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Ethnic Identity Development and Acculturation Preferences Among Minority and Majority Youth: Norms and Contact

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This article tests a longitudinal model of the antecedents and consequences of changes in identification with indigenous (Mapuche) among indigenous and nonindigenous youth in Chilean school contexts over a 6-month period (633 nonindigenous and 270 Mapuche students, $M_{ages} = 12.47$ and 12.80 years, respectively). Results revealed that in-group norms supporting contact and quality of intergroup contact at Time 1 predicted student's changes in Mapuche identification at Time 2, which in turn predicted changes in support for adoption of Chilean culture and maintenance of Mapuche culture at Time 2; some of the relationships between these variables were found to be moderated by age and ethnicity. Conceptual and policy implications are addressed in the Discussion.

Because national identities (e.g., “American,” “Chilean”) are often explicitly or implicitly defined in terms of majority group identities, children and adolescents from minority groups may experience more complex processes of identity development than members of majority groups. Strong ethnic identity has proven to be beneficial for adolescents' development (for a review, see Rivas-Drake et al., 2014), and in particular for indigenous adolescents, group identity has been shown to predict positive outcomes, such as higher self-esteem (Rivas-Drake, Hughes, &

Way, 2008), lower chances of engaging in risky health behaviors and substance abuse (e.g., Love, Yin, Codina, & Zapata, 2006), higher academic achievement, and acting as a protective factor when facing discrimination and daily hassles (Miller & MacIntosh, 1999). However, particularly in Latin American contexts, relatively little is known about how adolescents from minority indigenous groups construct their personal and ethnic identity.

In the current work, we addressed this gap in research by examining identity development in the context of Mapuche and nonindigenous relations in Chile. Our approach was inspired by many research traditions, including bioecological models (e.g., Bronfenbrenner, 2001) and cognitive-developmental theories (e.g., Piaget & Inhelder, 1969). Although the

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bioecological approach emphasizes the role of several layers of the ecological niche in which children and adolescents develop their identities, ranging from proximal processes (i.e., peer interactions and contact) to wider sociocultural tendencies (i.e., family values), cognitive-developmental theories stress the role of mental mechanisms (e.g., abstract thinking) involved in the internalization of norms that are typical during the transition from late childhood to adolescence. Also, social psychology has made a systematic effort in order to understand how processes of social interactions and contact may affect individuals' identities. What is novel from the current contribution is that it integrates developmental research on social identity (see McGuire, Rutland, & Nesdale, 2015) and acculturation with social psychological research on intergroup contact (Brown & Zagefka, 2011) in an understudied minority context. Indeed, identity processes do not necessarily follow the same developmental patterns for all children and adolescents (Meeus, van de Schoot, Keijsers, & Branje, 2012). Ethnic identity development may be particularly complex for adolescents of indigenous groups (e.g., Maori of New Zealand, Mapuche of Chile), who know that their ancestors' geographical presence and identity were predated by the post-colonial society in which they now reside.

Because we view identity development as rooted in social context and increasingly built upon significant interactions with peers (Meeus, Oosterwegel, & Vollebergh, 2002), our research focuses on how social interaction (positive experiences of interethnic contact) between Mapuche and nonindigenous Chilean adolescents affects identity development, norms, and acculturation preferences. Furthermore, because past research (Brown & Zagefka, 2011) has indicated the importance of both majority and minority groups' perspectives on acculturation, we examine these processes in both Mapuche and nonindigenous adolescents. Using a longitudinal research design, we examine how perceived family, classmates, and friends' norms supporting intergroup contact and quality of intergroup contact experiences promote changes in commitment and attachment to Mapuche identity and, through this mechanism, influences two components of minority cultural integration (support for cultural maintenance of Mapuche culture and support for Mapuche adoption of Chilean culture).

The Mapuche Indigenous Group

According to the Chilean National Socio-Economic Characterization Survey (Ministry of Social Development, CASEN, 2013), indigenous

people account for 9.1% of the population in Chile, and the Mapuche make up 84.4% of this population. Having resisted Spanish colonization, the Mapuche have retained a strong degree of cultural identity separate from "Chilean" culture. Since the Spanish colonization, the Mapuche have suffered further infringements of their land rights, suppression of their culture (e.g., their language was outlawed under Pinochet's military regime from 1973 to 1989), and from severe economic and social deprivation. Today, indigenous people in Chile clearly are a low-status group in comparison to high-status nonindigenous Chileans (Terwindt, 2009). For example, research has found that the Mapuche have lower education levels (Cantero & Williamson, 2009), lower incomes (Ministry of Social Development, 2013), and show lower rates of upward mobility (Cantero & Williamson, 2009) than nonindigenous Chileans.

Historically, the Mapuche have been located in southern Chile; however, in recent years, Mapuche people have been moving from rural to northern urban cities at an increasing rate (Ministry of Social Development, 2013). Some national policies have been supportive of Mapuche culture. For instance, Chilean legislation enforces bilingual (Spanish and Mapuche) language education in schools with 20% or more of Mapuche population. At the same time, a nascent Mapuche political movement has resisted what it views as exploitative land-use policies in southern Chile and pushed for greater Mapuche autonomy and rights. Thus, like many other indigenous communities around the world, there is a complex relation between Mapuche and nonindigenous Chilean identity. Mapuche children and adolescents are particularly affected, as their identity development unfolds within this complex and tense context.

Ethnic Identity From Late Childhood to Middle Adolescence: A Developmental Outlook

Adolescence reflects a process in which identity develops from a synthesis and exploration of a set of potential goals, values, and beliefs (Erikson, 1968). During childhood, the formation of ethnic identity involves children developing the ability to identify and categorize themselves and others according to ethnic and racial labels (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014). Moving toward adolescence, social-cognitive development allows individuals to cultivate a deeper understanding of the relation between their ethnicity and their social experiences (Phinney, Lochner, & Murphy, 1990). As stressed by Quintana (1998), the process of ethnic identity

development involves exploring one's ethnicity and internalizing values from one's ethnic and racial groups. In particular, whereas individuals develop a general ethnic group consciousness in early adolescence (Quintana, 1998), during late adolescence individuals possess more advanced perspective-taking skills, and these new cognitive capacities give adolescents the ability to explore the meaning of their identities with respect to their ethnic reference group (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014). By extending Erikson's (1968) and Marcia's (1994) work on identity to the domain of ethnic identity, exploration emerges as a key concept in Phinney et al. (1990) seminal work on ethnic identity. Exploration is related to thinking about one's ethnicity, talking with others about it, and participating in activities that represent one's ethnic group (Syed et al., 2013). In addition, individuals exhibit behaviors that reflect a quest for knowledge and understanding about one's ethnic and racial heritage (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014). According to Phinney et al. (1990), adolescents achieve a sense of ethnic identity only after they have explored, accepted, and internalized their ethnicity (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014). Also, social demands, such as the experience of discrimination, increase during adolescence and are likely to stimulate exploration (Phinney et al., 1990). Thus, during middle adolescence, greater exploration of ethnicity—rather than relying solely on tacit agreement with parental or peer socialization influences (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014)—is expected. In sum, understanding developmental transitional changes in ethnic identity from middle to late adolescence is of central importance in understanding which factors may positively affect adolescent trajectories of adaptation and consequent intergroup attitudes and acculturation preferences.

