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Predicting acculturation attitudes of dominant and non-dominant groups

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Abstract

In this study, several variables which have been proved in intergroup research to have had influence on the interaction between groups, were examined with regard to their success to distinguish and predict acculturation attitudes. Variables considered were perceived similarity, contact, identification, self-efficacy, perceived outcome, permeability, vitality, and ingroup bias. Discriminant analyses were computed for dominant groups (Germans, Swiss, and Slovaks) and non-dominant groups (Turks, former Yugoslavians, and Hungarians) to distinguish integration, assimilation, separation, and marginalization attitudes. The variables were efficient in predicting the acculturation attitudes of the groups, with the exception of the Hungarians' attitudes. The results reveal that although each cultural group shows its own unique pattern there are some variables which are important throughout. In addition, the patterns of variables clearly demonstrate the specificity of each respective acculturation attitude. © 1999 Elsevier Science Ltd. All rights reserved.

Keywords: Acculturation; social identity; intergroup relations; ethnolinguistic vitality; expected outcome; cross-cultural adaptation

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Introduction

When different cultural groups are in contact over a long period of time they are involved in a process of various changes, denoted as the acculturation process (Berry, 1992). It can be assumed that the members of the acculturating groups have attitudes towards the way in which the acculturation process should take place. Many studies pertaining to cross cultural transmission emphasize acculturation to be a mutual process of influence between hosts and immigrants, but they tend to focus on the non-dominant group's perspective while neglecting the dominant group. Berry and Kim (1988) and Berry, Kim, Power, Yong and Bujaki (1989) created a model of acculturation attitudes which meets both perspectives. It is based upon two major issues: maintenance of the heritage cultural identity; and maintenance of relationships with other groups. For conceptual reasons, these issues are taken as dichotomous dimensions, generating four acculturation orientations: integration; assimilation; separation; and marginalization. *Integrationists* as members of the dominant group accept that members of the non-dominant group maintain their heritage culture, as well as letting them become an integral part of the society by partaking in relationships with them. *Integrationists* from the non-dominant group want to maintain their own cultural identity and they, too, are highly interested in relationships with the dominant group. Members of the dominant group with an *assimilation* orientation do not accept the maintenance of cultural identity by the non-dominant group, but they support the contact and the relationship with them. *Assimilation* from the non-dominant group's perspective means renunciation of their heritage culture and close relationships to the dominant group. *Separationists* of the dominant group do not want the non-dominant group members to partake in relationships with the dominant group, while they accept, that their heritage culture is retained. *Separationists* of the non-dominant group correspond with this, wanting to keep their original cultural identity and refusing relationships with the dominant group. Dominant group members with a *marginalization* attitude, would accept neither the subordinated group maintaining their original cultural identity nor having relationships with the dominant group. For the non-dominant group marginalization means renunciation of one's heritage culture as well as the refusal of relationships with the dominant group.

When conceptualizing acculturation as a mutual process in which both the dominant and the non-dominant groups are involved, it is necessary to take into account the main difference between the dominant and the non-dominant group, which is power resulting from the groups' majority–minority characteristics. Therefore, the dominant group's acculturation orientations usually indicate whether or not the dominant group allows the subordinated group members to maintain their own culture and partake in relationships with the dominant group. In contrast to that, the concern of the subordinate group is the way members of their own group should behave.

When both groups' attitudes fit together, i.e. when both groups prefer similar

acculturation orientations, the relationship between the groups will be consensual. If the dominant and the non-dominant groups differ with regard to what they think to be the appropriate acculturation strategy, conflict is highly probable (Bourhis et al., 1993). However, this assumption has to be considered more specifically with regard to the reasons and circumstances which determine both groups' attitudes. The relationship of the dominant and the non-dominant group is a stranger–host relationship, in which the non-dominant group has to take the role of the outsider (Gudykunst & Hammer, 1987). Being a stranger has important cognitive and emotional effects (Anderson, 1994). Lack of knowledge about the host culture and the loss of the reference group as a reinforcer of one's identity may cause anxiety and insecurity. Individuals and groups differ with regard to the strategy they choose to cope with this situation. Some may prefer to assimilate to the hosts; others may want to stay separate. Similar effects influence the members of the dominant group. Lack of knowledge about the other group's culture and an enhanced need for positive evaluation of one's own group may affect their acculturation attitude.

Parallel to the acculturation domain, the study of intergroup relation plays a major role in the investigation of cultural groups in plural societies (Berry, 1986). The relationship between the dominant and the non-dominant group can be outlined as an *intergroup situation* which emerges from the groups' social identifications, a derivative of their membership in different social categories. Within a given social frame of host–immigrant relationship, nationality seems to be the most salient category, and thus builds the basis for intergroup comparison and intergroup behavior. Taking into consideration that different immigrants might come to the host country for different reasons, such as for political, economical or family reasons, the extent of identification with their nationality will differ, and as a result their attitudes towards the host group and their ideas about how to live in that country will differ as well. In a similar way the attitudes of the dominant groups will be affected by the extent of their national group identification. The more the groups identify with their nationality the more likely they will evaluate their national group more positively compared to the outgroup, thus supporting a discriminative attitude towards the different nature of the other group. There are some variables which can lessen or strengthen intergroup discrimination. Outgroup discrimination will decrease if the groups expect to get some benefit from each other or if they perceive each other as similar. Under certain conditions social contact as well can have a positive influence on the attitudes towards the outgroup. On the other hand, if the outgroup seems to be very different or very vital this could be a threat to the dominant group's identity as well as its resources. That would increase outgroup discrimination and make group boundaries impermeable.

Considering linkages between acculturation research and intergroup theory, several assumptions can be derived concerning the influence of the main variables of intergroup relation theory on the development of acculturation attitudes.

