological research on stereotype-threat and discrimination has largely bypassed the institutional level of intergroup ideologies. Our findings add to this research tradition by bringing in institutional ideologies as macro-level social forces that can (aggravate or) buffer identity-threat in the immediate contact or task situation (micro-level). Finally, our multi-level approach complements and corrects common individualistic biases in applied acculturation research, which rarely takes into account how intergroup relations are defined at the institutional level. Whereas assimilation may be more adaptive than integration at the individual level, for instance, we find that minorities consistently benefit from more multiculturalist policies at the institutional level.

Future research on intergroup ideologies should test the external validity of our findings and find out what is distinctive about 'multicultural education' (Zirkel, 2008) – or whether school policies reflect similar ideologies in other applied settings or in the wider society. Within educational settings, more finegrained instruments and multiple methods should better capture and contextualise the applied intergroup ideologies that are

communicated by actual teaching practices. Such an in-depth analysis should elucidate further seemingly contradictory yet commonly observed mixed policies of multiculturalism *and* assimilationism within the same schools. Extending a multi-level approach to institutional ideologies, there is room to articulate further cross-level interactions with minorities' own acculturation-orientations and with their experiences of intergroup contact and discrimination. For instance, multiculturalist teaching practices such as learning about other cultures as part of the curriculum might be most protective for integrated (vs. assimilated) minority students or in high (vs. low) diversity classrooms.

In spite of many remaining questions, the research on institutional intergroup ideologies has direct applied implications for educational policies and practices. To be effective, concerted efforts to improve intergroup relations in increasingly diverse schools need to be institutionally supported from the top down. Especially assimilationist policies, such as banning headscarves or penalizing immigrants' use of their mothertongue, were clearly detrimental for minority students. Conversely, multiculturalist policies that promote equality and value in diversity, created inclusive learning environments that reduced the gap between minority and majority students.

Group norms of acculturation. Institutional ideologies are communicated through written and unwritten school rules and policies that define intergroup relations from the top down. Such ideologies may or may not reflect acculturation-norms or the shared views of acculturation that define intergroup relations from the bottom up. These group norms may cumulatively reproduce or challenge intergroup ideologies. Assessing group norms of acculturation in diverse classrooms (Celeste et al., 2016), we were able to predict the inclusion of minority youth from their fit with acculturation-norms. First findings suggest that especially minority youth who integrate both cultures, can be caught in a crossfire between distinct majority and minority group norms of acculturation. These findings build on a rich

intergroup relations tradition of acculturation research, which established the key role of acculturation-norms in the majority society, albeit measured at the individual level, as well as the benefits of normative fit with (perceived) minority acculturation-orientations for positive intergroup relations (Zagefka & Brown, 2011). We have added substantially to this research stream by relating normative fit to minority perspectives and outcomes, by assessing actual acculturation-norms in schools as real-life intergroup contexts, and by establishing the injunctive force of minority as well as majority group norms in these often highly diverse contexts.

To conclude, the new scale of migration-related diversity in our societies opens up prevailing acculturation-norms for intergroup negotiation or conflict when minority youth deviate from majority group norms. Future research could use daily diaries or panel surveys to examine longitudinally when minorities align their acculturation-orientations over time, and when they resist majority group norms, or converge around distinct minority group norms. In addition, longitudinal social network data could map the flows of social influence in networked social interactions that give rise to evolving acculturation-norms in diverse settings. Finally, understanding the micro-dynamics of normative fit in diverse peer groups seems essential from an applied angle to promote or amplify acculturation-norms that support integration and thus enable minority inclusion and success.

Conclusion. Looking back at where we started our review, most evidence for Berry's integration hypothesis is restricted to an individual-difference approach to acculturation-orientations and adaptation. Such an individualistic approach seems to assume that immigrant minorities mainly experience positive intergroup contact with the majority society; and that sympathetic institutional ideologies and supportive group norms are already in place in most schools. Given that immigration and integration have become deeply divisive issues in many societies the contextual affordances that make individual integration a psychologically

sustainable and potentially successful pathway for individual members of minority groups cannot be taken for granted, however. Our current findings suggest much scope for schools as institutional actors, and for teachers as diversity managers on the ground, to foster more inclusive and more enabling intergroup interactions, policies and norms. We hope that this review may help boost an emerging stream of acculturation studies that pioneer trulycontextual and interactive approaches to the study of co-evolving acculturation-orientations across a wider range of naturalistic intergroup contexts.