The Study of Acculturation Preferences

Research on acculturation in multicultural societies (e.g., Berry, 1970, 1997; Bourhis, Moïse, Perreault, & Senécal, 1997) has focused on the challenges in identity and socialization that are faced by members of minority groups, particularly immigrant and indigenous groups. On the one hand, there are important benefits of adopting the dominant culture, including acceptance by the majority group and potentially having greater access to jobs and resources. However, not maintaining one's culture also has potential risks, including social stress and also the loss of group cohesiveness and distinctiveness needed to confront systematic injustices. Insofar as adoption of the dominant culture and maintaining the minority

culture could be seen as antagonists, members of minority groups face an implicit tension in the process of identity development. This tension is particularly relevant during adolescence, because the main developmental task during this phase is identity formation, which is intimately related to the individuals' belonging to a reference group. Besides the tensions associated with negotiating the dominant and the own culture, ethnic minority adolescents also face the challenge of defining themselves within their peer ecology (Meeus, 2011).

Based on Berry and collaborators' model (e.g., Berry, 1970) and its subsequent modifications (Bourhis et al., 1997), four types of acculturation orientations are distinguished according to preferences on two dimensions: the desire of minority members to maintain their original culture (cultural maintenance) and the desire to adopt the culture of the majority society (cultural adoption). Research on acculturation often discusses four acculturation patterns, consisting of marginalization (low cultural maintenance and low cultural adoption), separation (high cultural maintenance and low cultural adoption), assimilation (low cultural maintenance and high cultural adoption), and integration (high cultural maintenance and high cultural adoption).

Past research has found consistent relations between these acculturation patterns and social stress or other measures of psychological and social adaptation. For example, an early study by Berry (1970) examined acculturation preferences among indigenous Canadians and found that *separation* was positively associated with acculturative stress, whereas both *assimilation* and *integration* were negatively related to stress (see also a review of several psychological consequences of acculturation preferences in Brown & Zagefka, 2011). Although much past research has used dichotomous questions that place people into one of the four "types" of acculturation preference, more recent research has often examined preference for the adoption of the majority culture and the maintenance of the minority culture as two separate dimensions (see Brown & Zagefka, 2011). However, the literature has little systematic longitudinal exploration of these acculturation preferences in adolescence (Zagefka, González, & Brown, 2011), particularly regarding indigenous populations (see an exception in Berry, Phinney, Sam, & Vedder, 2006).

Intergroup Relations and Acculturation Preferences: The Role of Norms and Contact

As research on the acculturation preferences of members of minority groups has progressed, it has

become clear that it is important to place acculturation processes within the larger context of intergroup relations between the minority and majority groups, particularly focusing the attention on the developmental processes involved. An understanding of these intergroup processes points to two important factors that might affect acculturation. First, researchers (e.g., Bourhis et al., 1997) have argued that congruence (or perceptions of congruence, see Brown & Zagefka, 2011) between the beliefs of majority and minority group members about the ideal acculturation preferences of the minority group may affect minority group members' actual acculturation preferences. For example, Zagefka et al. (2011) conducted two studies in Chile with indigenous Mapuche youth (age ranged from 14 to 23 years) and found that preference for maintenance of Mapuche culture was predicted in part by perceptions of how much nonindigenous Chileans supported the cultural maintenance of Mapuche people. Thus, researchers increasingly see the need to understand the beliefs of majority group members about how members of minority groups "should" acculturate because of the potential effects of these majority beliefs on minority group members (González, Sirlopú, & Kessler, 2010). This effect may be particularly strong among adolescents when considering the central role that peers may play in defining what is acceptable and valued within their groups (e.g., Brechwald & Prinstein, 2011). In this realm, the literature is consistent in showing that peer norms (either descriptive or injunctive) constitute a significant influence on adolescents' behaviors and attitudes, including aggression and bullying (Palacios & Berger, 2016), as well as prosocial responding (see Eisenberg, Spinrad, & Knafo-Noam, 2015).

Second, the quality of the interaction between members of minority and majority groups may strongly influence not only the minority group's acculturation preferences, but also the majority group's beliefs about the desirability of the minority group adopting the majority culture and maintaining (or not) their minority group cultural identity (Hässler et al., 2015). Past research on intergroup interaction has been strongly influenced by intergroup contact theory (Allport, 1954; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). It has been found that quality of contact (i.e., closer, more personal relationships, rather than impersonal casual contact) is a strong predictor of changes in intergroup attitudes (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). Intergroup contact has been shown to have a strong, generally positive, effect on intergroup attitudes, although the positive effects are often weaker for minority group members' attitudes

toward majority group members (e.g., Tropp & Pettigrew, 2005).

Recent theorizing and research has further shown that intergroup contact is in itself also intimately connected to perceptions of the norms supporting intergroup contact (González & Brown, 2017). In contexts in which contact is supported, attitudes improve, and norms may have an even stronger effect than the direct effect of contact itself. For example, using multilevel analyses, Christ et al. (2014) found that people in contexts with high levels of positive intergroup contact reported more perceived norms supporting contact, and furthermore, that these norms explained much of the differences in attitudes between contexts with high versus low levels of positive contact (for a similar pattern of results with adolescent in school contexts, see De Tezanos-Pinto, Brown, & Bratt, 2010). Norms for contact may be particularly important during adolescence. Specifically during adolescence, developmental goals refer to establishing intimate relationships with peers (Ojanen, Grönroos, & Salmivalli, 2005). Therefore, the close peer group (i.e., the in-group at a proximal level) may play a more significant role in shaping individuals' attitudes by establishing what is valued and accepted than a broader social group.

Parental goals and expectations may also clearly convey behavioral contingencies for appropriate or inappropriate behavior during childhood and adolescence, including supporting or opposing intergroup friendships. Grusec and Goodnow (1994) proposed that the transmission of parents' values to their children follows a sequence in which children must first perceive parents' values and expectations from childhood to adolescence and then either endorse or reject the parental values in adult life. In our research, therefore, we examined both peer and parental norms supporting cross-group friendships.

Attachment and Commitment to Mapuche Identity

The literature agrees on the general idea that perceiving positive in-group norms about developing cross-group friendships, as well as having quality contact with out-group members, should increase intergroup trust (a negative predictor of identity threat), perceive group similarities, and make adolescent majority group members more willing to integrate minority members into the society by supporting them to maintain their culture and adopting the mainstream culture (see González & Brown, 2017; Hässler et al., 2015 addressing these issues involving immigrants). Consequently, the present study tests whether intergroup contact and

normative support for contact influence Mapuche and nonindigenous youth's attachment and commitment to the Mapuche identity, a psychological antecedent of both the Mapuche and nonindigenous Chilean's acculturation preferences. Even though nonindigenous children are not Mapuche, they can (and do) identify with this group, because the indigenous populations—and particularly the Mapuche—are an important part of the Chilean national identity. The populations in Latin American countries are in general of mixed European and indigenous descent, and in the case of Chile, the great majority of people have some degree of indigenous ancestry (Eyheramendy, Martínez, Manévy, Vial, & Repetto, 2015). The dominant traditional Chilean culture is based on Spanish culture and its developments throughout colonial history, where the creole population generated their own customs and traditions. More recent cultural developments, based on globalization and technological progress in Chile, may also be considered part of a nonindigenous Chilean culture. But Chilean culture also integrates elements of Mapuche culture, in a complex relation where the Mapuche are both admired and vilified (Saiz, Rapimán, & Mladinic, 2008). This generates a cultural setting where people may perceive nonindigenous and Mapuche to be in opposition, but also where people from each group can identify with and adopt cultural practices of the other. Consistent with this mixed heritage, Pehrson, González, and Brown (2011) showed that many nonindigenous Chileans feel a connection with the Mapuche people and incorporate Mapuche identity into their definition of Chilean national identity. In turn, the inclusion of some aspects of the Mapuche identity in the self has been found to predict support for both indigenous rights and the Mapuche position on conflict over their ancestral lands. Pehrson et al. (2011) measured the *content* of national identification with statements such as “we owe an important part of the Chilean identity to Mapuche culture.” In the current study, we measured Mapuche identification by focusing on attachment and commitment to the identity. This is a particularly important component in most multidimensional conceptualizations of social identity (e.g., Ellemers, Kortenkass, & Ouwerkerk, 1999; Leach et al., 2008) and allows for the possibility of a comparable measure of identification for Mapuche and nonindigenous Chileans with reference groups other than the in-group.