Intergroup variables

Ingroup bias

According to social identity theory, people have a basic need for positive self-esteem. This can be enhanced by comparing oneself with others. Because to a large extent the self is defined by group membership, particularly the comparisons between ingroup and outgroup are used to gain positive self-evaluation, thus resulting in intergroup discrimination. Social identity theory postulates that the mere categorization in one's own group (ingroup) and the other group (outgroup) will lead to a preference (positive evaluation) of ingroup members and a discrimination (negative evaluation) of outgroup members (Tajfel & Turner, 1979; 1986). This proposition was supported and specified by many studies (Brewer, 1979; Mummendey & Simon, 1989; Vivian & Berkowitz, 1993). In the context of interethnic relationships Tzeng and Jackson (1994) found that individuals having higher ingroup bias are significantly more negative toward members of other ethnic groups. Liu, Campbell and Condie (1995) could show differences in ingroup favouritism between ethnic groups with regard to partner preference. In intergroup encounters it depends on the salience of the category as to whether or not group comparisons take place (Oakes, Haslam & Turner, 1994). Although the heritage culture is only one amongst many features that can serve as a comparison dimension, the obvious differences on many aspects between cultural groups easily let it become a salient category. Moreover, the more individuals *identify* with their culture, the more likely they are to use culture for the definition of self. As they strive for a positive and distinct social identity, they will try to protect the distinctiveness of their group. For individuals who identify less with their cultural group other categories are more important for social identity. Therefore, they do not use heritage culture as a dimension to gain positive distinctiveness. Concerning acculturation attitudes, it can be assumed that low identification with one's own cultural group will reduce ingroup bias, which on the other hand will support an integration attitude of the dominant group, while high identification will lead to large ingroup bias, resulting in assimilation or separation attitudes.

Similarity

Although in similarity-attraction research there are contrary results regarding the question whether perceived similarity leads to attraction or repulsion, many studies show that perceived similarity is associated with positive evaluation both on interpersonal and intergroup level (Hogg, 1992; Brown, 1984). There is evidence that among other variables similarity, for instance, in background (race, ethnicity, occupation, age), attitudes, values, and personality traits, is related to an increased liking and positive evaluation (see the review by Lott & Lott, 1965; Byrne, 1971). According to this, it can be assumed, that perceived similarity of the outgroup will lead to a greater acceptance, resulting in an integration or

assimilation attitude, whereas perceived dissimilarity supports separation and marginalization.

Contact

Contact between members of different groups has been regarded to be an effective way to reduce intergroup conflict (Allport, 1954; Pettigrew, 1971). However, empirical studies led to a reconsideration of the intergroup contact hypothesis. Contact without cooperation and without a goal in common does not reduce, but may even enhance intergroup hostility (Amir, 1976; Pettigrew, 1986; Tzeng & Jackson, 1994). However, Moghaddam and Solliday (1991) point to the fact that negative attitudes of the members of the ingroup toward the members of an outgroup arise through indirect, rather than direct, contact, and that most contact between ethnic groups is on an indirect level. Therefore, contact seems to be a result, rather than a condition, of acculturation attitudes. Accordingly, it can be assumed that people with an integration or assimilation attitude will accept contact or interact directly with members of the outgroup while people with a separation or marginalization attitude will avoid direct interaction.

A variable that could help to create a favourable condition is *self-efficacy*. This belief reflects the individual's confidence concerning his/her abilities to achieve personal goals in social encounters (Bandura, 1986). Individuals who have stronger beliefs concerning their efficacy are more ready and willing to integrate with the other group (Allard & Landry, 1992). The lower the self-efficacy in dealing with the intergroup situation, the more likely group members will avoid contact with the other group and will prefer separation or marginalization.

Permeability

Individuals with different acculturation attitudes may differ with regard to perceived permeability of group boundaries. An assimilation attitude presupposes that members of the outgroup find access to the dominant group. If there is no possibility for leaving one's group and becoming a member of the other group, staying separate is predetermined. Institutional, for instance immigration policies of a state, as well as psychological reasons, for instance perceived dissimilarity, influence whether or not group boundaries are perceived to be permeable. It is assumed that separationists and to a lesser degree integrationists, too, perceive group boundaries to be impermeable. This assumption can also be derived from the results of a study of Ellemers, van Knippenberg and Wilke (1990). They pointed out that members of groups with permeable boundaries showed less ingroup identification. As mentioned above, it is proposed that separationists and integrationists will strongly identify with their ingroup, thus fitting together with impermeable group boundaries.

Table 1
Assumptions concerning the acculturation attitudes

Dominant group	Non-dominant group
<i>Integration</i>	
Low identification with their group, Low ingroup bias, Perceived similarity of the non-dominant group, Perceived impermeability of group boundaries, Expected positive outcome, Perceived low vitality of the non-dominant group, High self-efficacy, Contact with the non-dominant group is accepted	High identification with their group, Perceived similarity of the dominant group, Group boundaries are perceived as less permeable, Perceived high vitality of their group, High self-efficacy, Contact with the dominant group is accepted
<i>Assimilation</i>	
High identification with their group, High ingroup bias, Perceived similarity of the non-dominant group, Perceived permeability of group boundaries, Expected negative outcome, Perceived low vitality of the non-dominant group, Contact with the non-dominant group is accepted	Low identification with their group, Low ingroup bias, Perceived similarity of the dominant group, Perceived permeability of group boundaries, Perceived low vitality of their group, Contact with the dominant group is accepted
<i>Separation</i>	
High identification with their group, High ingroup bias, Perceived dissimilarity of the non-dominant group, Perceived impermeability of group boundaries, Expected negative outcome, Perceived high vitality of the non-dominant group, Low self-efficacy, No contact with the non-dominant group	High identification with their group, High ingroup bias, Perceived dissimilarity of the dominant group, Perceived impermeability of group boundaries, Perceived high vitality of their group, Low self-efficacy, No contact with the dominant group
<i>Marginalization</i>	
High ingroup bias, Perceived dissimilarity of the non-dominant group, Expected negative outcome, Low self-efficacy, No contact with the non-dominant group	Low identification with their group, Perceived dissimilarity of the dominant group, Low self-efficacy, No contact with the dominant group

Outcome

Realistic group conflict theory states that intergroup hostility is a consequence of competition for scarce resources, while cooperation will occur if common goals could only be reached by the activities of both groups. In the first case, individuals perceive the outgroup as threatening. In the second case, the outgroup is perceived as an enrichment. A lot of empirical support for this theory was found in field experiments (Blake & Mouton, 1961; Rabbie & Horwitz, 1969; Sherif, 1979) and by survey data (Bobo, 1983). With regard to acculturation attitudes it can be assumed that people weigh their positive and negative expectations towards the outgroup and calculate the probable outcome. Therefore, if the dominant group thinks the non-dominant group to be a greater enrichment than a threat, an integration attitude is probable. On the other hand, if the perceived threat exceeds the perceived enrichment, separation or marginalization will be preferred. Assimilation could also be an option, if the dominant group wants to control the resources.

