

Crossing Cultures at School: Interethnic Contact, Perceived Threat, and Students' Attitudes toward Cultural Diversity

Josep Ubalde
Judith Janés
Fernando Senar
Cecilio Lapresta

University of Lleida. Department of Psychology, Sociology and Social Work

0000-0003-1849-8022; josep.ubalde@udl.cat

0000-0002-7870-0547; judit.janes@udl.cat

0000-0002-7885-9670; fernando.senar@udl.cat

0000-0002-3411-7077; cecilio.lapresta@udl.cat



© the authors

Received: 15-10-2024

Accepted: 27-10-2025

Early published: 24-03-2026

Published: 23-04-2026

Recommended citation: UBALDE, Josep; JANÉS, Judith; SENAR, Fernando and LAPRESTA, Cecilio (2026). "Crossing Cultures at School: Interethnic Contact, Perceived Threat, and Students' Attitudes toward Cultural Diversity". *Papers*, 111(2), e3397. <<https://doi.org/10.5565/rev/papers.3397>>

Abstract

This study examines how interethnic contact in schools influences native adolescents' support for the cultural maintenance of immigrant communities. Basing our research on intergroup contact and threat theories, we use the reduction of perceived threat as a benchmark for examining both direct and indirect effects of peer contact. The study distinguishes between three immigrant groups that differ in social status and cultural distance: Latinos, Romanians, and Moroccans. The analysis relies on survey data from 349 native secondary-school students in the Catalan region of Lleida (Spain). Results from a series of regression models reveal that contact with immigrant peers is positively associated with support for cultural maintenance, and this relationship is partially mediated by lower levels of perceived threat. However, these positive effects depend upon the social status of the target group: contact increases support for the cultural maintenance of Latinos and Romanians, but not for Moroccans, who occupy a more devalued position in the local ethnic hierarchy. We found no evidence of a secondary transfer effect across groups. Furthermore, peer contact in school emerges as the most relevant setting for fostering multicultural attitudes, compared with contact with adults or peers outside school. The findings highlight both the potential and the limits of interethnic contact in adolescence, underscoring the need to address status hierarchies and structural segregation to fully realize the integrative potential of diverse school environments.

Keywords: acculturation; cultural maintenance; preserving culture of origin; intergroup contact; cross-group friendships; interethnic; peers; schools; Catalonia

Resumen. *Encuentros culturales en las aulas: Contacto interétnico, amenaza percibida y actitudes del alumnado hacia la diversidad*

Este estudio analiza cómo el contacto interétnico en las escuelas influye en el apoyo de los adolescentes autóctonos a la preservación cultural de los inmigrantes. A partir de la teoría del contacto intergrupal y de la teoría de la amenaza percibida, se exploran tanto los efectos directos como los indirectos del contacto entre iguales a través de la reducción de la amenaza percibida, distinguiendo entre tres grupos de inmigrantes que difieren en estatus social y distancia cultural: latinos, rumanos y marroquíes. El análisis se basa en los datos de una encuesta de 349 estudiantes autóctonos de educación secundaria en la provincia catalana de Lérida (España). Los resultados de una serie de modelos de regresión muestran que el contacto con compañeros inmigrantes se asocia positivamente con el apoyo a la preservación cultural y que esta relación está parcialmente mediada por una reducción del nivel de amenaza percibida. No obstante, estos efectos positivos dependen del estatus social del grupo de referencia: el contacto incrementa el apoyo a la preservación cultural de latinos y rumanos, pero no de marroquíes, quienes ocupan una posición más devaluada en la jerarquía étnica local. Por otro lado, no se hallaron evidencias de un efecto de transferencia secundaria entre grupos. El contacto entre iguales en el ámbito escolar aparece como el contexto más relevante para fomentar actitudes multiculturales, en comparación con el contacto con adultos o con iguales fuera de la escuela. Los resultados ponen de relieve tanto el potencial como los límites del contacto interétnico durante la adolescencia, y subrayan la necesidad de abordar las jerarquías de estatus y la segregación estructural para poder materializar la promesa integradora de los entornos escolares diversos.

Palabras clave: aculturación; mantenimiento cultural; preservación de la cultura de origen; contacto intergrupal; amistades interétnicas; iguales; centros escolares; Cataluña

Summary

- | | |
|--------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. Introduction | 6. Discussion |
| 2. Theoretical framework | 7. Conclusion |
| 3. The present study | Funding and acknowledgments |
| 4. Methods | Bibliographic references |
| 5. Results | |

1. Introduction

The large number of international migrants in today's globalized world has created culturally diverse societies. This diversity has been accompanied by public debates about how ethnic minorities should live in the host country, or, in other words, about how they should acculturate. These debates that do not emerge automatically from diversity itself, but from a complex interplay of political discourse and media framing. Acculturation involves the decisions and orientations of immigrants concerning the adoption of the new country's culture and the maintenance of their heritage culture (Berry, 2001). These orientations are in turn shaped by the broader social environment in which

interethnic relations take place. Research has shown that the receiving society plays a key role in defining the opportunities and constraints of acculturation, as majority attitudes, institutional arrangements, and prevailing discourses about immigration influence how cultural diversity is valued or resisted (Portes & Zhou, 1993; Alba & Nee, 2003; Wimmer, 2008). This means that acculturation is not only about the strategies chosen by immigrants, but also about the extent to which natives support or oppose cultural maintenance. This makes the study of multicultural attitudes central to understanding the process.

Public discourse captured by the media illustrates concerns about cultural accommodation. There is plenty of anecdotal evidence on this issue, such as controversies over the Islamic veil in the classroom, intercultural clashes arising from the celebration of festivities or traditions, or debates surrounding the teaching of immigrant languages or religions in state schools. In recent times, the rise of far-right parties has fuelled these debates, overemphasizing the threat that immigrant culture poses to the culture of the natives (Astor, 2016; Schmuck & Matthes, 2015). Research that is capable of minimizing the effects of this reactionary propaganda and focused on mechanisms that promote multicultural attitudes and support for immigrant cultural maintenance is therefore of great importance.

This study examines adolescent natives' support for immigrants' cultural maintenance. We focus on the dimension of acculturation (i.e., maintenance rather than adoption) for two reasons linked to the specific aims of our study. First, while both adoption and maintenance have been shown to contribute to integration, the maintenance dimension is especially contested in public debates and often generates stronger resistance among natives. Examining native views on cultural maintenance therefore allows us to address the dimension where tensions and conflicts around multicultural coexistence are most likely to emerge (Alba & Nee, 2003). Secondly, previous research shows that natives tend to favour assimilation over cultural maintenance (Van Oudenhoven & Eisses, 1998; Verkuyten et al., 2014; Grajzl et al., 2018), which can hinder processes of integration (Zagefka et al., 2011). Focusing on maintenance enables us to capture how natives respond to the possibility of immigrants preserving their heritage culture, a central issue in the negotiation of social boundaries in increasingly diverse societies (Wimmer, 2008). These reasons are especially relevant in adolescence. As they get older, native adolescents might more strongly view immigrants as a threat to their own culture and become less tolerant and accepting of them (Abrams & Rutland, 2008).