The Current Study

Using a longitudinal research design involving nonindigenous Chilean and Mapuche middle

adolescents, the current study addresses: (a) how perceived family, classmates, and in-group friends norms supporting intergroup contact and their quality of intergroup contact experiences promote changes in commitment and attachment to Mapuche identity, and (b) how changes in the commitment and attachment to Mapuche identity might influence the two central components of minority cultural integration (support for cultural maintenance of Mapuche culture and support for Mapuche adoption of Chilean culture).

Several hypotheses were developed following prior conceptual approaches and empirical evidences regarding the effect of contact and norms on acculturation preferences (González & Brown, 2017; Hässler et al., 2015) and the role of identity formation across adolescence, especially regarding minority groups (Meeus, 2011; Meeus et al., 2012; Phinney et al., 1990; Umaña-Taylor & Fine, 2004; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014). First, it is predicted that both positive quality of contact and normative support for contact will influence Mapuche and nonindigenous youth's attachment and commitment to Mapuche identity. Second, it is expected that Mapuche and nonindigenous youth's attachment and commitment to Mapuche identity will mediate the relations between positive quality of contact or normative support for contact and acculturation preferences.

Third, although to some degree exploratory, we also predict that these mediation effects will be moderated by age and ethnicity. In particular, regarding the effect of in-group norms on acculturation preferences mediated by attachment and commitment to Mapuche identity, we argue that although exploration of ethnic identity increases during middle childhood (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014), ethnicity as a social category may become salient at different developmental stages for minority and majority group members. For younger Mapuche adolescents, being Mapuche is likely to make them aware of their minority status and experiencing earlier social pressure to conform to the majority or to negotiate their belonging (Brown & Zagefka, 2011); therefore, we expect Mapuche younger adolescents be more aware and sensitive to their ethnic identity than the older Mapuche adolescents, where the norms should be less influential and other processes might be at play. Thus, the predictive indirect effect of in-group norms on acculturation preferences mediated by attachment and commitment to Mapuche identity would be stronger for the younger than the older Mapuche.

On the other hand, it is expected that majority nonindigenous Chilean adolescents would become

aware of ethnic differences and potential identity tensions later in their development (Meeus, 2011; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014), because they might experience less pressure regarding their ethnic belonging when they are younger. Only at later stages, when they become aware of ethnic diversity and the conflicts that it encompasses, norms would become significant sources of influence. Thus, the predictive indirect effect of in-group norms on acculturation preferences mediated by attachment and commitment to Mapuche identity would be stronger for the older than the younger nonindigenous Chilean adolescents.

Based on the research findings that demonstrate that contact does not necessarily operate in the same way for majority and minority members (e.g., Hässler et al., 2015; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006), in particular that majority members attitudes change the most from contact experiences, we hypothesized that although the quality of contact may have a positive effect on acculturation preferences for both nonindigenous Chilean and Mapuche group members, nonindigenous Chilean members' acculturation preferences would change to a greater degree by positive contact experiences as compared to Mapuche members (Shelton, Richeson, & Salvatore, 2005). Thus, we expect ethnicity to moderate the effect of contact on acculturation preferences. Although there is a substantial research on intergroup contact and attitudes and related concepts (see Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006), there is no strong grounds to advance a prediction regarding differences among specific developmental phases across adolescence of nonindigenous and Mapuche members affecting the relations between contact quality and acculturation preferences. Thus, to address this gap in prior research, we will explore the joint effect of age and ethnicity on these relations.

We addressed these research questions during middle adolescence using a longitudinal moderated mediation model within a two-wave longitudinal design, when children were approximately 12–16 years old. This age group was targeted because adolescents on these social contexts are understudied in these topics and plasticity to environmental and peer influences are especially relevant in this developmental phase (Steinberg & Monahan, 2007).

Method

Overview

Invitations to participate in the study were extended to the principals of more than 50 schools

from the cities of Santiago and Temuco, Chile. They were fully informed about the nature of the study and its main goal: understanding the factors and processes that foster the development of cross-group friendship between Mapuche and nonindigenous children in school contexts, and its social and psychological consequences. Schools were selected from a list provided by the Ministry of Education of Chile after satisfying the criteria for enrollment of Mapuche students. Of the provided list, 32 schools gave their consent and fulfilled the requirement of having a minimum of 15% of Mapuche students in the target grade range (5th–10th grades). The schools that did not agree to participate in the study did not differ significantly in any characteristics from the ones that did. Reasons for not participating included previous participation in another study, lack of interest, or failure to give a definite answer in a timely manner.

From a total of 14 schools and 1,203 students invited in Santiago (995 nonindigenous and 208 Mapuche), we obtained informed consents from 640 of the students' parents or guardians (509 nonindigenous and 131 Mapuche). From a total of 20 schools and 2,005 students invited in Temuco (1,279 nonindigenous and 726 Mapuche), we obtained informed consent from 972 parents (603 nonindigenous and 369 Mapuche). The final average recruitment rate per classroom was 53% in Santiago and 48.4% in Temuco.

Data for Time 1 (T1) was collected at the end of the academic year between December 2013 and January 2014, and Time 2 (T2) between June and August 2014 at the end of the first school semester. Given that data collection occurred in different academic years, students were in a different grade at T2. Each survey session was previously scheduled with the school, and after assenting, students were informed that all their responses would be kept confidential and used solely for the research purposes (to study social relations in school contexts), and that they could withdraw from the study at any time.

Participants

In order to correctly identify the nonindigenous Chilean and indigenous Mapuche students before assigning the corresponding version of the questionnaire, we followed three criteria. First, the school records validated by the Ministry of Education provided clear information about the ethnicity of the students (nonindigenous Chilean and indigenous Mapuche) in the school and

within classrooms. Second, in the Chilean school system, each class has a teacher who leads the class the whole academic year. This daily experience of contact with them allows teachers to know their students' backgrounds very well. Thus, teachers were used as the second source of information to identify nonindigenous Chilean and indigenous Mapuche students. The final source of information was students' family records, using their own and their parents' first name and last name (indigenous people have distinctive family names, e.g., Huenchumilla, Paillapan, Mahuida).