A factor that may affect the amount of perceived threat is *vitality*. This concept was introduced into the ethnolinguistic research by Giles, Bourhis and Taylor (1977). They defined the vitality of an ethnolinguistic group as “that which makes a group likely to behave as a distinctive and collective entity within the intergroup setting” (p. 308). In its early version the theory stressed the objective vitality indicated by structural variables (demographics, institutional support, and status). Later on, the concept was developed by adding subjective vitality perceptions (Bourhis, Giles & Rosenthal, 1981; Harwood, Giles & Bourhis, 1994). Currie and Hogg (1994) found that vitality assessments of immigrants served as good predictors of their adjustment. Although further empirical proof is necessary, it can be assumed that group members who perceive their group to have low vitality will more likely adjust to the outgroup than group members who perceive their group to have high vitality (Harwood et al., 1994). Concerning acculturation attitudes, we assume that if the non-dominant group members perceive their group to have low vitality they will tend to assimilate to the dominant group but prefer integration or separation if they assess high vitality. If the dominant group members perceive the outgroup to have low vitality they will accept integration. If the non-dominant group is perceived to have high vitality the dominant group could feel threatened. Therefore they will tend to separate or to assimilate the non-dominant group.

Table 1 summarizes briefly the assumptions concerning the four acculturation attitudes. The study presented here has two major objectives. Firstly, the efficiency of the variables *ingroup bias*, *identification*, *similarity*, *contact*, *self-efficacy*, *permeability*, *outcome*, and *vitality* to predict the four acculturation attitudes, is examined. It is also tested whether the attitudes of the dominant and the non-dominant groups can be predicted by the same variables or whether the acculturation orientations of these two groups are determined by different variables. Secondly, the dominant groups’ acculturation attitudes toward different

non-dominant groups are examined as are those same non-dominant groups' attitudes toward the dominant group.

Method

Subjects

A total of 1194 subjects participated in the study. The sample included 300 Germans, 153 Slovaks, and 193 Swiss as members of the dominant groups, 135 Hungarians, 110 Turks, and 303 former Yugoslavians (187 living in Switzerland and 116 in Germany) as non-dominant groups. The data from Switzerland were collected by Schuepp (1995).

Research questionnaire

Two questionnaires were constructed. The questionnaire for the dominant groups was presented in the German and Slovakian languages, the questionnaire for the non-dominant groups in Hungarian, Turkish, and Serbo-Croat. The questionnaires were originally drafted in German. They were then translated into the other languages by completely bilingual natives of each respective country.

Measurement contents

The questionnaires contain items measuring the acculturation attitudes, the eight variables, and various demographics.

Acculturation attitudes

Although usually acculturation attitudes were measured by instruments consisting of many subscales (e.g. Berry et al., 1989), in this study a simple and direct measurement of the two issues of Berry's concept was used, particularly, to facilitate cross cultural comparisons. The dominant groups' attitudes were measured by the following items: Maintenance of culture: "In my opinion, we should let them live in our country as they are accustomed to (as Hungarians, Turks, Yugoslavians)". Interest in a relationship: "In my opinion, we should let them completely participate in our life". For the non-dominant groups the corresponding items were: "In my opinion, we should try to live in this country as we are accustomed to (as Turks, Hungarians, Yugoslavians)" and "In my opinion, we Turks (Hungarians, Yugoslavians) should try to participate completely in the German (Slovakian, Swiss) life".

For each item subjects chose between *rather yes* or *rather no*. By combining the responses to the maintenance-item with the responses to the relationship-item four alternatives were gained, indicating the four acculturation attitudes. Integration: maintenance of culture and relationship are accepted; Assimilation: relationship is accepted but not maintenance of culture; Separation: maintenance of culture is

accepted, but relationship is refused; Marginalization: neither maintenance of culture nor relationship are accepted.

Similarity

Similarity was designated by six domains (culture, mentality, appearance, religion, family life, and people in general). Subjects rated the similarity between their own group and the other group concerning these domains on 5-point scales ranging from *not at all* (=1) to *very much* (=5). A mean score was evaluated to indicate perceived similarity. Cronbach's alpha equalled 0.83 ($n = 679$).

Ingroup bias

Subjects evaluated both their own group and the other group with regard to the same five domains they considered for the similarity rating (e.g. "In my mind, the German (Slovakian, Swiss) way of family life is ..." (*negative* (=1) to *positive* (=5)) and "In my mind the Turkish (Yugoslavian, Hungarian) way of family life is ..."). The ingroup bias was calculated by subtracting the evaluation of the outgroup from the evaluation of the ingroup and averaging the ratings. Cronbach's alpha equalled 0.79 ($n = 700$).

Contact

Two items referred to private contact concerning having friends from the other cultural group and contact in leisure time. One item measured contact at one's work-place. Items were rated on a 3-point scale (*no/never* (=1) to *many/often* (=3)). One score was computed by averaging private and work contact. Cronbach's alpha equalled 0.75 ($n = 703$).

Outcome

This issue was measured only for the dominant group. Subjects rated on two 5-point scales (*not at all* (=1) to *very much* (=5)) how much they feel threatened and enriched by the influence of the non-dominant group's culture on their life. One score was gained by subtracting the amount of perceived threat from perceived enrichment. Cronbach's alpha equalled 0.55 ($n = 487$).