Intergroup contact theory and group threat theory have proven useful in understanding and improving intercultural relations. They offer important insights into the dynamics of acculturation, and more specifically, native preferences (Goedert et al. 2019; Hässler et al., 2019; Tip et al., 2012; Verkuyten, 2009; Verkuyten & Martinovic, 2006). This article contributes to the existing literature in three ways: firstly, by exploring the role of peer contact in schools (as opposed to other types of contact) in promoting multicultural attitudes; secondly, by analysing the mediating role of perceived threat; and thirdly,

by conducting a multi-group analysis that distinguishes between three social groups of different social statuses and cultural distances, as well as testing the transferability hypothesis between groups. Specifically, it examines the support of the native-born population for the cultures of the three main immigrant groups in Lleida, the Spanish city where the study was conducted: Latinos, Romanians, and Moroccans.

By integrating perspectives of sociology and social psychology, our study offers a comprehensive analysis of how social hierarchies and intergroup processes interact to shape attitudes toward cultural diversity. We believe that this combined approach enriches the understanding of how interethnic contact can reduce prejudice and encourage multicultural attitudes in educational settings.

2. Theoretical framework

2.1. *Acculturation preferences*

Berry's (2001) model stands out as one of the most widely recognized frameworks for understanding acculturation. This model delineates the acculturation preferences or strategies of immigrants using two key dimensions: the maintenance of their original culture and interaction with members of the majority group. Combining these dimensions results in the widely recognized four-fold scheme which comprises integration, assimilation, separation and marginalization. Other models inspired by Berry's framework, such as that proposed by Bourhis et al. (1997), suggest improved conceptual coherence by replacing the 'contact' dimension of acculturation with the adoption of the culture of their new country of residence. These acculturation models were developed as a simplifying framework to make a complex process researchable. The four-fold scheme allows researchers and practitioners to categorize general attitudes and outcomes at a population level. It is not intended to perfectly describe every individual's intricate, fluid, and often contradictory lived experiences. The 'cultural blocks' are analytical categories, not ontological claims about the true nature of culture.

While Berry's model and its derivatives provide a useful heuristic for categorizing acculturation strategies, their explanatory power increases when situated within the broader social context. Acculturation preferences are conditioned by the wider social environment in which interethnic relations unfold. The receiving society shapes both the opportunities and the limits of acculturation, since majority attitudes, institutional arrangements, and dominant discourses about immigration determine whether cultural diversity is valued or resisted (Portes & Zhou, 1993; Alba & Nee, 2003; Wimmer, 2008). Acculturation, therefore, cannot be understood solely as the outcome of individual strategies by immigrants, but must also be seen as contingent on native support for, or opposition to, cultural maintenance – making the analysis of multicultural attitudes a central task in understanding the process. More specifically, and drawing on Berry's acculturation model, it has been noted that immigrants' acculturation

strategies and experiences may be significantly influenced by the acculturation preferences of members of the host society (Zagefka et al., 2011), and that the preferences of the majority group members are usually related to the social status of the minority groups (Montreuil & Bourhis, 2001).

This finding can also be interpreted through anthropological theories that emphasize how ethnic hierarchies are socially constructed and maintained. Barth's (1969) classic account of ethnic boundaries highlights that intergroup relations are not shaped by intrinsic cultural traits, but by the social boundaries that define who belongs and who is excluded. Wimmer's (2008) theory of the making and unmaking of boundaries further explains how these distinctions are reproduced through political discourse and institutional practices (including schools) that allocate groups to unequal positions in the social hierarchy. In the Spanish context, for example, such processes help account for the persistently subordinated position of Moroccans relative to Latin Americans. Whereas Latin American migrants are discursively incorporated into a narrative of *Hispanidad* – supported by a shared language, Catholic religion, and historical ties – Moroccans are more often racialized and associated with Islam, which marks them as culturally distant and symbolically threatening.

Interethnic contact and perceived threat are two of the most influential mechanisms shaping intergroup relations. Here, we explore their potential to understand support for immigrant cultural maintenance in a context of existing status hierarchies and intergroup demarcation processes.

2.2. Intergroup contact theory

Contact theory is broadly recognized as a means of improving intergroup relations. The principal idea is that contact between members of different groups can increase mutual recognition and respect. The initial formalization of the theory by Allport (1954) established several conditions for effective contact (i.e. equal status, cooperation, common goals and institutional support). Empirical research indicates that, while Allport's conditions increase the effectiveness of interethnic contact, it can also be effective without them (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). Both experimental and observational studies from a variety of situations and contexts have shown that contact between majority and minority members improves outgroup attitudes, tolerance, warmth, and affect (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006; Lemmer & Wagner, 2015; Khalil & Naumann, 2022). This is because contact allows for gathering first-hand information about the outgroup, discovering unexpected parallels, and debunking unfavourable stereotypes about that group.

It is less clear to what extent contact with one immigrant group can lead to a more favourable attitude towards other groups. On the one hand, studies show evidence of what is called “the secondary transfer effect” (Pettigrew, 2009): contact with one minority group can foster more positive attitudes towards other groups (Hindriks et al., 2014). On the other hand, researchers caution that such effects are conditional rather than automatic.

Marrow et al. (2019), for example, found that interracial contact between US-born Whites and Blacks only increases receptivity towards different immigrant groups among US-born Whites, and not among Black communities.

In adolescence, schools represent a particularly important context for interethnic contact (Wölfer et al., 2019). More specifically, Janmaat (2015) views schools, and classrooms in particular, as a microenvironment in which Allport's conditions clearly apply: "In educational settings pupils are indeed equal in status (at least formally), the contact often concerns activities involving common goals and cooperation (such as team sports), and the setting is closely supervised by a teacher". Many researchers have analysed whether ethnically diverse schools and classrooms improve intergroup attitudes, but the findings have been mixed, leading to unclear conclusions (Bubritzki et al., 2017, Dejaeghere et al., 2012; Janmaat, 2015; Vervoort et al., 2011). Direct contact in schools has been analysed to a lesser extent, but existing studies commonly show a positive effect. Wagner et al. (1989), analysing the antipathy of native German schoolchildren toward Turkish children, found that contact with them in school and during leisure time reduces antipathy. Bekhuis et al. (2013) found that positive direct contact reduces desired ethnic distance between minority and majority groups in the Netherlands. Contact in schools was the only context to have a significant effect; sports clubs or neighbourhood activities did not show the same impact. Ubalde et al. (2024) found that interethnic friendships positively reduce anti-immigrant attitudes in adolescents across several countries, effectively counteracting broader countrywide prejudices.

Some studies have examined the role of intergroup contact in explaining multicultural attitudes, integrative preferences, or support for outgroup cultural maintenance. The first study, by Verkuyten and Martinovic (2006), shows the significant effect of outgroup friendships on the endorsement of multiculturalism in a sample of adolescents in the Netherlands. Van Acker and Vanbeselaere (2011) also consider intergroup contact in their explanatory model of acculturation preferences among native Flemish students. They show that the quality of contact indirectly increases support for cultural maintenance via outgroup affect. In contrast, the quantity of contact does not yield any significant indirect effect. A recent study analysed the effect of cross-group friendship on the native population's acculturation preferences using panel data (Hässler et al., 2019). The authors show that cross-group friendship improves integration by increasing support for the adoption of the host country's culture (via perceived group similarity) and for outgroup culture maintenance (via outgroup trust). Interethnic contact has also been shown to improve multicultural attitudes regarding specific aspects such as language or religious practices (Ubalde et al. 2025; Sixtus et al., 2019).