Nonindigenous Chilean Participants

A total of 633 nonindigenous Chilean students (51.6% female) completed the survey at T1, including 261 fifth graders, 155 sixth graders, and 217 ninth graders. At T2, 349 nonindigenous Chilean students (54.5% female) completed the survey, including 158 sixth graders, 99 seventh graders, and 92 tenth graders. Participants' age at T1 was $M_{\text{age}} = 12.47$, $SD = 2.0$, and at T2 was $M_{\text{age}} = 12.79$, $SD = 1.9$. From T1 to T2, the retention rate for nonindigenous Chilean students was 55%. Not all students whose parents or guardians gave informed consent completed the survey (some students were not present at the time of data collection, did not answer the specific parts of the survey used in this study, or did not want to participate at the moment data was collected). Second, a significant number of the students who participated in the study had a very high proportion of missing values in the questionnaire at T1 and were removed from the data set. Finally, some cases were lost because students did not answer the variables of reference for the current article. This explains the lower number of participants that completed the survey in contrast with the actual number of recruited students, as well as the moderately low retention rate at T2. The same is true for Mapuche participants.

Mapuche Participants

A total of 270 Mapuche students (52.2% female) completed the survey at T1, including 82 fifth graders, 71 sixth graders, and 117 ninth graders. At T2, a total of 138 Mapuche students (46.4% female) completed the survey, including 56 sixth graders, 42 seventh graders, and 40 tenth graders. Participants' age at T1 was $M_{\text{age}} = 12.80$, $SD = 1.98$, and at T2 was $M_{\text{age}} = 12.96$, $SD = 1.95$.

From T1 to T2, the retention rate for Mapuche participants was 50%.

Measures

Independent Variables

Quality of intergroup contact. Quality of intergroup contact was measured using five items adapted from prior research (Dixon et al., 2010). Students rated the extent to which they felt equal, close, safe, cooperated with, and had a lot in common with out-group students at their school on a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*totally disagree*) to 7 (*totally agree*). The composite was found to be reliable for both nonindigenous Chilean and Mapuche students at T1 ($\alpha = .89$ and $.86$) and T2 ($\alpha = .92$ and $.88$).

In-group norms supporting cross-group friendship. Norms were assessed with nine items adapted from prior research (see Green, Adams, & Turner, 1988), which consists of three items for each subscale: family norms (e.g., "my family appreciates that I have Mapuche friends"), in-group classmates norms (e.g., "my nonindigenous Chilean classmates appreciate that I have Mapuche friends"), and friend norms (e.g., "my friends appreciate that I have Mapuche friends"); all items were assessed on a 7-point Likert scale, with higher values indicating more positive in-group norms supporting cross-group friendship. Using exploratory factor analysis, we found that all three subscales loaded onto one factor and created one composite for "in-group norms supporting cross-group friendship" with all nine items. The measure was found to be reliable for both nonindigenous Chileans at T1 ($\alpha = .95$) and T2 ($\alpha = .97$), as well as Mapuche students at T1 ($\alpha = .96$) and T2 ($\alpha = .96$).

Mediating Variable

Mapuche identification. Two items were used to assess the emotional dimension of Mapuche identification, including "I am very committed to the Mapuche people" and "I feel very connected to the Mapuche people" on a 7-point Likert scale, with higher numbers indicating greater identification. As expected, the two items were highly correlated for both nonindigenous Chileans at T1 ($r = .82$, $p < .001$) and T2 ($r = .85$, $p < .001$), as well as Mapuche students at T1 ($r = .86$, $p < .001$) and T2 ($r = .80$, $p < .001$). It is noteworthy that the present article at an earlier stage of development included Chilean national identity as a potential mediator of the relation between in-group norms supporting cross-group friendship or quality of intergroup

contact, and acculturation preferences. However, even though Chilean national identity could be conceived as an important factor, particularly for minorities and their willingness to adopt the Chilean majority's culture, we found that across all analyses this variable did not mediate the aforementioned relation, therefore we ultimately decided to exclude this variable from the analyses.

Dependent Variables

Acculturation preferences. According to Berry's acculturation preferences model (Berry, 1997), the strategies that minorities employ in order to interact with the host society or culture can be categorized depending on the degree to which they desire to maintain their original culture and adopt or integrate that of the majority (Bourhis et al., 1997). With this in mind, we adapted two scales that reflect those preferences for cultural maintenance and cultural adoption from Zagefka and Brown (2002), using a Likert scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*). These adapted scales have been successfully utilized in several previous studies conducted in Chile (González et al., 2010; Pehrson et al., 2011; Tip et al., 2015; Zagefka, Brown, & González, 2009).

Support for Mapuche cultural maintenance. Three items were used to measure the extent to which both Mapuche and nonindigenous Chileans support Mapuche maintaining their culture: "it is important to me that Mapuche people maintain their customs and traditions," "it is important to me that Mapuche keep their way of life," and "it is important to me that Mapuche keep their own culture." The measure was found to be reliable for both nonindigenous Chileans at T1 ($\alpha = .93$) and T2 ($\alpha = .95$), and Mapuche students at T1 ($\alpha = .93$) and T2 ($\alpha = .91$).

Support for Mapuche adoption of the Chilean culture. Three items were used to measure the extent to which both Mapuche and nonindigenous Chileans support Mapuche adopting the Chilean culture: "it is important to me that Mapuche adopt nonindigenous Chileans' customs and traditions," "it is important to me that Mapuche adopt nonindigenous Chileans' way of life," and "it is important to me that Mapuche adopt nonindigenous Chileans' culture." This measure was also found to be reliable for nonindigenous Chileans at T1 ($\alpha = .93$) and T2 ($\alpha = .92$), and Mapuche students at T1 ($\alpha = .90$) and T2 ($\alpha = .89$).

Measurement Invariance Testing

In order to test measurement invariance between the two subsamples (i.e., nonindigenous Chileans

and indigenous Mapuche), a multigroup confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) using Mplus 7.3 software (Muthén & Muthén, 1998–2015), and including invariance test (configural, metric, and scalar) for all the variables present in the model at Time 1 was performed (Asparouhov & Muthén, 2014). In a first step, the CFA model showed good fit indices, $\chi^2(237) = 690.678, p < .001$; root mean square error of approximation = .052 (90% CI = [.048, .057]); standardized root mean-square residual = .039; comparative fit index = .96; Tucker-Lewis index = .95, allowing us to continue with the invariance testing. In a second step, support for configural invariance was found with unconstrained factor loadings and intercepts between subsamples; all factor loadings were significant ($p < .001$). In a third step, support for metric invariance was also confirmed by comparing its fit indices with the configural solution: The model that constrains factor loadings (metric) to be equal across samples was not significantly worse than the model with unconstrained factor loadings (configural) and intercepts between samples, $\Delta\chi^2(17) = 14.576, p = .63$. In the next step, there was no evidence to support scalar invariance (the model which constrained intercepts to be equal across samples was significantly worse than the configural model, $\Delta\chi^2(34) = 52.863, p = .021$). However, by inspecting the absolute changes in the fit indices between the configural and scalar level of invariance using the method proposed by Chen (2007), all of them were below the critical thresholds, rendering these issues less problematic in psychometric terms. Finally, we tested for invariance of the two dimensions also measured at T2, namely identification and acculturation. The invariance test supported all levels of invariance between groups: metric versus configural, $\Delta\chi^2(5) = 5.382, p = .37$; scalar versus metric, $\Delta\chi^2(5) = 6.340, p = .27$; and scalar versus configural, $\Delta\chi^2(10) = 11.722, p = .30$. Thus, as a whole, there is substantial evidence that confirms measurement invariance between nonindigenous Chileans and indigenous Mapuche in our data.