Self-efficacy

Subjects responded to the item "Do you feel capable to cope with the demands and problems which could rise from living together with Turkish (Yugoslavian, Hungarian) people?" respectively "Do you feel capable to cope with the demands and problems with which you are confronted due to your stay in Germany (Switzerland, Slovakia)?" on a 5-point scale (*not at all* (=1) to *very much* (=5)).

Vitality

Vitality usually is measured by many items, referring to specific domains (Allard & Landry, 1992; Sachdev & Bourhis, 1993). In this study only a general aspect of subjective vitality was covered, indicated by the issues, growth of population and maintenance of language. (“In your estimation, in 10 years time how many people from Turkey (Former Yugoslavia, Hungary) will be living in Germany (Switzerland, Slovakia)?” “In your estimation, in 10 years time what proportion of Turks in Germany (Yugoslavians in Germany or Switzerland, Hungarians in Slovakia) will communicate in their language?”) The scales ranged from *much less than today* (=1) to *much more than today* (=5). Perceived vitality was designated by the average of the two scales. Cronbach’s alpha equalled 0.57 ($n = 703$).

Permeability

Subjects responded to the item “In my opinion, Turks (Yugoslavians, Hungarians) have the possibility to participate completely in our life” respectively “In my opinion, we Turks have the possibility to participate completely in German (Swiss, Slovakian) life” on a 5-point scale (*disagree* (=1) to *agree very much* (=5)).

Identification

Three aspects of identification with the ingroup were measured. *Intensity of identification*: “How much do you feel like a German (Turk)?” (*not at all* (=1) to *very much* (=5)). *Pride*: “How do you feel as a German (Turk)?” (*ashamed* (=1) to *proud* (=5)). *Typicalness*: “What do you think, are you a typical German (Turk)?” (*very little* (=1) to *very much* (=5)). Cronbach’s alpha equalled 0.85 ($n = 689$).

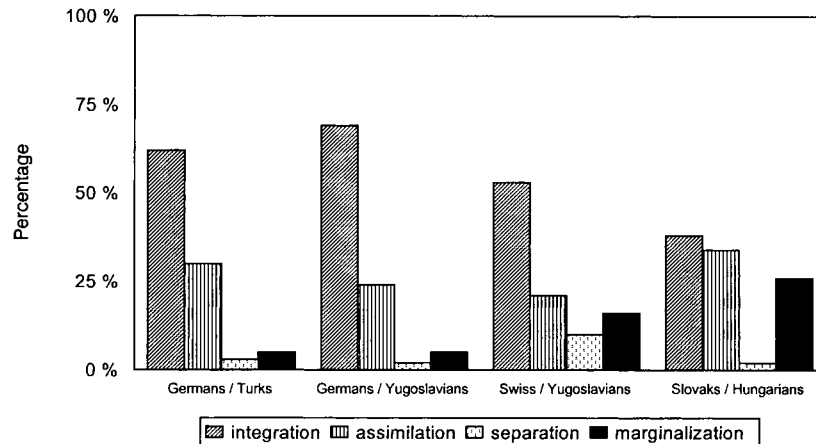


Figure 1. Distributions of acculturation attitudes for dominant groups.

Results

The distribution of acculturation attitudes within the dominant and non-dominant groups

As Figure 1 shows there were notable differences between the preferred attitudes of each dominant group. Germans, for instance, strongly favoured integration followed by assimilation. The preferred Swiss attitude was also integration and to a lesser degree assimilation, however, there was remarkable support for separation and marginalization. For the Slovaks their attitudes were quite evenly distributed across integration, assimilation, and marginalization, the marked exception being the near absence of the separation attitude. The distribution of the acculturation attitudes within the non-dominant group also shows remarkable differences (Figure 2). The two groups of former Yugoslavians both favoured integration, however, the Swiss former Yugoslavians showed stronger tendencies towards assimilation and against marginalization when directly compared to their countrymen living in Germany. Forty-six percent of the Turks in Germany wanted separation, the other three attitudes were divided almost equally. On the other hand, for Hungarians in Slovakia there was an overwhelming desire for integration. When comparing the dominant and the non-dominant groups, it was found that by and large the attitudes regarding the acculturation process of the former Yugoslavians fitted together, both in Switzerland and Germany. However, this was not the case for the Turks in Germany and the Hungarians in Slovakia. Here there was a notable gap between the attitudes of dominant and non-dominant groups.

The Turks preferred just the acculturation attitude which the Germans regarded to be the least adequate for them. For the Hungarians there seemed to be no

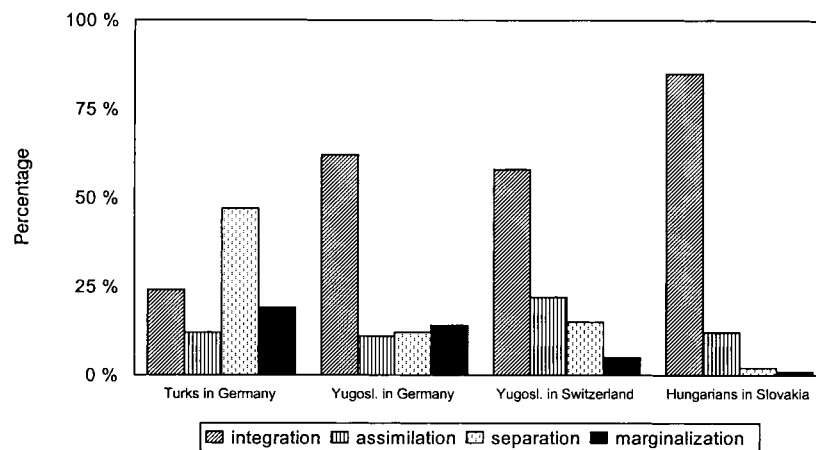


Figure 2. Distributions of acculturation attitudes for non-dominant groups.

