Diversity and equity

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Abstract

Purpose – The purpose of this paper is to describe and analyse two features of multicultural societies: diversity and equity. The author argues that both these features are necessary for multicultural societies and their institutions to be successful. Diversity is understood to include variations in culture, ethnicity, religion, age, gender and sexual orientation. Equity is understood to include inclusive participation and the removal of barriers to such participation. Diversity without the opportunity for equitable participation can lead to a form of separation; equity without diversity can lead to a form of assimilation; the absence of both can lead to marginalisation; and the presence of both can lead to a full integration.

Design/methodology/approach – This is a conceptual paper with a focus on better understanding of how to manage multicultural societies and institutions.

Findings – The author distinguishes between three meanings of multiculturalism; as demography; as policy; and as ideology. He proposes a conceptual framework to illustrate the various ways in which intercultural relations may take place at three levels (society, institutions and individual), and with two kinds of groups (dominant and non-dominant). An analysis of multiculturalism policy in Canada and internationally reveals three principles needed for success in such societies: the multiculturalism principle; the integration principle; and the contact principle.

Research limitations/implications – The use of these concepts for better management of intercultural relations in multicultural societies and institutions through mutual adaptation is proposed.

Originality/value – With much debate and confusion about the meaning and value of multiculturalism, this paper has sought to clarify many of the concepts and distinctions.

Keywords Policy, Ideology, Integration/multiculturalism, Assimilation/melting pot, Marginalisation/exclusion, Separation/segregation

Paper type Viewpoint

1. Diversity, equity and multiculturalism

Most contemporary societies are diverse with respect to culture, ethnicity, religion, gender, age and sexual orientation. In order to live successfully together in such societies, we need to understand that diversity must be accompanied by equity if individuals and groups are to achieve mutual accommodation. Perhaps the most researched aspect of diversity is that of cultural diversity, which is usually captured by the concept of multiculturalism. This paper will focus on this concept.

The concept of multiculturalism has acquired many meanings in the past 40 years, and these meanings vary across societies. In the 1970s, Berry *et al.* (1977) defined multiculturalism as having two equally important emphases: the presence of ethnocultural diversity in a society; and the presence of equitable participation by all cultural groups in that society. With respect to the first aspect, they made the distinction among three different meanings of the ethnocultural diversity component of multiculturalism. First, multiculturalism is a demographic fact: most societies around the world are now culturally diverse. Second, multiculturalism is an ideology: individuals and groups hold views about their acceptance or rejection of this diversity. And third, some governments articulate public policies and develop programmes with respect to the acceptability and promotion of diversity. These three features are closely

related. Without the presence of diversity there is no need to be concerned with what people think about it, and there would be no need for governmental action.

Although multiculturalism is sometimes thought of as only referring to the presence of cultural diversity in a society, the second core element of multiculturalism (equitable participation) is equally important. A view of multiculturalism that only considers the existence of cultural diversity may lead to the emergence of separate cultural groups within a diverse society. Diversity without equal participation will lead to separation or segregation; equal participation without diversity will result in assimilation or the pursuit of the melting pot; in the absence of diversity and equity, marginalisation and exclusion will likely occur; but when both diversity and equity are present, integration and multiculturalism are found.

2. Intercultural strategies in culturally diverse societies

Although all culturally diverse societies experience challenges in facing their diversity, all societies do not develop and pursue the same strategies to deal with them. The main challenge is to work out how societies, groups and individuals will engage in their intercultural relations. There are two core issues that need to be examined and addressed in all diverse societies. The concept of intercultural strategies has been proposed to conceptualise the various options (also called acculturation strategies; Berry, 1970, 1974, 1980). These variations have been derived from two basic issues facing all peoples in culturally diverse societies. These issues are based on the distinction between orientations towards one's own group, and those towards other groups. This distinction is rendered as a relative preference for maintaining one's heritage culture and identity and a relative preference for having contact with and participating in the larger society along with other ethnocultural groups. These are the same two issues that were identified as characterizing all diverse societies: accepting diversity, and promoting equitable participation (see also Koopmans, 2010).