Research on interethnic contact in Catalonia also merits mention. Wilson-Daily et al. (2018) conducted an analysis in Catalan secondary schools that demonstrated that while interpersonal contact with immigrant peers is associated with more positive attitudes towards immigration and diversity, the

school environment is also important. Contact may coexist with intergroup conflict, and the quality of peer relations is crucial in shaping whether contact has positive or negative effects. A recent paper by Ubalde et al. (2025) has extended the scope of inquiry by examining the relationship between contact and acculturation attitudes in the bilingual setting of Catalonia. Their findings suggest that interethnic contact not only affects general social attitudes, but also contributes to shaping views on language maintenance and reciprocity, highlighting the specific role of Catalonia's dual language environment. Finally, a survey of the general population by Rodon and Franco-Guillén (2014) shows that contact with immigrants tends to reduce prejudice, although the effect is moderated by the broader socio-economic context, particularly during periods of crisis.

2.3. Group Threat Theory

The central tenet of threat theory is that members of a majority group will react with hostility towards minority groups if they feel they represent a threat to the privileges or resources they consider their own (Blumer, 1958). Literature on group threat has distinguished between realistic and symbolic threats (Bobo & Hutchings, 1996). Realistic threats are mainly concerned with a threat to the actual – political, economic or physical – welfare of the ingroup, whereas symbolic threats focus on dangers to the ingroup culture and worldview. Both approaches have demonstrated the relevance of threat perceptions in predicting interethnic attitudes and prejudice in a variety of contexts, ethnic groups and levels of analysis (Stephan & Stephan, 2000; Schneider, 2008).

Certain researchers have applied this theory to comprehend acculturation preferences or multicultural attitudes among natives or majority groups. For example, in a study of multicultural attitudes among Dutch adolescents, Verkuyten (2009) found that perceived outgroup threat negatively predicts support for multiculturalism, suggesting a mediating role for national identification. Similarly, Tip et al. (2012) found that perceived acculturation maintenance by immigrants indirectly reduces support for multiculturalism among natives, due to an increase in outgroup threat. Evidence regarding the type of threat is mixed: in the context of South American immigration in Chile, where there are considerable similarities between native and immigrant cultures, realistic threat linked to economic difficulties is a relevant predictor of multiculturalism (Sirlopú & Van Oudenhoven, 2013). However, Goedert et al. (2019) found that cultural security had a significant impact on predicting unwelcome acculturation orientation in the culturally diverse setting of Luxembourg, whereas economic security did not.

Threat impact on interethnic attitudes has led social researchers to find ways to mitigate it. Interethnic contact (see above) has emerged as a potential solution, fostering familiarity with outgroups and consequently reducing concerns about the possible threats posed by their members. Several studies

have demonstrated the potential of contact to reduce negative attitudes and prejudice through threat reduction (McLaren, 2003; Pettigrew et al., 2010). However, this mediation model has rarely been analysed in relation to improvements in multicultural attitudes or support for outgroup cultural maintenance. Furthermore, the role of peer contact in schools as a specific type of contact remains relatively unexplored.

3. The present study

3.1. Context: Ethnic diversity in Catalan schools

This research analyses data from Lleida, one of the four provinces of Catalonia, an autonomous community of Spain. Studying acculturation preferences and contact in Lleida is particularly interesting due to the convergence of three factors: high immigration rates, the ethnic diversity of groups with different social statuses, and native sensitivity towards cultural issues (especially language). These aspects are outlined below.

Since the early 2000s, Catalonia has undergone one of the fastest demographic transformations in Southern Europe, with the foreign-born population increasing from barely 3% in 2000 to 16% by 2020 (Idescat, 2020), making it a primary destination for international migration within Spain. This influx has diversified languages, cultures and religions (Alarcón, 2010; Garreta, 2006, Lapresta-Rey et al., 2024). Catalan policies have combined social inclusion, civic participation and the promotion of the Catalan language to foster equal opportunity and social cohesion – an approach known as the ‘Catalan Way’ of Integration (Casademont and Serra, 2021).

Catalonia’s immigration has strongly affected schools, which must integrate students from diverse linguistic and socio-economic backgrounds. Education policies have introduced language support and adaptations to diversity (Lapresta-Rey et al., 2024), yet evidence on academic outcomes remains mixed (Bayona & Domingo, 2018), as results are shaped by demographic concentration, school composition, socio-economic conditions and policy design.

Studies that situate interethnic contact within structural and policy contexts emphasize that opportunities for meaningful contact are unevenly distributed. Research on school composition and policy in Catalonia documents increasing segregation of migrant students and the political absence of systematic desegregation policies (Bonal, 2012; Balletbò et al. 2023). Bonal’s influential critique argues that education policy has often operated as “politics of non-decision”, permitting concentrations of disadvantaged and immigrant students, and thereby limiting the structural opportunities for cross-group friendships to form (Bonal, 2012).

Students with a recent migratory background account for approximately a quarter of the student population (26.2%) (Bayona & Domingo, 2018). The majority of these students are born in Spain, but are the children of parents

born abroad. The student population is highly diverse, with students having origins in various continents and countries (Bayona & Domingo, 2018).

In the present study, native students were asked about three ethnic groups: Moroccans, Romanians, and Latinos. The focus was based on both demographic and sociological considerations. Firstly, these are the three largest ethnonational groups in the region of Lleida. According to the INE Annual Population Census (2020), they account for 22.1%, 28.8%, and 12.5% of the population respectively (in the case of Latinos, those of Colombian origin alone would rank fifth on the list of countries). This numerical significance ensures that native adolescents are highly likely to encounter peers from these countries in their schools and neighbourhoods.

Secondly, these groups clearly differ in cultural distance (language, religion, tradition) and social status. Moroccans come from Africa, speak various Arabic dialects, and are predominantly Muslim. Romanian immigrants come from Eastern Europe, and their country has been a member of the European Union since 2007. They have been in Spain for a shorter period than Moroccans, speak Romanian, and are predominantly Orthodox. Finally, Latinos come from various Central and South American countries, speak Spanish (one of the official languages in Catalonia), are mostly Catholic like the host society, and arrived in Catalonia more recently than the other two groups.

Some studies have analysed the attitudes and stereotypes of natives towards these target groups. Immigrants of Arab or Islamic descent appear to be the least favoured outgroup, with whom people want to maintain the greatest social distance, and about whom the most unfavourable stereotypes are held (López-Rodríguez et al., 2014). According to a survey by the Centre for Sociological Research (CIS) (2017), Moroccans are also the immigrant group towards whom most people in Catalonia seem to have the greatest antipathy. Romanians are in second place, although with a significantly smaller proportion, and immigrants from Latin American countries (taken as a whole) to an even lesser extent. By comparing these three groups, the study can examine how social status and cultural distance shape native support for cultural maintenance, and to test whether the effects of interethnic contact vary across groups that are differently positioned in the host society.