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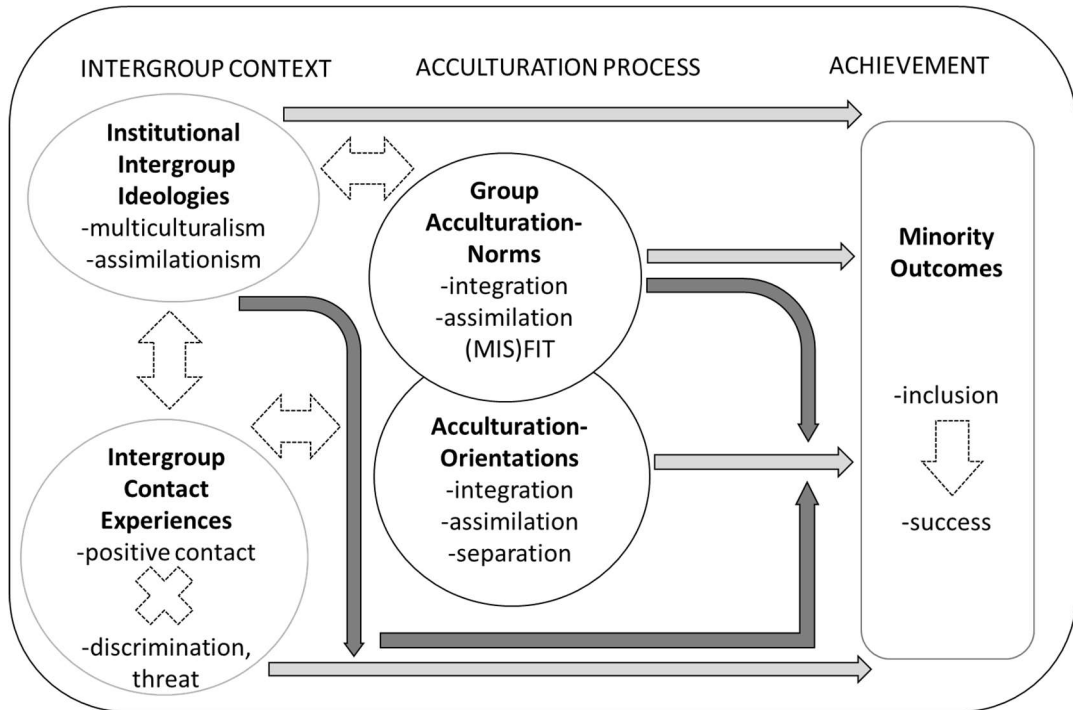
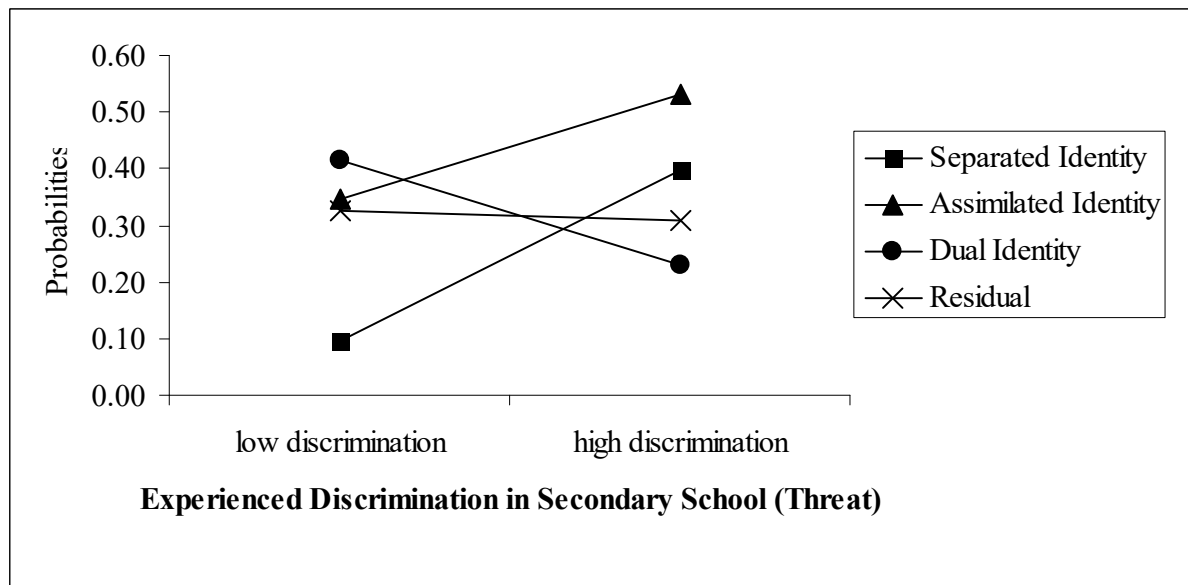*Figure 1.* Conceptual Framework: How the Intergroup Context Shapes Minority Acculturation and Achievement.