These two issues can be responded to attitudinal dimensions, ranging from generally positive or negative orientations to these issues; their intersection defines four strategies, portrayed in Figure 1. On the left are the orientations from the point of view of
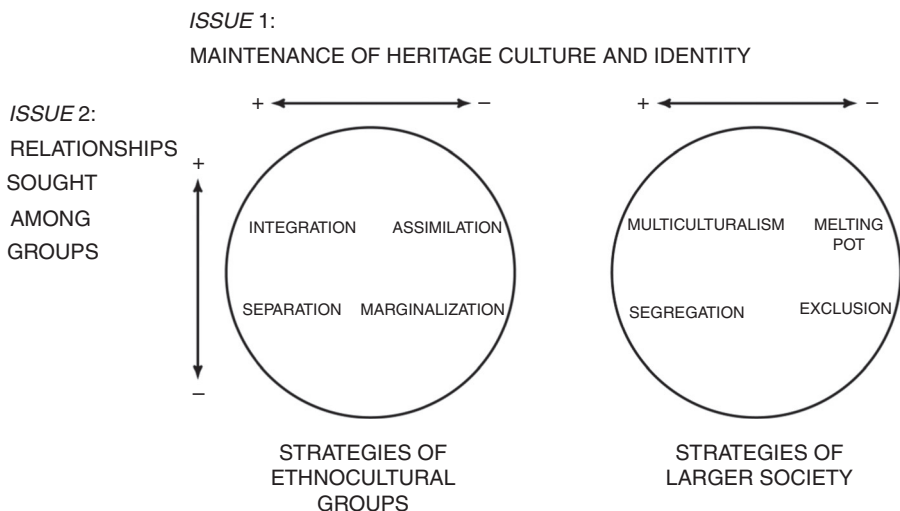

ISSUE 1:

MAINTENANCE OF HERITAGE CULTURE AND IDENTITY

ISSUE 2:
RELATIONSHIPS SOUGHT AMONG GROUPS

INTEGRATION   ASSIMILATION

SEPARATION   MARGINALIZATION

MULTICULTURALISM   MELTING POT

SEGREGATION   EXCLUSION

STRATEGIES OF ETHNOCULTURAL GROUPS

STRATEGIES OF LARGER SOCIETY

Figure 1.
Intercultural strategies in ethnocultural groups and the larger society

non-dominant ethnocultural peoples (both groups and individuals); on the right are the views held by the larger society (such as their public policies and public attitudes).

Among non-dominant ethnocultural groups, when they do not wish to maintain their cultural identity and seek daily interaction with other cultures, the assimilation strategy is defined. In contrast, when individuals place a high value on holding on to their original culture, and at the same time wish to avoid interaction with others, then the separation alternative is defined. When there is an interest in both maintaining one's original culture, while in daily interactions with other groups in the larger society, integration is the option. In this case, there is some degree of cultural integrity maintained, while at the same time seeking, as a member of an ethnocultural group, to participate as an integral part of the larger social network. Finally, when there is little possibility or interest in cultural maintenance (often for reasons of forced cultural loss), and little engagement with the larger society (often for reasons of exclusion or discrimination) then marginalisation is defined.

These two basic issues are often approached from the point of view of the non-dominant ethnocultural groups. However, there is a powerful role played by the dominant group in influencing the way in which ethnocultural individuals groups would relate (Berry, 1974). The views of the larger society are shown on the right side of Figure 1. From the point of view of the larger society, these views are termed expectations about how all groups should interact. Assimilation when demanded by the dominant group is termed the melting pot. When separation is forced by the dominant group it is called segregation. Marginalisation, when imposed by the dominant group is termed exclusion (Bourhis *et al.*, 1997). Finally, when both diversity maintenance and equitable participation are widely accepted features of the society as a whole, integration is called multiculturalism.