Finally, the choice of these groups is linked to the labels that circulate in the host society and in the native imaginary (depending on the researchers' knowledge of the field). Clearly, referring to Romanians, Moroccans, or Latinos entails simplifying a wide ethnic diversity and operating within a conceptual framework that takes for granted the link between identity and territory (Gupta & Ferguson, 1992). Nevertheless, since our aim is to analyse native attitudes towards cultural diversity, using these categories can help capture the social perception and the stereotypes at play. Origin-based labels are analytically useful because they reflect how natives tend to assess and compare the predominant ethnicities associated with those origins, making it possible to examine how attitudes differ depending on the relative positioning of each group in the host society.

3.2. *Aims and hypotheses*

The present study aims to enhance existing knowledge in two ways. Firstly, we examine the overall impact of school peer contact on native support for immigrant cultural maintenance. Despite previous studies demonstrating the importance of interethnic contact in schools for reducing prejudice or improving affect, there is limited evidence regarding its effect on supporting cultural maintenance (acculturation attitudes). Furthermore, we compare the effect of contact with peers at school with two other types of contact (adults and out-of-school peers) and across three target groups with different social statuses and varying degrees of cultural distance with respect to the native population (Latinos, Moroccans, and Romanians).

Secondly, we investigate the secondary transfer hypothesis and the ability of interethnic contact to reduce the effect of perceived threat on support for cultural maintenance. To our knowledge, no previous study has examined the secondary transfer effect by focusing on cultural aspects, nor has it explored the mediating model of contact-threat-support for cultural maintenance.

Following the literature review and these research aims, four main hypotheses are formulated for this study. The first anticipates finding a significant effect of peer interethnic contact on support for cultural maintenance (H1). As previously mentioned, several studies have indicated that interethnic contact increases pro-multiculturalism attitudes, at least indirectly, so a similar effect is expected regarding support for the cultural maintenance of specific ethnic groups. Contact theory considers similar status between groups to be a precondition for effective contact, so we anticipate that the effect will differ between the three target groups (H2). Evidence regarding the secondary transfer effect is mixed and appears to be contingent on various factors related to group status, which is why we propose a null hypothesis in this regard. That is to say, contact with members of one ethnic group does not translate into greater support for the maintenance of other groups (H3). Finally, we expect to find a significant indirect contact effect on support for maintenance via perceived threat reduction (H4). This hypothesis is derived from the combination of contact, threat, and acculturation theories.

4. Methods

4.1. *Data collection*

A total of 569 secondary school students from six schools in Lleida (Spain) were surveyed in 2019. An attempt was made to select schools whose profile – in terms of type (public or private) and demographic composition (% indigenous population) – closely resembled that of the entire territorial region of Lleida (Regió de Ponent). Public schools make up 81% of all secondary schools in the Lleida region (Generalitat de Catalunya, 2020). In the study sample, five schools were public and one was private, meaning 83% of the schools were public. The proportion of foreign-origin immigrants in the region is 18% (Idescat, 2020), while in our sample, this figure rises to 38%.

In each school, all Year 9 and Year 10 students participated in the study. These students are between 14 and 16 years old. We chose this age group because adolescence is a particularly formative stage for the development of intergroup attitudes (Abrams and Rutland, 2008). Furthermore, they are on the cusp of making decisions about their future pathways (continuing education or entering the labour market), and this transition influences how they think about their role in society and their interactions with diverse groups. For the present article, as previously mentioned, we focus on native students ($N=349$). The average age was 15 ± 0.79 ; 50.7% were girls, and 68.5% lived in families where neither parent had higher education.

The students completed questionnaire in their classrooms, and most took approximately an hour to complete it. Two trained researchers supervised the process and were able to answer questions. The questionnaire included questions about sociodemographic information, acculturation strategies and preferences, interethnic contact, and multicultural attitudes. Participation in the questionnaire was voluntary and required prior parental approval. The data retrieved remain confidential and anonymous. Ethical standards regarding the questionnaire's development and the overall process were in line with the guidelines of the Ethics Board of the University of Lleida.

4.2. Measurements

This study focused on three measurements. The following section describes in detail how they were obtained, with descriptive statistics presented in Table 1.

Support for immigrants' cultural maintenance. We followed previous work on natives' acculturation preferences (Piontkowski et al., 2000; Van Acker & Vanbeselaere, 2011), but the present study focuses exclusively on support for cultural maintenance (not adoption). Although others have relied on single-item measures, we used several items to improve measurement reliability. Respondents were provided with a list of ten domains to consider: in the classroom (specifically with teachers), in the playground, at home with parents, at home with siblings, with friends outside school, with other people outside school, with unfamiliar adults (in shops, the street, etc.), and in their leisure spaces. Respondents were then asked to consider the extent to which they would be willing to accept cultural maintenance for the three ethnic groups (Latinos, Romanians and Moroccans) regarding each of these domains. The instrument used a 5-point Likert-type scale, ranging from 1 (not at all) to 5 (totally). The answers for the ten domains were averaged to obtain the support for cultural maintenance scale. Internal consistency was good for the scales of the three target groups ($\alpha=.88$ in all three cases).

Interethnic contact. Respondents were provided with a list of three different types of relationships: school peers, adults and other out-of-school peers. For each of them, and for each ethnic group, respondents were asked about the degree of contact (frequency of contact). The instrument used a 5-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (never) to 5 (always).

Table 1. Descriptive statistics of the main variables

| | Latinos | | Romanians | | Moroccans | |
|-------------------------|-------------|-----|-------------|-----|-------------|-----|
| | Mean (SD) | N | Mean (SD) | N | Mean (SD) | N |
| Support for maintenance | 3.40 (.76) | 334 | 3.41 (.75) | 349 | 3.38 (.77) | 349 |
| Peer contact | 3.01 (1.50) | 331 | 3.42 (1.37) | 347 | 3.47 (1.36) | 347 |
| Perceived threat | 3.15 (.87) | 347 | 3.15 (.87) | 347 | 3.15 (.87) | 347 |

Source: Own elaboration

Perceived threat. As discussed above, there is a distinction between realistic and symbolic identity threat. This study attempts to capture these two kinds of perceived threat with two questions: “The unity of this country is weakened by people of different ethnic and cultural backgrounds sticking to their customs” and “It is easy to have problems when there are different ethnic and cultural groups in a society”. Although these two questions were originally part of a multicultural ideology scale, they also reflect perceived symbolic identity and realistic threat to a high degree. The instrument used a 5-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (totally agree) to 5 (totally disagree). These questions are the only ones that do not distinguish between ethnic targets, i.e. the perceived threat posed by immigrants in a general sense. Previous work has shown that both types of threat are tied together by an underlying theme, are correlated, and that both exert an influence on attitudes towards minority groups (Stephan and Stephan, 2000; Tip et al., 2012; Verkuyten, 2009). Thus, following previous work, we averaged both answers to account for an integrated measure of threat. It is worth noting that these survey items, which reproduce hostile ideas towards immigrants and diversity, could in some way, contribute to validating them. However, we believe this ethical issue is not particularly problematic, as they constituted a minority within the overall set of questions, and they were included among others which were positively phrased.