Missing Data Analysis

The pattern of missingness was tested by using the missing values option in SPSS 18 (IBM Corporation, New York, NY). The Little's (1988) test for missing completely at random (MCAR) was statistically significant ($p < .05$), indicating that the variables considered in the study did not meet the strict assumption of MCAR (missingness is completely unsystematic, Enders, 2010). Consequently, in order to hold the hypothesis of missing at random (missingness is related to other measured variables in the analysis

model; Enders, 2010), predictors that are the source of the missing data in our analysis at T1 were included in the final model. Of importance, the major attrition of participants happened in schools situated in Temuco, in the south of Chile. Temuco was heavily impacted by both a strike of the National School Teacher Union and several natural disasters (heavy flooding and volcano eruption) during the time of data collection.

Data-Analytic Strategy

In order to test our initial hypotheses, we conducted longitudinal moderated mediation analyses with the data collected at both time points using an ordinary least squares regression method implemented in SPSS through the PROCESS macro developed by Hayes (2012). This method allows us to estimate confidence intervals for the conditional indirect effects in moderated mediation analyses and also provides an index of moderated mediation, which quantifies the relation between the proposed moderators and the indirect effects in a given model (Hayes, 2015). Inferential testing was carried out using a bias-corrected bootstrapping procedure that allows the estimation of asymmetric confidence intervals for conditional indirect effects and has been regarded as one of the best approaches for this purpose given that it explicitly incorporates information regarding the skew of product distributions at the same time that they do not require any specific assumptions from the sample distribution (MacKinnon, Lockwood, & Williams, 2004). An alternative approach would have been to use structural equation modeling (SEM), but in general researchers agree in that OLS and SEM yield similar if not interchangeable results aside from small differences between the standard errors given the differences in the calculation process (Hayes, 2012). We opted for OLS regression models because it provided a solid and simple framework for estimating the models needed to test our hypotheses through the PROCESS macro, and also because the missingness pattern that resulted from the moderately high level of attrition found in our data was not necessarily appropriate to conform to maximum likelihood estimation assumptions in SEM (Arbuckle, 1996).

In particular, we tested several longitudinal moderated mediation models using Hayes's Model 12. In these models, we tested the relation among our main predictors (either in-group norms or quality of contact), the mediator (Mapuche identification), the two moderators (age and ethnicity), and the dependent variables (either support for

Mapuche cultural maintenance or support for Mapuche adoption of the Chilean culture). As an example, in-group norms supporting cross-group friendship at T1 (the X factor in Hayes's Model 12) was entered as the predictor of either support for Mapuche cultural maintenance or support for Mapuche adoption of the Chilean culture at T2 (the Y factor in Hayes's Model 12), mediated by Mapuche identification at T2 (the M factor in Hayes's Model 12). Ethnic group (nonindigenous Chileans or Mapuche students) and age were tested as joint moderators in these models, represented as the W and Z factors, respectively (see Figure 1). The very same rationale, with the same mediator and moderator factors, was followed to test the models regarding the effect of quality of intergroup contact on acculturation preferences.

When testing a continuous moderator, by default PROCESS report results for three levels ($\pm 1 SD$). In the current analyses when using age as a moderator, the first level corresponds to the youngest children whose ages are 1 *SD* below the mean (10.28 years old), then a group of children that belong to the average group (12.22 years old), and then the older children whose ages are 1 *SD* above the mean (14.17 years old). As can be seen, these three age groups are a good representation of the students in the sample and they represent different developmental states.

When evidence for significant joint moderation by ethnic group and age was not found in the above models, we conducted moderated mediation models with ethnic group as a single moderator (Model 8; Hayes, 2012). In these models, the predictors, mediator, and outcomes variables were the same as used in Model 12 (see Figure 2). In all models, the mediator and outcome variables at T2 were controlled for at T1. Upper and lower values for the 95% confidence intervals (CIs) of the indirect effects were calculated using bias-corrected bootstrapping with 5,000 resamples.

Results

Descriptive Statistics

Zero-order correlations among all the observed variables of the study, as well as the means and standard deviations, are presented in Table 1.

Perceived In-Group Norms Predicting Support for Mapuche Cultural Maintenance

The first analysis found that age and ethnic group jointly moderate the indirect effect of in-

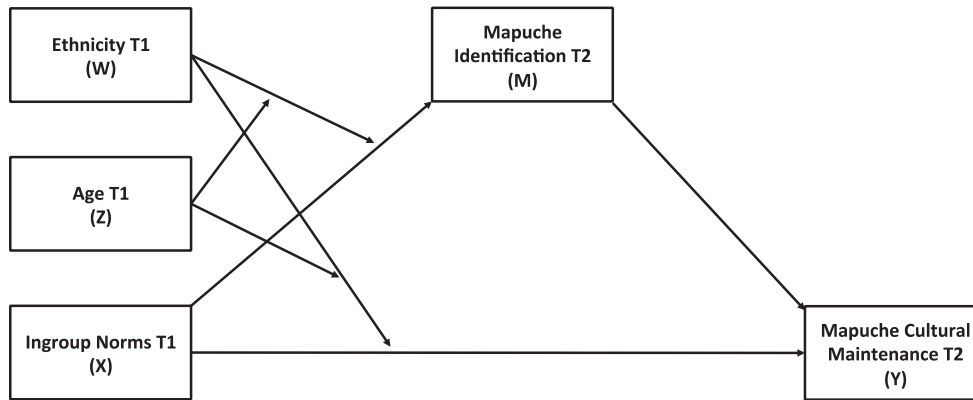


Figure 1. Conceptual longitudinal moderated mediation model for in-group norms predicting support for Mapuche cultural maintenance (Model 12, Hayes, 2012). This figure depicts Hayes' conceptual Model 12 (Hayes, 2012) used to test the longitudinal effect of in-group norms supporting cross-group friendship at T1 on Mapuche cultural maintenance at T2 mediated by Mapuche identification at T2 and moderated by both ethnicity and age measured at T1. Original notations for variables (in parentheses) are extracted from Hayes (2012). The predictor and moderators were measured at T1; mediator and outcome were measured at T2 and controlled for T1 (autoregressive paths are not depicted in the figure). The remaining models tested in this article are equal but with different predictor–outcome combinations, these being: (a) in-group norms predicting support for Mapuche adoption of the Chilean culture, (b) contact quality predicting cultural maintenance, and (c) contact quality predicting support for Mapuche adoption of the Chilean culture. For contact quality as a predictor, models with only ethnicity as a moderator (Model 8, Hayes, 2012) were also tested and are described in the Results, given the nonsignificant triple interaction effects when using both age and ethnicity as moderators.