Figure 2. High (vs. Low) Achievement as a function of Experienced Discrimination and

Acculturation-Orientations: Estimated Probabilities for Turkish Belgians.

Note. Associations are controlled for Entry Level, Early School Segregation, Age, and Student

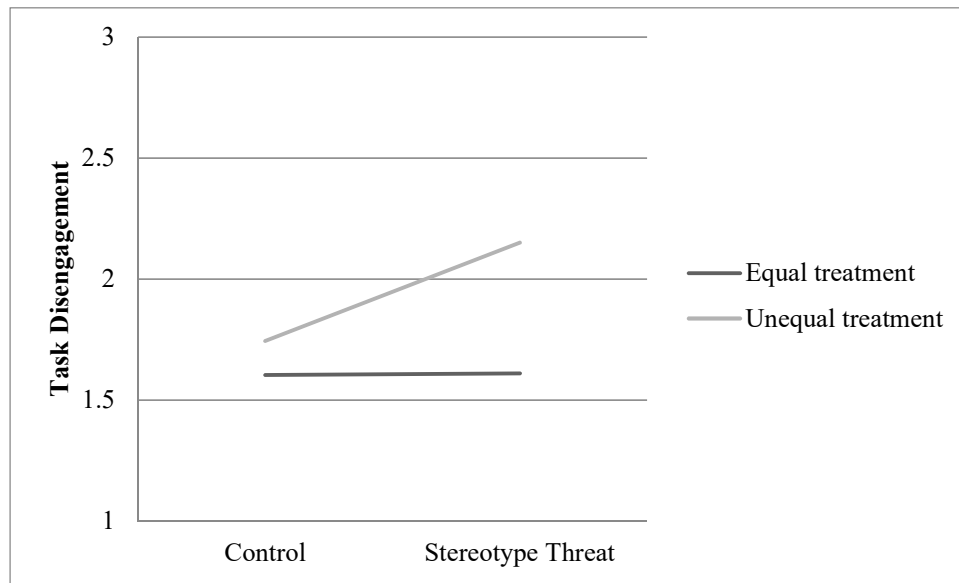Status. This figure is taken from Baysu et al. (2011)

Figure 3. School-level interaction between Equal Treatment and Stereotype-Threat on Task-

Disengagement. The slope for unequal treatment (between control and ST conditions) and the

difference between equal and unequal treatment in the Stereotype-Threat condition are

significant (p =.004, p < .001, respectively).