4.3. Analysis

We estimate the total effect of interethnic contact on support for maintenance by using an OLS regression approach. Following previous studies, beta coefficients are used to indicate the change in support due to differences in the degree of contact among natives. Models with and without control variables are computed for each target group. Controls include sex, age and parents’ educational background. We use school-fixed effects instead of random effects to fully account for school-specific differences. In addition, two OLS regression models for each target group were computed to estimate the indirect effect of interethnic contact through threat. One involved the outcome being conditional on the mediator and exposure, and another with only the mediator being conditional on the exposure. The bootstrapped product method provided the estimate of indirect effect from the coefficients of these two models (Preacher & Hayes 2008).

5. Results

In all three target groups, there appears to be some support for maintenance (Table 1). All groups receive similar support (\bar{x} =3.40, 3.41, 3.38 for Latinos, Romanians and Moroccans respectively). There is a statistically significant, albeit small, difference between support for cultural maintenance of Romanians and Latinos with respect to Moroccans ($t(348)=-2.0, p=.04$).

Table 2 shows the effects of interethnic contact with school peers on support for cultural maintenance, both from a simple model with only this predictor and from a multivariate model that includes control variables. We can see that contact with Moroccans did not have a significant effect on support for Moroccan cultural maintenance. In contrast, we do find that contact with Latinos and Romanians significantly increases support for maintenance (both with and without control variables). The effect is similar for both groups, with no statistically significant differences ($t(685)=0.47, p=.63$) and there is only a slight decrease after controlling for all sociodemographic variables.

In subsequent models, we included two further types of interethnic contact. The coefficients are reported in Table 3. As can be seen, both with and without controls, the only type of interethnic contact that has a significant effect on support for cultural maintenance is contact with school peers (although the non-significant effect for the Moroccan group persists). Neither contact with adults nor with other Moroccan, Latino or Romanian out-of-school peers has a significant effect. This does not necessarily mean that, for example, contact with adults cannot have a beneficial effect. Rather, this result indicates that any benefits these other forms of interethnic contact may bring are already captured by contact with peers at school, which renders them irrelevant.

We then considered the extent to which interethnic contact may lead not only to greater support for cultural maintenance with the outgroup with whom one has peer relationships, but also to support for the cultural maintenance

Table 2. Regression coefficients for interethnic contact (school peers) on support for maintenance

| | Latinos | | Romanians | | Moroccans | |
|---------------------------|--------------|-------------------------------|--------------|-------------------------------|-------------|-------------------------------|
| | Coeff. (SE) | Coeff. (SE) after controlling | Coeff. (SE) | Coeff. (SE) after controlling | Coeff. (SE) | Coeff. (SE) after controlling |
| Contact with school peers | .10 (.03)*** | .07 (.03)** | .13 (.03)*** | .12 (.03)*** | .01 (.03) | .00 (.03) |
| R2 | .04 | .10 | .05 | .11 | .01 | .03 |
| N | 334 | 334 | 349 | 349 | 349 | 349 |

Note: The controls are sex, age, and parents' higher educational level. Coeff. refers to unstandardized regression coefficients. The differences in sample sizes are due to missing responses either in support for maintenance or contact with school peers. None of the other variables have missing values.

*** $p < 0.001$; ** $p < 0.01$; * $p < 0.05$

Source: Own elaboration

Table 3. Regression coefficients for interethnic contact (school peers, adults and other peers) on support for maintenance

| | Latinos | | Romanians | | Moroccans | |
|-------------------|------------------------|-------------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------|-------------------------------|
| | Coeff. (SE) | Coeff. (SE) after controlling | Coeff. (SE) | Coeff. (SE) after controlling | Coeff. (SE) | Coeff. (SE) after controlling |
| With school peers | .09 (.04) [*] | .07 (.04) [*] | .12 (.03) ^{***} | .11 (.04) ^{**} | -.05 (.03) | -.05 (.03) |
| With adults | -.02 (.06) | -.05 (.06) | .00 (.05) | .00 (.05) | .08 (.04) | .08 (.04) |
| With other peers | .05 (.05) | .06 (.05) | .03 (.04) | .05 (.04) | .05 (.04) | .05 (.04) |
| R2 | .04 | .10 | .06 | .12 | .03 | |
| N | 334 | 334 | 349 | 349 | 349 | 349 |

Note: The controls are sex, age, and parents' higher educational level. Coeff. refers to unstandardized regression coefficients. The differences in sample sizes are due to missing responses either in support for maintenance or interethnic contact. None of the other variables have missing values.

***p<0.001; **p<0.01; *p<0.05

Source: Own elaboration

of other ethnolnational groups. In other words, we explored whether the positive effects of peer contact can be 'transferred' to other ethnic groups. Table 4 sheds light on this question, showing the effect of contact with different ethnic groups on support for cultural maintenance, beyond the frequency of contact with members of that same group. As can be seen, a significant effect of contact only exists when it occurs with members of the group being evaluated. For example, contact with Latin American classmates does not have a relevant effect on support for the cultural maintenance of Romanians (and vice versa).

Table 5 shows the influence of contact on support for cultural maintenance, with perceived threat as a mediator variable. In this mediation analysis,

Table 4. Regression coefficients for interethnic contact with different groups on support for maintenance

| | Latinos | Romanians | Moroccans |
|-----------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| | Coeff. (SE) after controlling | Coeff. (SE) after controlling | Coeff. (SE) after controlling |
| Contact with Latino peers | .06 (.03) [*] | .04 (.03) | .00 (.03) |
| Contact with Romanian peers | .06 (.04) | .09 (.04) [*] | .02 (.03) |
| Contact with Moroccan peers | .01 (.04) | .02 (.04) | .00 (.03) |
| R2 | .10 | .11 | .04 |
| N | 331 | 347 | 346 |

Note: The controls are sex, age, and parents' higher educational level. Coeff. refers to unstandardized regression coefficients. The differences in sample sizes are due to missing responses either in support for maintenance or interethnic contact. None of the other variables have missing values.

***p<0.001; **p<0.01; *p<0.05

Source: Own elaboration

Table 5. Regression coefficients for interethnic contact and threat

| | Immigrants as a whole | |
|---------------------------|----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| | Threat as outcome Coeff. (SE) | Support as outcome Coeff. (SE) |
| Contact with school peers | -.15(.04)*** | .07 (.03)* |
| Perceived threat | | -.11 (.04)** |
| R2 | .08 | .11 |
| N | 347 | 347 |

Note: In both models, the controls are sex, age, and parents' higher educational level. Coeff. refers to unstandardized regression coefficients.

***p<0.001; **p<0.01; *p<0.05

Source: Own elaboration

we averaged support and contact across the three target groups because the threat variable was measured for 'immigrants as a whole' (rather than for each immigrant group). As the table shows, there is a statistically significant negative coefficient for perceived threat on support for maintenance; in other words, an increase in perceived threat implies a reduction in support for cultural maintenance. There is also a statistically significant negative effect of interethnic contact with immigrant peers on perceived threat. Finally, the averaged contact variable remains statistically significant in predicting support for cultural maintenance after adjusting for threat. Thus, perceived threat reduces support for cultural maintenance, and in turn, contact with immigrant peers reduces threat. The significant indirect effect of interethnic contact provides evidence of the path through threat. More specifically, the bootstrapped unstandardized indirect effect of interethnic contact on support for maintenance through threat is above zero, with $\beta=.02$, 95% CI [.003, .032]. Thus, a portion of the effect of interethnic contact on increasing support for cultural maintenance (18.67%) is due to a reduction in perceived threat.