It is important to emphasise that within this framework, the concept of integration involves engagement with both cultures. It is not a euphemism for assimilation, which involves engagement with only the larger society; that is, cultural maintenance is a core part of the concept of integration. Nor does multiculturalism refer to only engagement with members of their own ethnocultural groups (segregation). For there to be integration, members of these communities must also engage with, and become constituents of, the larger society.

These intercultural strategies are related to a number of psychological and social factors. The most important is the discrimination experienced by an individual; less discrimination is usually reported by those opting for integration and assimilation, while more is experienced by those opting for separation or marginalisation (see Berry *et al.*, 2006). In this international study of immigrant youth who were settled in 13 countries, discrimination was found to contribute to both the experience of marginalisation, and to the lack of psychological and social well-being. This is an example of the reciprocity of intercultural attitudes found in the literature (Berry, 2006): if persons (such as immigrants or members of ethnocultural groups) feel rejected by others in the larger society or their workplace, they reciprocate this rejection by choosing a strategy that avoids contact with others outside their own group.

In the same international immigrant youth study (Berry *et al.*, 2006), key relationships were found between features of a society and a range of psychological phenomena. For example, some societies were considered to be "settler societies" (e.g. Australia, Canada, the USA), in which immigration has been a part of nation-building. With respect to acculturation strategies, over half of immigrant youth preferred integration in these settler societies while fewer preferred this way of

acculturating in the other societies. Another feature was that the correlations between national and ethnic identities were all positive in the settler societies, while they were generally negative in the other societies. This implies that immigrant youth figured out that it is possible to be "both" in settler societies, but see these two identities as opposed in other societies. Finally, cultural diversity was associated with acculturation and intercultural relations. In societies that are high on diversity, there was greater frequency of a preference for integration as evidenced by young people's joint orientation to both heritage culture and to the national society. With integration (and for assimilation) perceived discrimination was low, but was high when the youth preferred separation or marginalisation.

3. Locus of intercultural strategies

These various strategies can be used by individuals and groups in both the non-dominant groups and the larger society. They can also be used by institutions within the larger society. One way to view the locus of intercultural strategies is presented in Figure 2. This shows six places in which these various orientations can be found. On the right are the views held by the various ethnocultural (or "minority") groups (who usually are non-dominant in the contact situation); on the left are the views held by the larger (or "mainstream") society. There are three levels, with the most encompassing group level (the national society or ethnocultural groups) at the top; at the bottom are the least encompassing (the individuals who are members of these groups); and in between are various social groupings (called "institutions"), which can be corporations, governmental agencies, and educational, justice or health systems.

At the upper level, we can examine national policies in the larger society and the stated goals of particular ethnocultural groups within the larger society. For national policies, the Canadian and Australian national policies of multiculturalism correspond to the integration strategy by which both heritage cultural maintenance and full participation in the larger society by all groups are promoted. Many ethnocultural groups also express their preferences in formal statements: some seek integration into the larger society (e.g. Maori in New Zealand), while some others seek separation (e.g. Scottish National Party or Parti Quebecois, who seek full independence for their groups). At the individual level, as we have seen, we can measure acculturation expectations (Berry, 2003) in the larger society; this perspective is captured in concept of multicultural ideology (Berry *et al.*, 1977). Multicultural ideology is defined as an appreciation of the value of cultural diversity for a society, and a need for mutual

LEVELS	DOMINANT • Mainstream • Larger Society	NON-DOMINANT • Minority Group • Cultural Group
NATIONAL	National Policies	Group Goals
INDIVIDUAL	Multicultural Ideology	Acculturation Strategies
INSTITUTIONAL	Uniform or Plural	Diversity and Equity