Note. This figure is taken from Baysu et al. (2016)
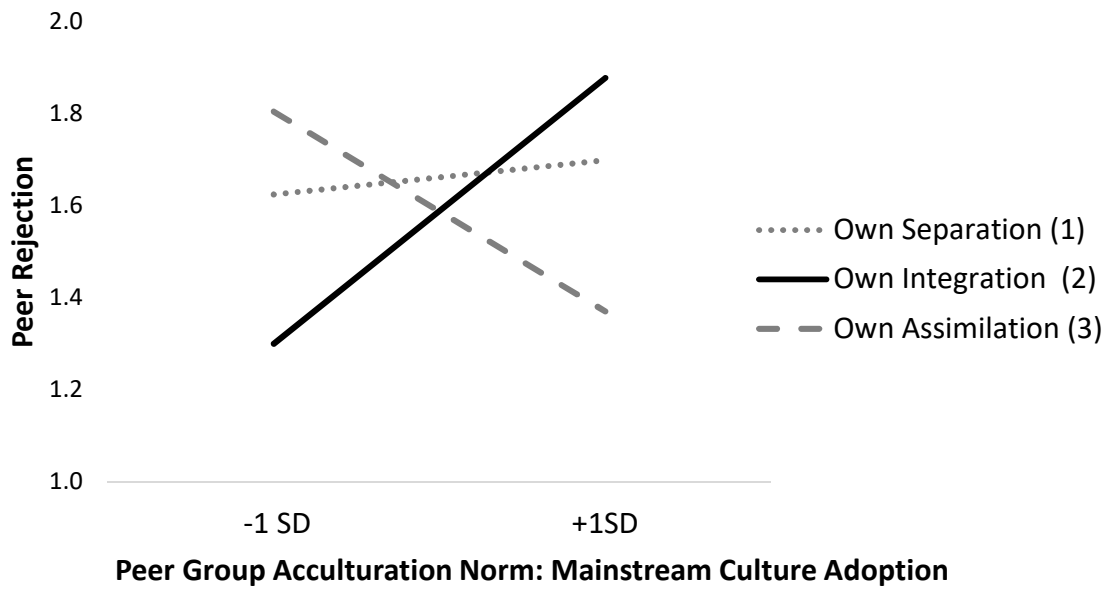
Figure 4a. Minority Acculturation-Orientations and Experiences of Peer Rejection as a

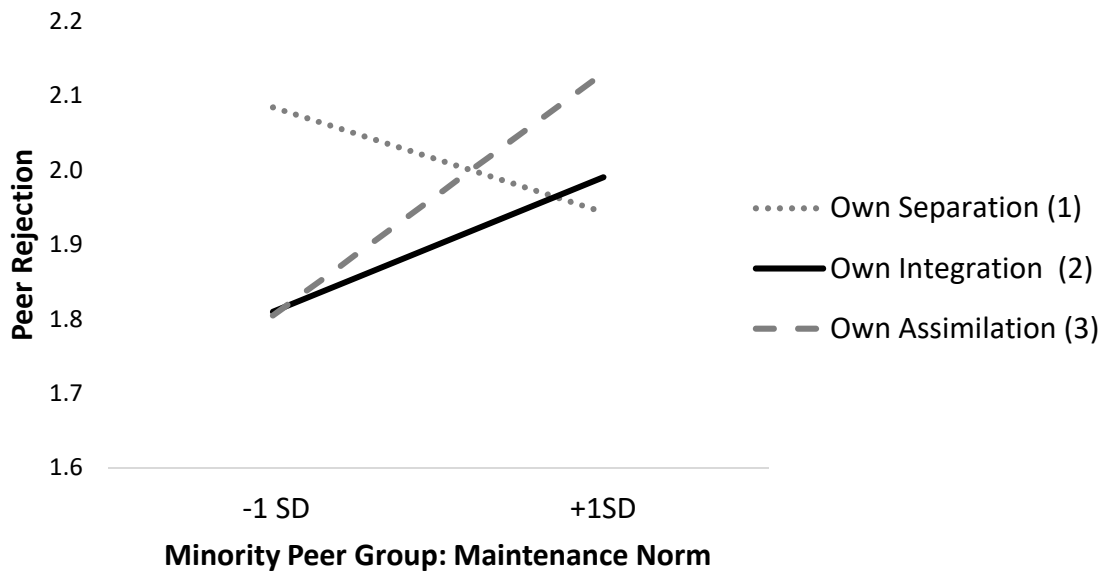function of Peer Group Acculturation Norms of Mainstream Culture Adoption.

Figure 4b. Minority Acculturation Attitudes and their Experience of Peer Rejection as a

function of Minority Peer Group Norms of Heritage Culture Maintenance.

Note. The figures are taken from Celeste et al. (2016).