6. Discussion

This objective of this article is to examine the extent to which interethnic contact influences native adolescents' support for the cultural maintenance of immigrants. Despite significant findings in previous studies, a thorough analysis is still necessary of the role of contact with school peers. Various methodologies have been employed in the present study to accomplish this objective. Firstly, by determining the overall impact of peer contact and by comparing it to the effect of other forms of interethnic interaction (i.e. adults and other peers outside school). Secondly, by analysing the effect of contact through perceived threat. Literature studying prejudice typically combines contact and threat theories as a potential pathway for contact to reduce threat.

We explored this mediation model here to gain a better understanding of the impact of contact on acculturation attitudes. And finally, by distinguishing between three target ethnic groups (Latinos, Romanians and Moroccans) that differ in social status and cultural distance.

At the outset, a moderate level of support for cultural maintenance was found for all three target groups. Despite the distinct characteristics and circumstances of these groups, the support gap was minimal and primarily between Moroccans and the other two groups (the differences in support for Latinos and Romanians were indistinguishable from zero). As stated in H1, interethnic contact (with school peers) has a significant positive effect on support for maintenance. Contact with Romanians and Latinos clearly enhances support for cultural maintenance, which is consistent with research analysing cultural maintenance (Hässler et al. 2019). Although some studies have identified a threat posed by the relative size of the minority groups in the classrooms (e.g. Vervoort et al. 2011 or Dejaeghere et al. 2012), our results suggest that more direct contact leads to more support for cultural maintenance in accordance with other studies on the reduction of prejudice or cultural distance (Wagner et al., 1989; Bekhuis et al. 2013, Ubalde et al., 2025).

However, as indicated in H2, this was not found to be the case in the context of contact with Moroccans. This finding may be interpreted by considering the status of Moroccans as a social group. In other words, interethnic contact alone is unlikely to resolve the lower acculturation attitudes towards minority groups that have low social status (Montreuil & Bourhis, 2001). In addition, we have not observed any transfer effect (Pettigrew, 2009) as stated in H3. That is, interethnic contact has only been shown to increase support for cultural maintenance when it occurs with the members of the group being evaluated, rather than with other groups. This indicates that it is advisable to analyse the impact of contact on specific groups rather than generalizing, at least regarding multicultural attitudes.

Another relevant finding of our research is the significance of peer contact as a type of interethnic contact. While contact with Romanian and Latin American classmates significantly increases support for maintenance, contact with adults or peers in other contexts does not have a significant effect. There are two simple explanations for this discrepancy: the school context is a discursive space that cultivates respect for cultural diversity, and cultural diversity is rhetorically valued. Moreover, the school, particularly within the classroom, is conceptualized as a microenvironment in which Allport's conditions for effective intergroup contact are evident.

The present study also provides evidence of the indirect impact of interethnic contact through the reduction of perceived threat. We found that peer contact has an indirect effect on support for immigrants (as a whole). While this is consistent with H4, the direct impact of interethnic contact was clearly greater and suggests alternative pathways beyond the reduction of perceived threat.

Notwithstanding these findings, we acknowledge some key limitations. Firstly, the reliance on a correlational study design prevents definitive con-

clusions regarding causal relationships. However, after adjusting for several sociodemographic variables, controlling for perceived threat, and comparing the target groups, the results remained consistent. Additionally, the findings are in accordance with previous studies. Thus, they can be regarded as substantively reliable but should be taken with caution. Similarly, there is the concern of social desirability bias so common in social surveys, as students may have been inclined to express more inclusive attitudes toward diversity. Although the possibility of social desirability bias cannot be entirely ruled out, several features of the research design help to mitigate this concern: the questionnaire was completed anonymously, and students were explicitly reminded that there were no right or wrong answers and that they should express their opinions freely.

Another limitation is the one-single-item measurement of symbolic and realistic perceived threat. Multiple items would allow for more detailed distinctions between individuals. The low indirect effect of contact through perceived threat may indeed be associated to this improvable measurement.

Finally, future research could benefit from complementing survey data with qualitative approaches. While quantitative measures are useful for capturing broad trends, they invariably provide a somewhat simplified perspective of complex processes such as cultural negotiation or the relational dynamics that unfold in classrooms. Qualitative data such as interviews can account for the everyday experiences through which students encounter diversity – whether in the form of subtle microaggressions, emerging solidarities, or adaptation strategies.

7. Conclusion

This article began by reflecting on the importance of studying the conditions that improve the acceptance of diversity in multicultural societies, especially with respect to young people. In this regard, we thoroughly examined contact theory as a means of enhancing intercultural attitudes. The results obtained show a positive effect of contact for two of the three ethnic groups about which native students were questioned. Moreover, it appears that the most important form of contact for improving multicultural attitudes is in school.

The study concludes that interethnic contact between natives and immigrants in schools must be encouraged. Relationships with school peers are clearly one key source of effective contact for promoting positive intercultural attitudes, and schools have been shown to be a crucial environment for understanding the formation of acculturation attitudes. Simple practices in schools may include rearranging desk chairs to bring schoolchildren of different ethnicities together, as well as organizing recreational or pedagogical activities that require the integration of immigrant and native students. Naturally, policies that prioritize the prevention of segregation at school would also promote the possibility of interethnic contact to a great extent.

While our research emphasizes the value of schools as spaces of interethnic contact, critical intercultural perspectives (Walsh, 2008) remind us that genui-

ne inclusion requires not only fostering interaction but also the examination of institutional structures that can perpetuate inequalities, including segregation, linguistic hierarchies, and curricular biases. Integrating these insights would enable future research and educational practice to address both the power relations that shape contact, and focus on the opportunities it presents.

Funding and acknowledgments

This publication is part of the R&D&I project/grant PID2023-151049NB-I00, funded by MICIU/AEI/10.13039/501100011033 and ERDF, EU.

This paper has also benefited from the careful reading and expert recommendations of two anonymous reviewers. We thank them for their generosity in sharing their time and expertise.

Bibliographic references

- ABRAMS, D. & RUTLAND, A. (2008). "The Development of Subjective Group Dynamics". In: LEVY, S.R. & KILLEN, M (Eds.), *Intergroup Attitudes and Relations in Childhood through Adulthood* (pp. 47–65): Oxford University Press.
<https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780195189742.003.0004>
- ALBA, R. & NEE, V. (2003). *Remaking the American Mainstream: Assimilation and Contemporary Immigration*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- ALLPORT, G. W. (1954). *The Nature of Prejudice*. Addison-Wesley.
- ALARCÓN, A. (2010). "Joves d'origen immigrant a Catalunya: necessitats i demandes. Una aproximació sociològica". Departament d'Acció Social i Ciutadania.
- ASTOR, A. (2016). "Social Position and Place-Protective Action in a New Immigration Context: Understanding Anti-Mosque Campaigns in Catalonia". *International Migration Review*, 50(1), 95–132.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/imre.12115>
- BALLETBÒ, I. G.; BENITO, R. & ALBAIGÉS, B. (2023). "School Segregation at the Local Level: Contextual and Institutional Factors in Catalonia". *Revista Española de Investigaciones Sociológicas (REIS)*, 183(183), 39–56.
<https://doi.org/10.5477/cis/reis.183.39>
- BAYONA, J. & DOMINGO VALLS, A. (2018). "El fracàs escolar dels descendents de la immigració a Catalunya: més que una assignatura pendent". Centre d'Estudis Demogràfics.
<https://doi.org/10.46710/ced.pd.cat.11>
- BONAL, X. (2012). "Education policy and school segregation of migrant students in Catalonia: The politics of non-decision-making". *Journal of Education Policy*, 27(3), 401–421.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/02680939.2011.645168>
- BEKHUIS, H.; RUITER, S. & COENDERS, M. (2013). "Xenophobia among Youngsters: The Effect of Inter-Ethnic Contact". *European Sociological Review*, 29(2), 229–242.
<https://doi.org/10.1093/esr/jcr057>
- BERRY, J. W. (2001). "A Psychology of Immigration". *Journal of Social Issues*, 57(3), 615–631.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/0022-4537.00231>