Figure 2.
Locus of
intercultural
strategies

acceptance and accommodation that promotes equitable participation. At the institutional level, competing visions rooted in these alternative strategies confront and even conflict with each other daily. Most frequently, non-dominant ethnocultural groups seek the joint goals of diversity and equity. This involves, first, the recognition of the group's cultural uniqueness and specific needs, and second, having their groups' needs be met with the same level of understanding, acceptance, inclusion and support as those of the dominant group. The dominant society, however, may often prefer more uniform programmes and standards (based on their own cultural views) in such core institutions as corporations, education, health, justice and defence. The goals of diversity and equity correspond closely to the integration and multiculturalism strategies (combining cultural maintenance with inclusive participation), whereas the push for uniformity resembles the assimilation and melting pot approach.

With the use of the frameworks in Figures 1 and 2, comparisons of intercultural strategies can be made between groups and their individual members, and between non-dominant peoples and the larger societies within which they are acculturating. The ideologies and policies of the dominant group constitute an important element of intercultural research (see Berry *et al.*, 1977; Bourhis *et al.*, 1997), while preferences of non-dominant peoples are a core feature in understanding the process of acculturation in non-dominant groups (Berry, 2005). Inconsistencies and conflicts between these various acculturation preferences are sometimes sources of difficulty for acculturating individuals. Generally, when acculturation experiences cause problems for acculturating individuals, we observe the phenomenon of acculturative stress (sometimes called culture shock; Ward *et al.*, 2001).

4. Multiculturalism: demography, policy and ideology
In this section we examine the three main features of multiculturalism: as demographic diversity, as policy, and as ideology.

4.1 Demographic diversity
Ethnic, cultural, religious, linguistic and gender diversity are commonplace in most countries. Worldwide, Africa and Asia are home to the most diverse nations, while Japan and the Koreas are among the most ethnically homogenous. Many societies in North and South America are highly diverse; there is wide variation in the Middle East; and although diversity is increasing in the European Union, most European countries are relatively homogenous (Alesina *et al.*, 2003). In these data, Canada, Spain and Belgium are the most diverse societies, while Japan (South) Korea and Iceland are the least diverse.

While immigration has enhanced cultural diversity, in some societies diversity existed prior to large-scale immigration; this is because of the presence of many indigenous peoples. And diversity will continue to exist in many societies even if immigration slows or stops; this is because cultural continuity across generations is a common phenomenon. However, immigration has been a contentious issue in recent times in many countries (such as the USA, Europe and Australia). Diversity has been linked to a range of negative social outcomes, including greater anti-immigrant sentiments, perceived threat and hostile ethnic attitudes (Bloemraad and Wright, 2014; Dustmann *et al.*, 2011; Quillian, 1995; Schneider, 2008). Putnam's (2007) controversial research in the USA concluded that immigration and ethnic diversity reduce social solidarity, lower trust and altruism, and are associated with fewer friendships;

however, these claims have not been widely replicated in international research (e.g. Kesler and Bloemraad, 2010). In contrast, increasing diversity does not inevitably lead to conflict or reductions in social capital. For example, Kalin and Berry's (1982) examined Canadian neighbourhoods and showed that positive attitudes towards ethnic out-groups increased as a function of the size of the group in the neighbourhood. Similar trends have been found in New Zealand where residents' valuing of immigrants generally increase and immigrants' perceptions of discrimination decrease as a function of immigrant density (Ward *et al.*, 2011). In sum, multidisciplinary research converges to conclude that the impact of cultural diversity on intercultural relations in both nations and in neighbourhoods is shaped by broader demographic, social and political factors.

At the institutional level, cultural diversity brings both benefits and challenges. In educational settings diversity can have negative and positive consequences for interpersonal and intergroup relations (Vervoort *et al.*, 2010). For example, diversity may exert detrimental effects on academic achievement for both majority and minority group students (van Ewijk and Sleegers, 2010). At the same time diversity is known to have positive consequences for ethnic minority students who feel less vulnerable and lonely and experience greater feelings of self-worth in more diverse classrooms (Juvonen *et al.*, 2006).