Table 2
Discriminant Analysis for Dominant Groups. (* $P < 0.05$, ** $P < 0.01$, *** $P < 0.001$)

Discriminant functions	Eigenvalue	Percent of variance	Canonical correlation	Wilks' lambda	df	χ^2
Germans towards Turks						
Function 1	0.33	76.45	0.50	0.68	30	57.30***
Function 2	0.07	16.12	0.26	0.91	18	14.75
Function 3	0.03	7.43	0.18	0.97	8	4.71
Germans towards Yugoslavians						
Function 1	0.81	91.60	0.67	0.52	20	77.13***
Function 2	0.07	8.40	0.26	0.93	9	8.30
Swiss towards Yugoslavians						
Function 1	1.07	89.28	0.72	0.43	30	155.81***
Function 2	0.07	5.52	0.25	0.88	18	22.77
Function 3	0.06	5.21	0.24	0.94	8	11.07
Slovaks towards Hungarians						
Function 1	1.06	81.83	0.72	0.39	20	127.45***
Function 2	0.24	18.17	0.44	0.81	9	28.84***

Table 3
Standardized Canonical Discriminant Function Coefficients and Group Centroids for Significant Discriminant Functions (Dominant Groups)

	Germans towards Turks		Germans towards Yugoslavians		Swiss towards Yugoslavians		Slovaks towards Hungarians	
	Function 1	Function 2	Function 1	Function 2	Function 1	Function 2	Function 1	Function 2
Standardized Canonical Discriminant Function coefficients:								
Identification								
Intensity	0.00	-0.06	0.09	0.11	0.06	0.10	0.11	0.06
Pride	-0.29	0.40	-0.25	0.06	-0.25	0.38	0.06	0.10
Typicalness	0.23	0.22	-0.22	0.21	-0.22	0.38	0.21	0.38
Ingroup bias	-0.05	-0.83	-0.23	-0.25	-0.23	0.16	-0.25	0.16
Similarity	0.30	-0.12	0.45	0.21	0.45	-0.01	0.21	-0.01
Permeability	-0.07	-0.04	0.14	0.78	0.14	0.64	0.78	0.64
Outcome	0.81	0.59	0.57	0.30	0.57	-0.40	0.30	-0.40
Vitality	0.10	-0.08	0.02	-0.02	0.02	-0.18	-0.02	-0.18
Self-efficacy	0.08	0.20	-0.08	0.16	-0.08	-0.25	0.16	-0.25
Contact	0.18	-0.02	0.01	0.24	0.01	-0.08	0.24	-0.08
Group Centroids								
Integration	0.41	0.37	0.86	1.06	0.86	-0.35	1.06	-0.35
Assimilation	-0.52	-0.26	-0.53	0.00	-0.53	0.66	0.00	0.66
Separation	-0.76	-0.43	-0.43	-1.50	-0.43	-0.35	-1.50	-0.35
Marginalization	-1.55	-3.46	-1.92	-1.50	-1.92	-0.35	-1.50	-0.35

alternative to integration, whereas in the Slovakian population integration, assimilation and marginalization are quite evenly regarded to be adequate attitudes towards the Hungarians.

The prediction of the dominant groups' attitudes

Discriminant analysis was computed to identify those variables which distinguish the four acculturation attitudes. This procedure weights and linearly combines the discriminating variables in some fashion so that the “groups” (acculturation attitudes) are forced to be as distinct as possible. It also measures the success with which the variables actually discriminate when combined into discriminant functions. As a check of the adequacy of the discriminant functions the original cases can be classified to see how many are correctly classified by the variables being used.

Table 2 shows the results of the discriminant analyses computed for the dominant groups. Table 3 reports the standardized discriminant function coefficients and the group centroids, i.e. the weights of the standardized variables and the mean scores for the groups (acculturation attitudes).

Germans

Separate discriminant analyses were computed for the Germans' attitudes towards Turks and Yugoslavians. *Germans towards Turks*: Three discriminant functions were computed, but only one distinguishes significantly ($\chi^2 = 57.3$; $P < 0.002$) between the acculturation attitudes. The amount of variance accounted for by this function is 76.45%. As the standardized discriminant function coefficients show, particularly the variables *outcome*, *pride*, and *perceived similarity* are successful discriminating variables, *outcome* being the most important variable. Mutually considered the values of the standardized discriminant function coefficients and the values of the group centroids allow the following interpretation. For instance, Germans with an integration attitude expect positive outcome, perceive some similarity between themselves and the Turks, and show low national pride. In contrast, a marginalization attitude is indicated by an expected negative outcome, national pride, and less perceived similarity. Based on all three functions 67.5% of the cases were correctly classified. *Germans towards Yugoslavians*: Because of too few cases in the separation category discriminant analysis was computed only using integration, assimilation, and marginalization as categories of the grouping variable. One of two discriminant functions passed the test for significance ($\chi^2 = 77.13$; $P < 0.000$). The amount of variance accounted for by this function is 91.6%. Integration, assimilation, and marginalization show large differences on the first function, mainly created by *ingroup bias*, *outcome* and *pride*. As the group centroids show a marginalization attitude is indicated by high ingroup bias, expected negative outcome, and moderate pride whereas the integration attitude shows contrary beliefs, the assimilation attitude holding a mean position. Of the cases, 67.7% were correctly classified by the two discriminant functions.

Table 4
Correspondence Between Predicted and Empirical Patterns of the Dominant Groups' Acculturation Attitudes¹

Variable	Predicted tendency	Germans/ Turks	Germans/ Yugoslavians	Swiss/ Yugoslavians	Slovaks/ Hungarians
<i>Integration</i>					
Identification					
Intensity	Low				
Pride	Low	+	–	+	
Typicalness	Low	–	–	+	–
Ingroup bias	Low		+	+	+
Similarity	High	+		+	+
Permeability	Low				–
Outcome	Positive	+	+	+	+
Vitality	Low				
Self-efficacy	High		+		+
Contact	High				
<i>Assimilation</i>					
Identification					
Intensity	High				
Pride	High	+	–	+	
Typicalness	High	–	–	+	+
Ingroup bias	High		+	+	
Similarity	High	–		–	
Permeability	High				+
Outcome	Negative	+	+	+	+
Vitality	Low				
Self-efficacy	?		Low		Low
Contact	High				
<i>Separation</i> ²					
Identification					
Intensity	High				
Pride	High	+		+	
Typicalness	High	–		+	
Ingroup bias	High			+	
Similarity	Low	+		+	
Permeability	Low				
Outcome	Negative	+		+	
Vitality	High				
Self-efficacy	Low				
Contact	Low				
<i>Marginalization</i>					
Identification					
Intensity	?				
Pride	?	High	Low	High	
Typicalness	?	Low	Low	High	Low
Ingroup bias	High		+	+	+
Similarity	Low	+		+	+
Permeability	?				Low
Outcome	Negative	+	+	+	+
Vitality	?				