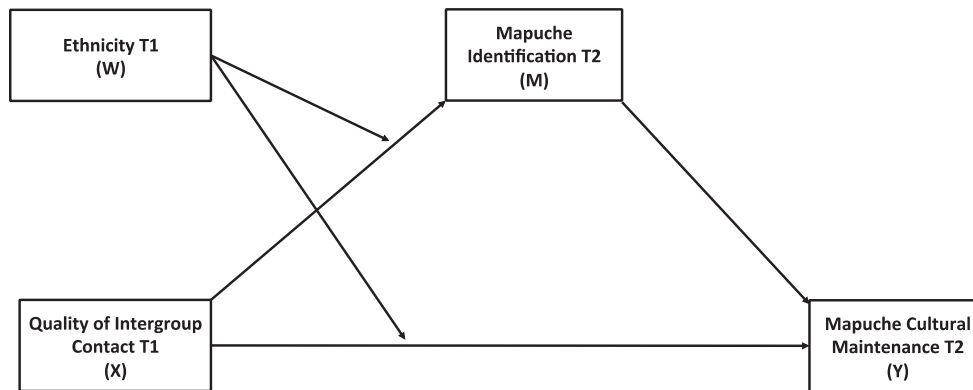


Figure 2. Conceptual longitudinal moderated mediation model for quality of contact predicting Mapuche cultural maintenance (Model 8, Hayes, 2012). This figure depicts Hayes' conceptual Model 8 (Hayes, 2012) used to test the longitudinal effects of quality of intergroup contact at T1 on Mapuche cultural maintenance at T2 mediated by Mapuche identification at T2 and moderated by ethnicity. Original notations (in parentheses) are extracted from Hayes' Model 8 (Hayes, 2012). A similar model was tested for quality of intergroup contact predicting support for Mapuche adoption of the Chilean culture.

group norms on support for Mapuche cultural maintenance through the mediator of Mapuche identification, $R^2 = .19$, $F(10, 447) = 10.56$, $p < .001$; $\beta = -.03$, $SE = .01$, 95% CI $[-.06, -.01]$. In examining the nature of this moderation, a positive indirect effect of in-group norms on cultural maintenance was found through Mapuche identification for Mapuche children. This was moderated such that a significantly larger effect was observed in younger children ($\beta = .07$, $SE = .04$, 95% CI $[.01, .17]$) compared to children of the average age group ($\beta = .05$, $SE = .03$, 95% CI $[.01, .11]$), and the older

children, for whom the indirect effect was not significant ($\beta = .03$, $SE = .03$, 95% CI $[-.02, .09]$). For nonindigenous children, a positive indirect effect of in-group norms on cultural maintenance was observed. However, this time, there was an opposite pattern of moderation by age: a significantly larger effect was observed in the older children ($\beta = .10$, $SE = .03$, 95% CI $[.06, .17]$) followed by children of the average age group ($\beta = .07$, $SE = .02$, 95% CI $[.03, .12]$), and then the younger children, for whom the indirect effect was not significant ($\beta = .04$, $SE = .02$, 95% CI $[-.01, .09]$).

Table 1
Descriptive Statistics and Correlations for All Variables Included in the Study

	Nonindigenous		Mapuche		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
	M (SD)	N	M (SD)	N									
1. Contact quality T1	4.72 (1.64)	634	5.20 (1.34)	270	—	.37**	.19**	.32**	.43**	.06	.15	.04	-.09
2. In-group norms T1	4.59 (1.68)	634	4.90 (1.48)	270	.63**	—	.23**	.26**	.33**	.21*	.19*	.17*	-.21**
3. Mapuche identification T1	3.26 (2.11)	634	4.62 (2.11)	270	.46**	.40**	—	.44**	.24**	.56**	.32**	.23**	-.15*
4. Cultural maintenance T1	5.07 (1.91)	634	5.38 (1.68)	270	.47**	.39**	.42**	—	.53**	.24**	.39**	.12	-.04
5. Cultural adoption T1	4.57 (1.95)	634	4.91 (1.74)	270	.30**	.34**	.29**	.50**	—	.07	.20*	.27**	-.10
6. Mapuche identification T2	3.15 (2.07)	333	4.76 (1.84)	130	.31**	.34**	.42**	.22**	.19**	—	.48**	.35**	-.16
7. Cultural maintenance T2	4.83 (1.98)	341	5.20 (1.66)	137	.21**	.25**	.18**	.33**	.16**	.28**	—	.46**	-.01
8. Cultural adoption T2	4.46 (1.94)	341	4.83 (1.76)	137	.15**	.18**	.15**	.11*	.29**	.27**	.57**	—	-.17
9. Age	12.47 (2.00)	629	12.8 (1.99)	265	-.16**	-.16**	-.13**	-.07	-.07	.00	.04	.03	—

Note. Correlations for Mapuche students are above the diagonal; correlations for nonindigenous Chilean students are below the diagonal. In-group norms = norms supporting cross-group friendship; Cultural maintenance = support for Mapuche cultural maintenance; Cultural adoption = support for Mapuche adoption of the Chilean culture. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

Perceived In-Group Norms Predicting Support for Mapuche Adoption of the Chilean Culture

Again, a joint interaction between age and ethnicity was found to moderate the indirect effects of in-group norms on support for Mapuche adoption of the Chilean culture through the mediator of Mapuche identification, $R^2 = .15$, $F(10, 447) = 7.93$, $p < .001$; $\beta = -.03$, $SE = .01$, 95% CI $[-.05, -.00]$, mirroring the pattern of results observed for the effect of perceived in-group norms on Mapuche cultural maintenance. In examining the nature of this moderation, first we found that there was a positive indirect effect of in-group norms supporting cross-group friendship on support for Mapuche adoption of the Chilean culture through Mapuche identification for nonindigenous children. Mirroring the previous pattern of results, the indirect effect was significantly stronger for the older children ($\beta = .10$, $SE = .03$, 95% CI $[.05, .16]$), followed by the average age group ($\beta = .06$, $SE = .02$, 95% CI $[.03, .12]$), and the younger children, for whom this indirect effect was not significant ($\beta = .03$, $SE = .02$, 95% CI $[-.01, .08]$). That is, more positive in-group norms supporting cross-group friendship with Mapuche children predicted greater Mapuche identification in nonindigenous children, which in turn predicted greater support for Mapuche adoption of the Chilean culture. The magnitude of this effect increased significantly as a function age.

Now with regard to Mapuche indigenous children, we found an opposite pattern of results. This time the indirect effect was significantly stronger for the younger children ($\beta = .06$, $SE = .04$, 95% CI $[.00, .15]$), followed by the average age group ($\beta = .05$, $SE = .03$, 95% CI $[.00, .11]$), and the older children, for whom this indirect effect was not significant ($\beta = .03$, $SE = .03$, 95% CI $[-.02, .08]$). As it was the case for the effect of in-group norm on Mapuche cultural maintenance, more positive in-group norms supporting cross-group friendship with nonindigenous Chileans predicted greater Mapuche identification in indigenous children, which in turn predicted greater support for Mapuche adoption of the Chilean culture. This time, the magnitude of this effect significantly decreased as a function of age.

Quality of Contact Predicting Mapuche Cultural Maintenance

In testing the joint moderated mediation models for quality of contact predicting Mapuche cultural maintenance, evidence for a three-way interaction

was not found through Mapuche identification ($\beta = -.02$, $SE = .02$, 95% CI $[-.05, .01]$). Then, in testing a model using only ethnic group as a moderator (Model 8, Hayes, 2012; see Figure 2), the relation between quality of contact and support for Mapuche cultural maintenance through Mapuche identification was found to be moderated by ethnic group, $R^2 = .18$, $F(7, 450) = 14.82$, $p < .001$; $\beta = -.05$, $SE = .03$, 95% CI $[-.12, -.00]$, such that the indirect effect through Mapuche identification was significant only for nonindigenous children, $\beta = .04$, $SE = .02$, 95% CI $[.01, .09]$. That is, for nonindigenous students, better quality of contact with Mapuche students predicted greater Mapuche identification, which in turn predicted greater support for Mapuche cultural maintenance.