In organisational settings, there can also be positive and negative consequences. For example, exposure to diversity can promote enhanced creativity and perspective-taking or greater conflict, diminished cohesion and lower productivity. Culturally diverse groups generate more creative solutions, which can lead to competitive advantages for organisations; at the same time, individuals frequently report greater conflict in culturally heterogeneous, compared to homogenous, settings (Stahl *et al.*, 2010). Furthermore, research points to the conclusion that the link between diversity and job performance is unstable and ultimately depends upon the context in which the work takes place (Kochan *et al.*, 2003).

In the end it is not cultural diversity *per se* that determines its positive or negative consequences for nations, neighbourhoods, schools or organisations. Rather it is more about how diversity and equitable inclusion are managed or accommodated. This conclusion leads us to examine the policy aspect of multiculturalism.

4.2 Policy
A summary of research on the features and outcomes of multiculturalism policies in Canada (Berry, 2013, 2014), in Europe (Berry and Sam, 2013) and in many societies around the world (Liu and Leung, 2013) provides an overview of this domain. In some countries, multiculturalism policies may be legislated to deal with the management and accommodation of diversity. Aligned to these policies are programmes that support cultural diversity and facilitate equitable participation for ethnocultural groups. It is important to recognise, however, that the presence of policies and programmes alone is not sufficient to achieve a successful multicultural society; it is imperative that the policies and programmes are systematically implemented and monitored.

As is the case with demographic diversity, there is great variation in the presence of multicultural policies and practices across countries. There is also much debate about their success and impact (e.g. Banting and Kymlicka, 2013; Colombo, 2015; Kymlicka, 2012; St Jacques, 2014). At present there are two important databases that describe and quantify the status of national multiculturalism policies: the Multicultural Policy Index (MPI; Banting and Kymlicka, 2006-2012), and the Migrant Integration Policy Index

(MIPEX, 2010). Both indices refer to policies relating to diversity and equity and are constructed on the basis of specific indicators about the degree to which a society pursues these two features of social organisation.

The MPI is an index that monitors and the evolution of multiculturalism policies in many countries (see www.queensu.ca/mcp/). It provides information about multiculturalism policies with respect to three types of non-dominant groups: immigrants, national minorities and indigenous peoples. The index includes a set of nine criteria to assess the degree of promotion of multiculturalism (by policy and practice) in plural societies. These criteria include the existence of: a government policy promoting multiculturalism; a multicultural ministry or secretariat; adoption of multiculturalism in the school curricula; ethnic representation in the media; exemptions of cultural groups from codes that are rooted in the dominant society (e.g. Sunday closing); allowing dual citizenship; funding of cultural organisations; and funding of bilingual or heritage language instruction.

Using the MPI Index, Bloemraad (2011; Wright and Bloemraad, 2012) examined the policies and practices of multiculturalism in various countries and tracked changes over the years from 1980 to 2010 using the MPI. The rankings on this index put Canada and Australia in first place, followed by Sweden, New Zealand, Belgium and the UK. Towards the middle are Spain, Portugal and the USA. Lowest placed are France, Germany, Italy, Switzerland and Denmark. Of particular interest is the Netherlands, which was rather high in 2000, but dropped to a low score in 2010. This earlier high position was the result of longstanding "pilarisation" policies (Fleras, 2009), while the drop may reflect the recent assertions in the Netherlands that multiculturalism has failed there (Vertovec and Wessendorf, 2010).

A second index, the MIPEX (www.mipex.eu/countries), is based on indicators of migrant integration in a number of policy domains: labour mobility, family reunion, education, political participation, long-term residence, access to nationality and anti-discrimination laws. Scores are currently provided for 37 countries. At the top are Sweden, Portugal and Canada; in the middle are Germany, France and the UK; and at the bottom are Cyprus, Latvia and Turkey.