- BLUMER, H. (1958). "Race Prejudice as a Sense of Group Position". *Pacific Sociological Review*, 1, 3–7.
<https://doi.org/10.2307/1388607>
- BOBO, L. & HUTCHINGS, V. L. (1996). "Perceptions of Racial Group Competition: Extending Blumer's Theory of Group Position to a Multiracial Social Context". *American Sociological Review*, 61(6), 951–972.
<https://doi.org/10.2307/2096302>
- BOURHIS, R. Y.; MOÏSE, L. C.; PERREAULT, S. & SENÉCAL, S. (1997). "Towards an Interactive Acculturation Model: A Social Psychological Approach". *International Journal of Psychology*, 32, 369–386.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/002075997400629>
- BUBRITZKI, S.; VAN TUBERGEN, F.; WEESIE, J. & SMITH, S. (2017). "Ethnic composition of the school class and interethnic attitudes: A multi-group perspective". *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 44(3), 482–502.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183.2017.1322501>
- CASADEMONT, X. & SERRA, M. (2021). "Immigrant Integration Policies in Catalonia (1993-2017): Political Frames". *Migraciones*, 52, 221–247.
<https://doi.org/10.14422/mig.i52.y2021.008>
- CENTRO DE INVESTIGACIONES SOCIOLOGICAS (2017). Actitudes hacia la inmigración. (Estudio 3190). [Data set: <https://www.cis.es/es/estudios/actitudes-hacia-la-inmigracion-x-?cuestionario=17268&muestra=23934&pregunta=584922&variable=786947&chartType=bar>].
- GARRETA J. (2006). "Ethnic minorities and the Spanish and Catalan educational systems: From exclusion to intercultural education". *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 30(2), 261–279.
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2005.11.006>
- DEJAEGHERE, Y.; HOOGE, M. & CLAES, E. (2012). "Do ethnically diverse schools reduce ethnocentrism? A two-year panel study among majority group late adolescents in Belgian schools". *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 36, 108–117.
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2011.02.010>
- GENERALITAT DE CATALUNYA. DEPARTAMENT D'EDUCACIÓ (2020). Estadístiques d'ensenyament. Curs 2019-2020 [Data set: <https://educacio.gencat.cat/ca/departament/estadistiques/estadistiques-ensenyament/>].
- GOEDERT, C.; ALBERT, I.; BARROS, S. & FERRING, D. (2019). "Welcome or not? Natives' security feelings, attachment and attitudes toward acculturation of immigrants". *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 69, 24–31.
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2018.12.001>
- GRAJZL, P.; EASTWOOD, J. & DIMITROVA-GRAJZL, V. (2018). "Should immigrants culturally assimilate or preserve their own culture? Host-society natives' beliefs and the longevity of national identity". *Social Science Research*, 75, 96–116.
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ssresearch.2018.06.005>
- GUPTA, A. & FERGUSON, J. (1992). "Beyond 'Culture': Space, Identity, and the Politics of Difference". *Cultural Anthropology*, 7(1), 6–23.
<https://doi.org/10.1525/can.1992.7.1.02a00020>
- HÄSSLER, T. et al. (2019). "With a little help from our friends: The impact of cross-group friendship on acculturation preferences". *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 49(2), 366–384.
<https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.2383>

- HINDRIKS, P.; VERKUYTEN, M. & COENDERS, M. (2014). "Interminority Attitudes: The Roles of Ethnic and National Identification, Contact, and Multiculturalism". *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 77(1), 54–74.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0190272513511469>
- IDESCAT (2020). Padró continu d'habitants. <https://www.idescat.cat/pmhestrangeral?geo=prov%3A25&b=14&t=2020>
- INSTITUTO NACIONAL DE ESTADÍSTICA (2020). *Población extranjera por Nacionalidad, provincias, Sexo y Año*. https://www.ine.es/jaxi/Datos.htm?path=/t20/e245/p08/10/&file=03005.px#_tabs-tabla
- JANMAAT, J.G. (2015). "School Ethnic Diversity and White Students' Civic Attitudes in England". *Social Science Research*, 49, 97–109.
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ssresearch.2014.07.006>
- KHALIL, S. & NAUMANN, E. (2022). "Does Contact with Foreigners Reduce Worries About Immigration? A Longitudinal Analysis in Germany". *European Sociological Review*, 38(2), 189–201.
<https://doi.org/10.1093/esr/jcab039>
- LAPRESTA-REY, C.; AMADÓ, A.; JANÉS, J.; HUGUET, Á.; SENAR, F. & UBALDE, J. (2024). "Llengua, educació i processos d'aculturació lingüística a Catalunya". In: BIER, A. & LASAGABASTER, D. (Eds.), *El fomento del multilingüismo en contextos con lenguas minorizadas* (pp. 124–143).
- LEMMER, G. & WAGNER, U. (2015). "Can we really reduce ethnic prejudice outside the lab? A meta-analysis of direct and indirect contact interventions". *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 45, 152–168.
<https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.2079>
- LÓPEZ-RODRÍGUEZ, L.; NAVAS, M.; CUADRADO, I.; COUTANT, D. & WORCHEL, S. (2014). "The majority's perceptions about adaptation to the host society of different immigrant groups: The distinct role of warmth and threat". *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 40, 31–48.
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2014.02.001>
- MARROW, H. B.; TROPP, L. R.; VAN DER LINDEN, M.; OKAMOTO, D. G. & JONES-CORREA, M. (2019). "How Does Interracial Contact Among the U.S.-Born Shape White and Black Receptivity Toward Immigrants?" *Du Bois Review: Social Science Research on Race*, 16(2), 385–416.
<https://doi.org/10.1017/S1742058X19000249>
- MCLAREN, L. M. (2003). "Anti-Immigrant Prejudice in Europe: Contact, Threat Perception, and Preferences for the Exclusion of Migrants". *Social Forces*, 81(3), 909–936.
<https://doi.org/10.1353/sof.2003.0038>
- MONTREUIL, A. & BOURHIS, R. Y. (2001). "Majority Acculturation Orientations Towards "Valued" and "Devalued" Immigrants". *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 32, 698–719.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0022022101032006004>
- PETTIGREW, T. F. & TROPP, L. R. (2006). "A meta-analytic test of intergroup contact theory". *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 90(5), 751–783.
<https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.90.5.751>
- PETTIGREW, T. F. (2009). "Secondary Transfer Effect of Contact: Do Intergroup Contact Effects Spread to Noncontacted Outgroups?" *Social Psychology*, 40, 55–65.
<https://doi.org/10.1027/1864-9335.40.2.55>