Quality of Contact Predicting Support for Mapuche Adoption of the Chilean Culture

Age and ethnic group were not found to jointly moderate the indirect effect of quality of contact on support for Mapuche adoption of the Chilean culture through Mapuche identification, $\beta = -.02$, $SE = .01$, 95% CI $[-.05, .01]$. When testing a moderated mediation model using only ethnic group as a moderator (Model 8, Hayes, 2012; see Figure 2), ethnic group was found to moderate the indirect effect of quality of contact on support for Mapuche adoption of the Chilean culture through Mapuche identification, $R^2 = .15$, $F(7, 450) = 11.18$, $p < .001$; $\beta = -.05$, $SE = .03$, 95% CI $[-.12, -.00]$, such that the indirect effect was again only significant for nonindigenous children, $\beta = .04$, $SE = .02$, 95% CI $[.01, .09]$. That is, for the nonindigenous students, better quality of contact was found to predict greater support for Mapuche adoption of the Chilean culture through increasing students' identification with the Mapuche.

Discussion

As an attempt to integrate research on the development of social identity and acculturation with research on intergroup contact (Brown & Zagefka, 2011), the present longitudinal study examined how the normative support for, and quality of, social interaction between Mapuche and nonindigenous Chilean children from late childhood and early adolescence affected identity development and acculturation preferences over time. In particular, the current study includes the examination of the role of several layers of the ecological niche

(Bronfenbrenner, 2001) in which children and adolescents develop their identities, ranging from proximal processes (i.e., peer interactions and contact) to wider sociocultural tendencies (i.e., family norms or values). Moreover, it examined psychological mechanisms that are part of the internalization of norms during the transition from late childhood to adolescence.

According to Berry's acculturation preferences model (Berry, 1970) and its subsequent developments (Bourhis et al., 1997), both cultural maintenance and cultural adoption play a central role in the cultural integration processes of minorities (for instance, immigrants or indigenous) and are a fundamental pillar of their psychological well-being and healthy adaptation to the dominant culture (Berry et al., 2006; Brown & Zagefka, 2011; González & Brown, 2017). Yet, we know little about how to foster the acculturation preferences that bring about these positive outcomes. It is through the study of this rather neglected topic in the literature that we will be able to understand the cultural integration processes from the perspective of both Mapuche ethnic minorities and nonindigenous Chilean majorities (Brown & Zagefka, 2011; González & Brown, 2017).

Following Allen, Mohatt, Markstrom, Byers, and Novins' (2012) suggestion, the present study aggregated peer, friends, and parental norms, stressing the increasingly central role that peers have in shaping adolescents' attitudes, but also acknowledging the role that parental norms continue having throughout adolescence particularly regarding moral and conventional issues (Daddis, 2011). In other words, even though adolescents increasingly demand autonomy and question their parents' perspectives, over conventional issues (such as social conventions regarding intergroup relations) parental norms remain as significant references.

The most important findings of the present study regard the role of perceived in-group norms supporting cross-group friendship in predicting acculturation preferences. First, the more Mapuche and nonindigenous children perceived their family, peers, and friends to support cross-group friendship, the stronger they identified with the minority group (i.e., the Mapuche group). In turn, greater Mapuche identification predicted greater support for both the maintenance of Mapuche culture and adoption of the Chilean culture. These effects were remarkable and significantly moderated by ethnicity and age, with stronger effects in the younger Mapuche children and in the older nonindigenous children. These age and ethnic differences may be

due to processes related to identity development that become salient during adolescence. Baumeister and Muraven (1996) argue that identity development refers to a process in which the individual constructs the self as an adaptation to their context. From this perspective, individuals who experience more conflicts in their identity formation such as minority youth (Phinney et al., 1990)—the Mapuche children in the present study—may start earlier to recognize their relative group status, and therefore the positive effect of in-group norms (as facilitating individuals' adaptation to the context) may also be salient earlier for them. During a phase of internalizing norms, this developmental process might bring minority children to be more contextually dependent and attached to in-group rules and moral standards than older children. This then allows them to develop a sense of belonging and identity (Eisenberg et al., 2015) in social contexts where they experience pressures to assimilate into the mainstream culture (Brown & Zagefka, 2011). In other words, specific attributes that place children in a minority group (in this study, being Mapuche) would be more salient for identity development, as children would be more aware and sensitive to these attributes.

It is regarding this specific process that acculturation preferences may play a central role given the benefits that cultural adoption provides for minorities in terms of adaptation to their social contexts, at the same time that they might be struggling to maintain their own ethnic identity, culture, and traditions (Berry et al., 2006; Brown & Zagefka, 2011). Our findings not only highlight the acculturative struggle but also provide evidence about how perceived in-group norms supporting cross-group friendship with Chilean out-group members can positively support early identity development of indigenous minorities by strengthening their own ethnic identity and fostering their desire for maintaining their own culture, values, and traditions, thus making the process of adaptation to the majority's culture smoother and easier.

During adolescence, peer norms become crucial for adolescents' attitudes regarding interethnic relationships (Bronfenbrenner, 2001; Nesdale, 2004). Considering that developmental goals during adolescence refer mainly to establishing a social position within the peer ecology and establishing intimate social bonds with others (Ojanen et al., 2005), peers become an essential reference for self-evaluation for adolescence and set the stage of what is socially valued (Steinberg & Monahan, 2007). Therefore, group norms may be highly relevant for

adolescent's attitudes and acculturation preferences and may be largely affected by social contexts that define what is appropriate for social relationships (Rodkin, Ryan, Jamison, & Wilson, 2013).

In particular, our findings suggest that for majority adolescents, it is likely that interethnic awareness (and potential identity conflicts) may appear at a later stage (Meeus, 2011; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014). Compared to minority members, majority members (such as our nonindigenous adolescents) are less concerned about their group membership and ethnic identity in earlier stages. This becomes more salient when they learn about their social environment and recognize ethnic diversity as an issue by perceiving social norms supporting contact with minority out-group members from their relevant in-group members (e.g., family members, peers, and in-group friends). After all, perceived norms seem to dictate in our day life what we perceive as valuable by identifying what our fellow in-group members value too (De Tezanos-Pinto et al., 2010; Turner, Hewstone, Voci, & Vonofakou, 2008). Thus, perceived in-group norms allow adolescents to learn and navigate in social environments and make ethnic identities more visible.

Additionally, in accordance with the concept of exploration (Phinney et al., 1990), adolescents achieve a sense of ethnic identity only after they have explored, accepted, and internalized their ethnicity (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014). In this vein, we may conjecture that this increased awareness of ethnic identity just begins to develop in our Mapuche children around ages 10–11, compared with their counterparts of later ages (i.e., Mapuche adolescents around age 14). Thus, younger Mapuche children's ethnic identities seem to be anchored to the process of identification with their in-group that is typical of childhood. In later developmental stages, however, it seems that adolescents of minority ethnic groups are more likely to build their identities based on exploration. Thus, it seems possible to argue that during Mapuche late childhood, in comparison with middle adolescence, the effect of perceived in-group norms on supporting their cultural maintenance and their willingness to adopt the majority Chilean's culture is more dependent on this identification processes. On the other hand, for Mapuche middle adolescents, it seems there might be other mechanisms related to exploration that can contribute to understand the lack of relation between in-group norms and acculturation preferences. Studying this in more detail is important in future research linking in-group norms, contact, and acculturation in minority adolescents.