In some societies, there is a common misconception that multiculturalism refers only to cultural diversity (i.e. the presence of many independent cultural communities). The view of multiculturalism as just cultural diversity seems to have been the basis of recent assertions in some European societies (e.g. in Germany, the Netherlands and the UK) that "multiculturalism has failed". For example, the British prime minister (Number 10, 2011) argued that state multiculturalism in "Britain had encouraged different cultures to live separate lives"[…] and that, "the UK needed a stronger national identity to prevent people turning to all kinds of extremism". From the perspective outlined here, we argue that multiculturalism has not failed because it was not really attempted in these societies. If multiculturalism is viewed and accepted only as the tolerated presence of different cultures in a society, without the simultaneous promotion of inclusion through programmes to reduce barriers to equitable participation, then a form of segregation or separation is the correct name for such policies, practices and ideologies. This view of multiculturalism as separation seems to have been recognised by Cameron. However, the proposed solution to the problem of segregation is more homogeneity rather than the pursuit of the double engagement option articulated in our vision of multiculturalism.

What are the effects of such multicultural policies? There is ample evidence that multiculturalism produces positive outcomes for non-dominant groups although the

precise effects vary dependent upon context and type of policies. Anti-discrimination policies improve economic outcomes for immigrants (Aleksynska and Algan, 2010), and wage gaps between immigrants and residents are lower in countries with more favourable immigration policies as defined by the MIPEX (Nieto *et al.*, 2013). Immigrants experience more belongingness in terms of citizenship acquisition, have higher levels of trust and report lower levels of discrimination in countries with more multicultural policies (Koopmans *et al.*, 2005; Wright and Bloemraad, 2012). More generally, Bloemraad and Wright (2014, p. 292) have concluded "that multicultural policies appear to have some modest positive effects on socio-political integration for first-generation immigrants and likely little direct effect, positive or negative, on those in the second generation". These favourable outcomes are mirrored in organisational settings where "identity conscious" as opposed to "identity blind" policies result in higher employment status for people of colour (Konrad and Linnehan, 1995).

Multiculturalism policies can also benefit dominant groups in society. Kesler and Bloemraad's (2010) 19-country study showed that multicultural policies increase a sense of belongingness, defined in terms of civic participation. Yet despite these positive outcomes, multicultural policies have often been misunderstood as exclusionary and perceived as threatening by members of the dominant ethnocultural group (Plaut *et al.*, 2011). Current debates within the USA have focused on the merits of multicultural vs colour-blind ideologies and policies. In contrast to the tenets of multiculturalism, which reflect a positive recognition and accommodation of diversity, colour-blind ideologies and policies ignore or minimise group differences and are consistent with the "melting pot" metaphor for managing diversity. Although the colour-blind strategy is often portrayed by members of the dominant group as a mechanism for decreasing inequality, instead it functions as a justification for existing inequality and is associated with stronger racial bias bringing with it negative consequences in educational and organisational settings (Apfelbaum *et al.*, 2012). In contrast, multicultural models of diversity are associated with greater inclusiveness, less racial bias, and more engagement from non-dominant groups (Plaut *et al.*, 2009, 2011). Overall, multicultural policy approaches have been shown to promote "positive psychological, educational and organisational outcomes for minorities and organisations" (Plaut *et al.*, 2011, p. 2).

4.3 Ideology
As mentioned above, evaluations made by individuals about the value of diversity and equity have been referred to as multicultural ideology (Berry *et al.*, 1977). Intergroup ideologies vary markedly across countries. For example, Ward and Masgoret (2008) assembled scores on the acceptance of multicultural ideology for a number of countries. In this data set, New Zealand, Australia and Sweden were most accepting of this ideology, while Greece, Austria and Germany were least accepting. They analysed data from the (European Commission, 2007) public opinion poll across 27 European countries. Results indicated that agreement with the general premise that ethnic diversity enriches national culture (the diversity element of multicultural ideology) varies from 32 per cent in Malta to 86 per cent in Sweden. At the same time the specific proposition that there should be more ethnic minority members of parliament (the participation element) receives a lower level of endorsement ranging from 17 per cent in Bulgaria and Cyprus to 66 per cent in Sweden and France. There is strong evidence that multiculturalism receives greater support as an abstract principle while more concrete examples of multiculturalism are often viewed as threatening to members of the dominant group (Yogeeswaran and Dasgupta, 2014).