- PETTIGREW, T. F.; WAGNER, U. & CHRIST, O. (2010). "Population Ratios and Prejudice: Modelling Both Contact and Threat Effects". *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 36, 635–650.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/13691830903516034>
- PIONTKOWSKI, U.; FLORACK, A.; HOELKER, P. & OBRZÁLEK, P. (2000). "Predicting acculturation attitudes of dominant and non-dominant groups". *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 24, 1–26.
[https://doi.org/10.1016/S0147-1767\(99\)00020-6](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0147-1767(99)00020-6)
- PORTES, A. & ZHOU, M. (1993). "The New Second Generation: Segmented Assimilation and its Variants". *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 530(1), 74–96.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0002716293530001006>
- PREACHER, K. J. & HAYES, A. F. (2008). "Asymptotic and resampling strategies for assessing and comparing indirect effects in multiple mediator models". *Behavior Research Methods*, 40, 879–891.
<https://doi.org/10.3758/BRM.40.3.879>
- RODON, T. & FRANCO-GUILLÉN, N. (2014). "Contact with immigrants in times of crisis: An exploration of the Catalan case". *Ethnicities*, 14(5), 650–675.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/1468796813520307>
- SCHNEIDER, S. L. (2008). "Anti-Immigrant Attitudes in Europe: Outgroup Size and Perceived Ethnic Threat". *European Sociological Review*, 24(1), 53–67.
<https://doi.org/10.1093/esr/jcm034>
- SCHMUCK, D. & MATTHES, J. (2015). "How Anti-Immigrant Right-Wing Populist Advertisements Affect Young Voters: Symbolic Threats, Economic Threats and The Moderating Role of Education". *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 41(10), 1577–1599.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2014.981513>
- SIRLOPÚ, D. & VAN OUDENHOVEN, J. P. (2013). "Is multiculturalism a viable path in Chile? Intergroup and acculturative perspectives on Chilean society and Peruvian immigrants". *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 37(6), 739–749.
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2013.09.011>
- SIXTUS, F.; WESCHE, J. S.; TSANTILA, K. & KERSCHREITER, R. (2019). "How positive and negative contact experiences relate to identification and acculturation of persons with a migration background: Differentiating between majority, minority, and religious group identity". *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 49, 903–923.
<https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.2572>
- STEPHAN, W. G. & STEPHAN, C. W. (2000). "An integrated threat theory of prejudice". In: OSKAMP, S. (Ed.), *Reducing prejudice and discrimination* (pp. 23–45). Erlbaum.
- TIP, L. K.; ZAGEFKA, H.; GONZÁLEZ, R.; BROWN, R.; CINNIRELLA, M. & NA, X. (2012). "Is support for multiculturalism threatened by threat itself?" *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 36, 22–30.
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2010.09.011>
- UBALDE, J.; JANÉS, J.; SENAR, F. & LAPRESTA, C. (2025). "People in contact, languages in -contact: A multi-group analysis of the effects of interethnic contact on acculturation attitudes". *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 46(7), 2048–2061.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/01434632.2023.2277241>

- UBALDE, J.; SENAR, F. & LAPRESTA, C. (2024). "Does interethnic contact buffer against the socialization of anti-immigrant prejudice? A test on the impact of parents', school and contextual countrywide attitudes on young people". *Social Science Research*, 123, 103057.
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ssresearch.2024.103057>
- VAN OUDENHOVEN, J. P. V. & EISSES, A. M. (1998). "Integration and assimilation of Moroccan immigrants in Israel and the Netherlands". *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 22, 293–307.
[https://doi.org/10.1016/S0147-1767\(98\)00009-1](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0147-1767(98)00009-1)
- VAN ACKER, K. & VANBESELAERE, N. (2011). "Bringing together acculturation theory and intergroup contact theory: Predictors of Flemings' expectations of Turks' acculturation behaviour". *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 35, 334–345.
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2010.06.004>
- VERKUYTEN, M. (2009). "Support for multiculturalism and minority rights: The role of national identification and out-group threat". *Social Justice Research*, 22, 31–52.
<https://doi.org/10.1007/s11211-008-0087-7>
- Verkuyten, M. & Martinovic, B. (2006). "Understanding multicultural attitudes: The role of group status, identification, friendships, and justifying ideologies". *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 30(1), 1–18.
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2005.05.015>
- VERKUYTEN, M.; THIJS, J. & SIERKSMA, J. (2014). "Majority Children's Evaluation of Acculturation Preferences of Immigrant and Emigrant Peers". *Child Development*, 85(1), 176–191.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/cdev.12111>
- VERVOORT, M.; SCHOLTE, R. & SCHEEPERS, P. (2011). "Ethnic composition of school classes, majority–minority friendships, and adolescents' intergroup attitudes in the Netherlands". *Journal of Adolescence*, 34(6), 257–267.
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.adolescence.2010.05.005>
- WAGNER, U.; HEWSTONE, M. & MACHLEIT, U. (1989). "Contact and Prejudice Between Germans and Turks: A Correlational Study". *Human Relations*, 42(7), 561–574.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/001872678904200701>
- WALSH, C. (2008). "Interculturalidad crítica, pedagogía decolonial". En: VILLA W. y GRUESO A. (COMP.). *Diversidad, interculturalidad y construcción de ciudad*. Bogotá: Universidad Pedagógica Nacional/Alcaldía Mayor.
- WALSH, C. (2009). "Interculturalidad crítica y pedagogía de-colonial: In-surgir, re-existir y re-vivir". In: WALSH, C. (Ed.), *Interculturalidad, Estado, sociedad: Luchas (de) coloniales de nuestra época* (pp. 45–68). Quito: Abya-Yala.
- WILSON-DAILY, A. E.; KEMMELMEIER, M. & PRATS, J. (2018). "Intergroup contact versus conflict in Catalan high schools: A multilevel analysis of adolescent attitudes toward immigration and diversity". *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 64, 12–28.
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2018.03.002>
- WIMMER, A. (2008). "The Making and Unmaking of Ethnic Boundaries: A Multilevel Process Theory". *American journal of sociology*, 113(4), 970-1022.
<https://doi.org/10.1086/522803>
- WÖLFER, R.; HEWSTONE, M. & JASPERS, E. (2019). "Social Contact and Interethnic Attitudes: The importance of Contact Experiences in Schools". In: KALTER, F.;

- JONSSON, J. O. & HEATH, A. F. (Eds.), *Growing up in diverse Europe: Integration and the lives of minority and majority youth in England, Germany, the Netherlands and Sweden* (pp. 195–217). London: Proceedings of the British Academy.
<https://doi.org/10.5871/bacad/9780197266373.003.0008>
- ZAGEFKA, H.; GONZÁLEZ, R. & BROWN, R. (2011). “How minority members’ perceptions of majority members’ acculturation preferences shape minority members’ own acculturation”. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 50(2), 216–233.
<https://doi.org/10.1348/014466610X512211>