Even though nonindigenous children may undergo the process of ethnic identity awareness at a later stage in comparison with indigenous children, our findings suggest that in-group norms supporting intergroup contact also played an important positive role for majority adolescents, not only because Mapuche preferences for maintaining their culture depend partially on their perceptions of how much nonindigenous people support the cultural maintenance of Mapuche people (Zagefka et al., 2011), but also because they are an identity threat-reducing mechanism in which peers have a strong influence on nonindigenous adolescents' identification with Mapuche culture. Identification with the Mapuche group, in turn, has an effect on their willingness to accept and value the Mapuche group as nonthreatening, and thus wanting them to adopt their way of living and welcoming them to their own culture, but simultaneously valuing Mapuche maintaining their original culture, which is the basis for cultural integration and social cohesion in societies where different ethnic groups can harmoniously coexist and have healthy interactions and social relations (Berry, 1997; Berry et al., 2006; Brown & Zagefka, 2011; González & Brown, 2006).

Regarding our findings on the role of intergroup contact on the development of acculturation preferences, it is noteworthy that the relation between quality of contact and support for Mapuche cultural maintenance and support for Mapuche adoption of the Chilean culture through Mapuche identification was found to be significant for nonindigenous children only. That is, better quality of contact with Mapuche students predicted greater Mapuche identification, which in turn predicted greater support for Mapuche cultural maintenance and support for Mapuche adoption of the Chilean culture. Indeed, there has been a profound debate in the contact literature indicating that contact does not operate in the same way for majority and minority members. Research evidence has shown an asymmetrical pattern for the effect of contact on intergroup attitudes. Although contact has a positive correlation with attitudes toward out-group members for both majority and minority groups (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006), majority members' attitudes toward minorities are improved to a greater degree by positive contact experiences compared to those of minority members (Shelton et al., 2005; Tropp & Pettigrew, 2005). That was exactly what we found in the current study. Therefore, understanding the minority (indigenous) perspective seems to be a critical aspect to tackle in future research linking contact

and acculturation theorizing (González & Brown, 2017; Zagefka et al., 2011).

Having said that, the fact that we found consistent and positive effect of quality of contact on the development of support for both acculturation preferences among the nonindigenous minority children throughout identifying with the Mapuche group regardless of their developmental stage provides strong evidence to support the idea that positive contact experiences with indigenous minority brings about nonindigenous desire for cultural integration of minority indigenous. Knowing that positive contact experiences could be effective for developing acculturation preferences for children of all ages among the majority members speaks to the factors to consider when implementing contact interventions aimed at fostering positive interethnic attitudes at different developmental stages (Cameron, Rutland, Hossain, & Petley, 2011). It seems obvious that majority members might also have expectations about how minorities should live in the country (Berry, 1997; González et al., 2010; Piontkowski, Florack, Hoelker, & Obdržálek, 2000; Zagefka et al., 2009). Even though this issue has been highlighted as theoretically important, there is more research on minorities' acculturation preferences than of majority members. Indeed, we know that the majority can exert more power over the intergroup relationship as they represent the numerical majority and their culture is more strongly embedded in the country's civic and political institutions. Therefore, it is critical to understand the majority's point of view as their preferences make an important contribution to promote multiculturalism (González & Brown, 2017; Hässler et al., 2015).

The fact that Mapuche identification predicted the extent to which nonindigenous children and adolescent supported both Mapuche adopting the Chilean culture and maintaining their indigenous culture is consistent with previous research. Indeed, Pehrson et al. (2011) found that nonindigenous Chileans conceive the Mapuche culture as an important element of the Chilean culture and identity. Therefore, it is not surprising to see that the more our nonindigenous children identify with the Mapuche group, the more they are willing to integrate them into the mainstream society. Our research suggests that this majority identification process may begin in childhood and seems to be particularly relevant when understanding acculturation preferences of both majority and minority members. This could also be reason why our nonindigenous participants supported Mapuche maintaining their culture and

exhibited lower but moderate level of identification with the Mapuche group (see Table 1).

On the other hand, it is important to keep in mind that the Chileans and the Mapuche identities are not clear cut, and, more importantly, they are not incompatible with each other. After all, both nonindigenous Chileans and Mapuche are indeed Chileans and, at that psychological level, they share a common identity (González & Brown, 2006). In addition, Mapuche people see themselves as both Mapuche and Chilean, but Mapuche identity predominates (Saiz et al., 2008). This fact is consistent with what has been conceptualized as dual identity (González & Brown, 2006) and might contribute to explain why Mapuche have a tendency toward maintaining their culture while simultaneously adopting the Chilean culture.

Thus, the fact that nonindigenous Chileans might want Mapuche people to adopt the Chilean culture does not necessarily mean that they also want Mapuche to resign their own cultural heritage. Indeed, by inspecting our data (see Table 1) and the pattern of results portrayed in Figures 1 and 2, we can infer that nonindigenous Chileans are in general in favor of integrating them rather than assimilating them into the Chilean society. Assimilation only predominates when there is a disposition to support cultural adoption but not cultural maintenance, which is not the case in our study.

Finally, we would like to highlight the fact that the current study, to our knowledge, is the first one to establish a link between perceived in-group norms and contact experiences as antecedents of identity and acculturation preferences of indigenous and nonindigenous children over time in Latin America. This topic has been rather neglected in the literature, even though it is a highly significant issue in cultures where indigenous (minority) groups face strong pressure for assimilation into the mainstream society like in Chile and many other countries in Latin America, where in some cases the indigenous communities represent more than 40% of their population such as Bolivia, Peru, and Ecuador. But this issue is also relevant in developed countries such as Canada, New Zealand, and Australia, where indigenous population seeks a social system that recognizes and values their group and cultural distinctiveness.

Conceptual and Policy Implications

The findings from this study point toward several policy implications and raise several interesting questions for future research. First, our results further support a long line of research demonstrating

the benefits of the positive quality of intergroup contact and in-group norms supporting contact. Thus, it seems that programs that actively promote and support cross-group friendship might be beneficial in terms of intergroup attitudes (see Lemmer & Wagner, 2015; Tropp et al., 2016). But the results also suggest that the effectiveness of these efforts should be stronger if they consider the important role that the social network (e.g., parents, siblings, or friends) plays in fostering values and norms supporting the development of cross-group friendships. Such efforts should be tested to determine whether an actively designed support for contact has the same positive outcomes as in our research.

Second, given that prior research indicates that minority youth who both adopt the majority culture while also maintaining their subgroup culture often have the best psychosocial outcomes, there is benefit to examining ways in which schools can appropriately encourage this in the school context. Such programs may have benefits for both majority and minority group children. For example, the current results show that in the Chilean context nonindigenous children readily identify with Mapuche culture. Thus, school programs in areas with large numbers of indigenous children may develop programs that highlight the value of Mapuche culture and history in ways that would encourage cultural maintenance among Mapuche youth while also potentially increasing nonindigenous youth's support for Mapuche cultural maintenance. However, given the contentious intergroup history and the danger of culture misappropriation of minority culture by the majority, these programs should be developed with significant community input and be carefully evaluated.

Finally, the fact that age moderated the relation between norms supporting cross-group friendship and acculturation preferences highlights the need of carefully considering the developmental aspects when designing interventions aimed at developing ethnic identities in multiethnic school contexts (Meeus et al., 2012). The current study revealed that in-group norms supporting contact seem to operate in different ways for indigenous minority in comparison to nonindigenous majority members. Therefore, future interventions involving contact, norms as antecedents of ethnic identity change, and acculturation preferences should start earlier for members of minority groups. By focusing the attention on the mechanism that link contact and norm with changes in acculturation preferences, namely attachment and commitment with the minority identity, would likely increase the effectiveness of future school interventions.

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