Guimond *et al.* (2014) examined three intercultural ideologies. The first is assimilation (such as in Germany), where the goal is to reduce or even to eliminate cultural differences. The second is colour blindness (such as in France), where cultural difference are ignored and considered to be unimportant in relation to the basic humanity of all peoples. The third is multiculturalism (such as in Australia and Canada), where cultural differences are celebrated and considered to be a national resource. They examined the role of these intergroup ideologies in promoting intergroup harmony. They found that multiculturalism and colour blindness have less deleterious consequences for intergroup relations compared to assimilation ideology. However, they note that some research has uncovered negative consequences of these ideologies for intergroup relations (Rattan and Ambady, 2013; Sasaki and Voraur, 2013).

In another study, Guimond *et al.* (2013) sampled university students in Canada, Germany, the UK and the USA. They examined the personal attitudes and the perceived norms in their society towards both assimilation and multiculturalism. They found that the perceived norm for multiculturalism was highest in Canada, followed by the USA, UK and Germany; in contrast, the perceived norm for assimilation was highest in Germany, followed by the UK, the USA and Canada. This pattern was taken as evidence of the usual placement of these societies as being high to low on the acceptance of diversity. Personal attitudes towards multiculturalism also varied across the four societies, with Canada having the most positive and Germany the least. However, for personal attitudes towards assimilation, there were no important differences.

5. Multiculturalism framework
As just noted, many culturally diverse societies have sought to understand and manage their diversity by developing multiculturalism policies. The first multiculturalism policy was advanced in Canada in (1971). The basic goal of the policy was articulated as follows:

> A policy of multiculturalism within a bilingual framework […] (is) the most suitable means of assuring the cultural freedom of all Canadians. Such a policy should help to break down discriminatory attitudes and cultural jealousies. National unity, if it is to mean anything in the deeply personal sense, must be founded on confidence on one's own individual identity; out of this can grow respect for that of others, and a willingness to share ideas, attitudes and assumptions […]. The Government will support and encourage the various cultural and ethnic groups that give structure and vitality to our society. They will be encouraged to share their cultural expression and values with other Canadians and so contribute to a richer life for all Government of Canada (1971).

An examination of this text reveals three main components to this policy. The first component is the goal, which is "to break down discriminatory attitudes and cultural jealousies". This goal seeks to enhance mutual acceptance among all cultural groups, and is to be approached through two main programme components. One is the cultural maintenance component, which is to be achieved by providing support and encouragement for cultural maintenance and development among all cultural groups. The other is the social or intercultural participation component, which promotes the sharing of cultural expressions by providing opportunities for intergroup contact, and the removal barriers to full and equitable participation in the daily life of the larger society. A third component acknowledged the importance of learning a common language(s) in order to permit intercultural participation among all groups.