(continued on next page)

Table 4 (continued)

Variable	Predicted tendency	Germans/ Turks	Germans/ Yugoslavians	Swiss/ Yugoslavians	Slovaks/ Hungarians
Self-efficacy	Low		+		+
Contact	Low				+

¹ +: The empirical data clearly matched the predicted tendency; -: the empirical data clearly contradicted the predicted tendency. In cases when no prediction was made (marked here with a ?) and, however, results showed a clear tendency, those are reported here as high or low.

² Because there were not enough cases no data were available for the separation attitudes of Germans towards Yugoslavians and of Slovaks.

Swiss towards Yugoslavians

Outcome, similarity, ingroup bias, pride, and typicalness were the most important discriminating variables of one significant discriminant function ($\chi^2 = 155.82$; $P < 0.000$). The amount of variance accounted for by this function is 89.28%. It is shown that marginalization is indicated by expected negative outcome, high ingroup bias, low perceived similarity, high national pride, and typicalness. Separationists show moderate national pride, moderate ingroup bias and they expect an almost balanced outcome. Integration is indicated by beliefs which are completely contrary to the marginalization pattern. Assimilationists show scores similar to the separation pattern, but their ingroup bias is higher and they expect higher negative outcome. Sixty-seven percent of the cases were correctly classified.

Slovaks towards Hungarians

Two significant discriminant functions were computed ($\chi^2 = 127.45$; $P < 0.000$), $\chi^2 = 28.8$; $P < 0.001$). The amount of variance accounted for is 81.83% and 18.17%. *Permeability, outcome, ingroup bias, self-efficacy, typicalness, and similarity* were the most important discriminating variables. Slovaks with a marginalization attitude do not accept permeability, show high ingroup bias, expect negative outcome, feel less efficient and less similar to the Hungarians. Compared to this pattern, the integration attitude is completely contrary, whereas the assimilation pattern is similar with regard to outcome, ingroup bias, and self-efficacy, but differs with regard to permeability. Of the cases, 73.6% were correctly classified.

Correspondence between predicted and empirical patterns of the dominant groups' attitudes

In order to test the assumptions concerning the influence of the different variables from intergroup relation theory on the acculturation attitudes, the predicted patterns of each acculturation attitude are compared to the empirical data.

Table 4 shows the correspondence between predicted and empirical patterns by summarizing the results concerning the dominant groups' attitudes. Although the

correspondence is not equally good for all variables as well as it is not for all groups, there are some variables that are fairly strong predictors of the acculturation attitudes throughout the groups. Especially, outcome and ingroup bias, and to a lesser degree similarity and pride show the predicted forms in each acculturation attitude and are consistent throughout the groups. When positive outcomes are anticipated, people generally prefer integration. This fits together with low ingroup bias and usually with low pride. The assumptions concerning similarity are confirmed with the exception of the assimilation attitude. When people of the dominant group perceive the non-dominant group as similar, they prefer integration. All other attitudes are supported by perceived dissimilarity, assimilation included, which is contrary to the theoretical assumptions. Some variables, such as typicalness, operate contrary to the predicted tendency, even although not consistently. Intensity of identification as well as perceived vitality of the non-dominant group seem to be of no importance for the development of a special acculturation attitude. In general, the assumed patterns match the Swiss' and Slovaks' attitudes better than the Germans'.

The prediction of the non-dominant groups' attitudes

Table 5 shows the results of the discriminant analyses computed for the non-dominant groups. Table 6 reports the standardized discriminant function coefficients and the groups centroids.

Yugoslavians in Germany

For the Yugoslavians living in Germany three discriminant functions were computed of which only one was significant ($\chi^2 = 51.3$; $P < 0.003$). This function was based mainly on the variables *perceived similarity*, *intensity of identification*, *typicalness*, *permeability*, and *ingroup bias*. The amount of variance accounted for by this function is 69.22%. Yugoslavians who wanted to integrate perceive the highest similarity between themselves and the Germans and they strongly identify with their ingroup, whereas Yugoslavians who prefer separation or marginalization perceive lower similarity and less permeability. Marginalization is also marked by low intensity of identification. An assimilation attitude is especially indicated by low typicalness and low ingroup bias. The percent of correctly classified cases was 67%.

Yugoslavians in Switzerland

Yugoslavians' attitudes were classified by two significant functions ($\chi^2 = 104.5$; $P < 0.000$, $\chi^2 = 45.28$; $P < 0.001$), mainly based on *permeability*, *typicalness*, and *vitality*. The amount of variance accounted for by these functions is 58.63% and 34.51%. Group centroids in combination with the discriminant function coefficients, show that separationists, for instance, perceive themselves as very typical, they think their cultural group to be of low vitality, and deny permeability. Integrationists show similar values concerning typicalness but they do perceive permeability and some vitality of their group. Assimilationists are

Table 5
Discriminant Analysis for Non-Dominant Groups. (* $P < 0.05$, ** $P < 0.01$, *** $P < 0.001$)

Discriminant functions	Eigenvalue	Percent of variance	Canonical correlation	Wilks' lambda	df	χ^2
Turks in Germany						
Function 1	0.37	60.89	0.52	0.59	27	44.81*
Function 2	0.18	29.43	0.39	0.80	16	18.51
Function 3	0.06	9.69	0.23	0.95	7	4.77
Yugoslavs in Germany						
Function 1	0.50	69.22	0.58	0.54	27	51.34**
Function 2	0.16	21.45	0.37	0.81	16	17.48
Function 3	0.07	9.34	0.25	0.94	7	5.45
Yugoslavs in Switzerland						
Function 1	0.40	58.63	0.54	0.55	27	104.50***
Function 2	0.24	34.51	0.44	0.77	16	45.28
Function 3	0.05	6.86	0.21	0.96	7	8.05
Hungarians in Slovakia						
Function 1	0.06	100.00	0.24	0.94	9	7.06

Table 6
Standardized Canonical Discriminant Function Coefficients and Group Centroids for Significant Discriminant Functions (Non-Dominant Groups)

Standardized Canonical Discriminant Function coefficients:	Turks in Germany		Yugoslavians in Germany		Yugoslavians in Switzerland		Hungarians in Slovakia	
	Function 1	Function 2	Function 1	Function 2	Function 1	Function 2	Function 1	Function 2
Identification								
Intensity	-0.20		0.56		0.01		-0.10	
Pride	0.69		0.00		-0.03		0.12	
Typicalness	0.32		-0.49		-0.18		0.87	
Ingroup bias	0.08		0.21		-0.04		0.00	
Similarity	0.11		0.75		-0.05		0.05	
Permeability	-0.37		0.26		0.94		0.07	
Vitality	-0.27		0.05		0.25		0.40	
Self-efficacy	-0.56		0.01		-0.01		-0.22	
Contact	0.26		0.05		0.05		0.02	
Group Centroids								
Integration	0.30		0.50		0.34		0.32	
Assimilation	-1.41		-0.10		0.22		-0.87	
Separation	0.35		-1.13		-1.36		0.14	
Marginalization	-0.27		-1.10		-0.94		-0.19	

especially marked by low typicalness. Yugoslavians with a marginalization attitude held a mean position concerning typicalness and vitality, and they deny permeability. Of the cases, 60.6% were correctly classified.

Turks in Germany

Pride, *self-efficacy*, *permeability*, and *typicalness* are the most important variables of the one significant function ($\chi^2 = 44.8$; $P < 0.02$) which distinguishes Turks' acculturation attitudes. 60.89% of variance is accounted for by this function. Turks who have an integration or separation attitude are particularly proud of their cultural group and they perceive themselves to be a typical member of their group, but they are low in self-efficacy and they deny permeability. Assimilationists show the contrary pattern. Of the cases, 53.3% were correctly classified.

Hungarians in Slovakia

For this cultural group none of the variables were successful to distinguish acculturation attitudes. No significant discriminant function was computed.

Correspondence between predicted and empirical patterns of the non-dominant groups' attitudes

Table 7 shows the correspondence between predicted and empirical patterns by summarizing the results concerning the non-dominant groups' attitudes. There is no variable that completely matches the theoretical assumptions throughout all groups and all acculturation attitudes. However, there is also no variable that completely contradicts the theoretical assumptions.

Variables that fit the assumptions best are pride and to a lesser degree typicalness. When people in the non-dominant group feel proud to be a member of their group and think to be a typical member they generally prefer acculturation attitudes that provide some distance to the dominant group, namely separation or integration. Whereas people with low pride and low typicalness prefer assimilation or, as it is the case for the Turks, marginalization. Perceiving group boundaries as impermeable is an effective predictor for separation throughout the groups and for marginalization with the exception of the Turks. Most of the other variables are also shown to be important constituents of the acculturation attitudes, however, they operate differently in the various cultural groups.

Discussion

In this study, several variables which have been proved in intergroup research to have had an influence on the interaction between groups, were examined with regard to their success to distinguish and predict acculturation attitudes. These variables were perceived similarity, contact, identification (intensity, pride, and

Table 7
Correspondence Between Predicted and Empirical Patterns of the Non-Dominant Groups' Acculturation Attitudes¹

Variable	Predicted tendency	Turks/ Germans	Yugoslavians/ Germans	Yugoslavians/ Swiss	Hungarians ¹ / Slovaks ²
<i>Integration</i>					
Identification					
Intensity	High	–	+		
Pride	High	+			
Typicalness	High	+	–	+	
Ingroup bias	?		High		
Similarity	High		+		
Permeability	Low	+	–	–	
Vitality	High	–		+	
Self-efficacy	High	–		–	
Contact	High	+			
<i>Assimilation</i>					
Identification					
Intensity	Low	–	+		
Pride	Low	+			
Typicalness	Low	+	–	+	
Ingroup bias	Low		+		
Similarity	High		–		
Permeability	High	+	–		
Vitality	Low	–			
Self-efficacy	?	High		High	
Contact	High	–			
<i>Separation</i>					
Identification					
Intensity	High	–	–		
Pride	High	+			
Typicalness	High	+	+	+	
Ingroup bias	High		–		
Similarity	Low		+		
Permeability	Low	+	+	+	
Vitality	High	–			
Self-efficacy	Low	+			
Contact	Low	–			
<i>Marginalization</i>					
Identification					
Intensity	Low	–	+		
Pride	Low	+			
Typicalness	Low	+	–	–	
Ingroup bias	?		Low		
Similarity	Low		+		
Permeability	?	High	Low	Low	
Vitality	?	High		Low	
Self-efficacy	Low	–			
Contact	Low	+			

¹ +: The empirical data clearly matched the predicted tendency; –: the empirical data clearly contradicted the predicted tendency. In cases when no prediction was made (marked here with a ?) and, however, results showed a clear tendency, those are reported here as high or low.

typicalness), self-efficacy, perceived outcome, permeability, vitality, and ingroup bias. Discriminant analyses were computed for dominant groups (Germans, Swiss, and Slovaks) and non-dominant groups (Turks, former Yugoslavians, and Hungarians) to distinguish integration, assimilation, separation, and marginalization. Results can be summarized and discussed as follows.

Integration, assimilation, separation, and marginalization in the dominant group

The results show that the acculturation attitudes of the different cultural groups cannot be predicted by a uniformed pattern of variables throughout. For each group a specific combination of variables is required. However, the special importance of certain variables is obvious. For all dominant groups the *expected outcome*, *ingroup bias* and *similarity* are very important dimensions, evaluated differently by individuals with integration, assimilation, separation, and marginalization attitudes. The results support very well the theoretical assumptions concerning the expected outcome and the amount of ingroup bias. Regarding perceived similarity the obtained data confirm the assumptions for integration, separation, and marginalization, but show an unexpected result for assimilation.

People of the dominant group choose an integration attitude when they anticipate positive outcomes from the relationship with a different cultural group and when they perceive similarity between themselves and the group who is integrating. Regarding the relationship to their ingroup they show less pride of being a member of the dominant group and, probably as a consequence, they do not favour their ingroup.

Compared with them, people with a marginalization or separation attitude show completely contrary structures. Marginalization is strongly associated with the anticipation of negative outcomes, the perception of the non-dominant group as dissimilar, and of course high favouritism of their own group. Similar to the marginalization attitude, separationists of the dominant group anticipate negative outcomes and perceive the non-dominant group as dissimilar. For both attitudes there is also a strong, although not completely consistent, tendency to be proud of being a member of one's group.

The structure of the assimilation attitude makes it clear why assimilationists try to absorb the non-dominant group. They anticipate negative outcomes from the relationship, perceive the non-dominant group as dissimilar, which is contrary to the predicted tendency, and feel less capable of coping with the problems arising from the relationship. In combination with pride to be a member of the dominant group and strong ingroup bias the only option to cope with the situation and to defend their own group is to make the foreigners become like them. They try to achieve this by partaking in relationships with them and demanding they give up their threatening heritage culture. Thinking to be a typical member of one's group differentiates between German assimilationists and Swiss and Slovakian assimilationists. While Swiss and Slovaks with an assimilation attitude think to be

a typical member, Germans with an assimilation attitude feel to be untypical Germans.

Integration, assimilation, separation, and marginalization in the non-dominant group

Although the picture is not as clear as for the dominant group, specific patterns for the non-dominant groups' attitudes can also be identified. When the group boundaries are seen to be impermeable, people of the non-dominant group can mainly choose between separation and marginalization. It depends on their identification with their group whether they decide to separate or to marginalize. Separationists think of themselves as very typical members of their group and they are more likely to take pride in being a member of it. In contrast, individuals with a marginalization attitude seem to look on their group with indifference.

Identification with one's group is also shown to be a valid predictor for assimilation. As expected, individuals who want to assimilate, no longer can identify with their original group, they have to disengage. As a consequence, assimilationists do not feel to be a typical member of their heritage cultural group, they are not proud to be a member of this group, and they do not favour their group.

As shown above, the non-dominant groups vary strongly in the patterns of variables underlying their acculturation attitudes. The selected variables completely failed to distinguish the Hungarians' attitudes. For the other three non-dominant groups the impact of most variables differs, and through this, creating unique patterns of variables for each cultural group. For instance, permeability of group boundaries and typicalness as a member of one's group are particularly important, but they operate differently in those groups. For instance, if Turks in Germany feel to be a typical member of their group and if they perceive the dominant group's boundaries to be impermeable they will choose (or will be forced to choose) integration or separation. Under opposite conditions they will prefer assimilation or marginalization. Quite different tendencies can be observed with former Yugoslavians in Germany. Impermeability of group boundaries and being a typical member of their group support assimilation, separation, and marginalization, whereas former Yugoslavians who perceive permeability and do not feel to be a typical member prefer integration.

To summarize, the acculturation attitudes of the dominant and non-dominant groups can be predicted by the selected variables, with the exception of the Hungarians' attitudes. Although there are some variables which are important throughout (expected outcome and ingroup bias, and to a lesser degree, pride and similarity for the dominant groups, permeability and typicalness for the non-dominant groups), unique patterns of variables are found in each group, indicating that the relationships between dominant and non-dominant groups are different in each country and for each cultural group. The different patterns reflect the cultural diversity of the investigated groups and may make it easier to understand the difficulties people from different cultural groups experience when they have to adapt to each other. Further research should be done to reveal the

conditions for integration, assimilation, separation, and marginalization attitudes of the Hungarians. As the results showed, none of the variables seem to cover the specific situation of the Hungarians in Slovakia. There are some notable differences between the Hungarians and the other non-dominant groups which could count for them being the exception. The Hungarians are the only minority group who are not immigrants. In fact, in former times they were the majority, as they still are in the neighbouring country. Probably, such socio-structural variables could help to reveal the specificity of the Hungarians' attitudes. For instance, vitality theory postulates that, among others, socio-structural variables influence identification with the ingroup and the amount of perceived vitality (Florack, 1995).

In this study we did not collect information about how the attitudes of the dominant and the non-dominant group refer to and affect each other. It would be of interest to analyse whether the acculturation attitudes of the non-dominant group members are influenced by the attitudes they think the dominant group has, and vice versa.

Finally, in further research particular attention should be paid to the contrasting attitudes of dominant and non-dominant groups. As it was shown, in some cases the dominant and the non-dominant groups' attitudes regarding the acculturation process fit together, whereas there were large differences in others. In the relational outcomes model, developed by Bourhis et al. (1993) it is suggested that the larger the differences between the attitudes, the more conflictual the relationship will be. For instance, when the dominant group wants to assimilate and the immigrant group prefers to stay separate, conflict is very probable. Similarly, when the immigrants want to assimilate and the dominant group want to keep them separate, dissatisfaction may appear and cause conflicts. The results of this study seem to support the assumptions derived from this model. The relationships between Turks and Germans and between Hungarians and Slovaks seem to be more conflictual than the relationships between the former Yugoslavians, the Swiss and the Germans, respectively. For further empirical evidence, the number of media reports about discriminative acts towards the particular outgroup as well as the amount of reported aggressive interactions between both groups could be taken as indicators of the degree of the conflict. Certainly, these relationships can be affected by the reasons as to why the non-dominant group came into the host country as well as to the length of their stay. But, as the results of this study show, a conflictual relationship may also arise through anticipation of negative outcomes, perceived dissimilarity between hosts and immigrants, high identification with the respective ingroup, and distinctive preference of one's own group.

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