Figure 3 portrays some of these core elements and linkages (adapted from Berry, 1984). The clear and fundamental goal of the policy is to enhance mutual acceptance
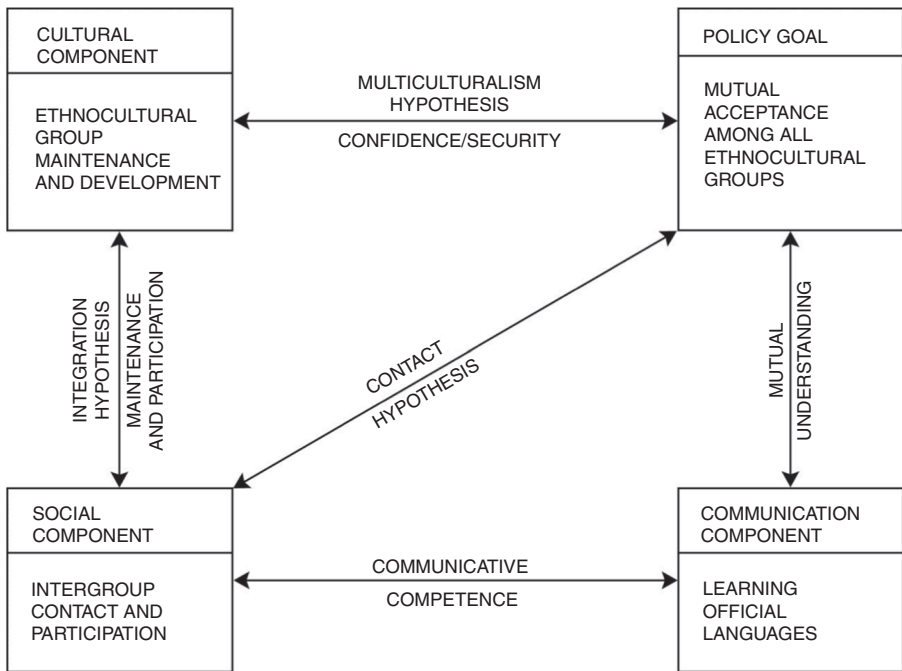
Figure 3.
Goal, components
and linkages
in Canadian
multiculturalism
policy

Source: Revised from Berry (1984)

among all ethnocultural groups (upper right). This goal is to be approached through three programme components. On the upper left is the cultural component of the policy, which is to be achieved by providing support and encouragement for cultural maintenance and development among all ethnocultural groups. The second component is the social (or intercultural) component (lower left), which seeks the sharing of cultural expressions, by providing opportunities for intergroup contact, and the removal barriers to full and equitable participation in the daily life of the larger society. The last feature is the intercultural communication component, in the lower right corner of Figure 3. This represents the bilingual reality of the larger society of Canada, and promotes the learning of one or both official languages (English and French) as a means for all ethnocultural groups to interact with each other, and to participate in national life.

It is essential to note that the Canadian concept of multiculturalism, and of the multiculturalism policy, have two main and equally important emphases: the maintenance of heritage cultures and identities (the cultural diversity component) and the full and equitable participation of all ethnocultural groups in the life of the larger society (the social or intercultural component). These two emphases correspond to the two dimension of the strategies framework in Figure 1.

In addition to these four components, there are linkages among them. The first (top of Figure 3), termed the multiculturalism hypothesis is expressed in the policy statement as the belief that confidence in one's identity will lead to sharing, respect for others, and to the reduction of discriminatory attitudes. Berry *et al.* (1977) identified this belief as an assumption with psychological roots, and as being amenable to empirical

evaluation. A second link in Figure 3 (left side) is the hypothesis that when individuals and groups are "doubly engaged" (that is, valuing and participating in both their heritage cultures and in the larger society) they will be more successful in their lives. This success will be evidenced by a higher level of well-being, in both psychological and social domains. This is the integration hypothesis, in which involvement with, competence in and confidence in both cultural communities provides the social capital to succeed in intercultural living.

A third link portrayed in Figure 3 (diagonal) is the contact hypothesis, by which contact and sharing is considered to promote mutual acceptance under certain conditions, especially that of status equality, and voluntariness of intercultural contact. An overview of evidence pertaining to these three hypotheses can be found in Berry (2013).

Together, and by balancing these components, it should be possible to achieve the core goal of the policy: the improvement of intercultural relations in Canada, where all groups and individuals have a place, both within their own heritage cultural environment and within the larger society. In this sense, multiculturalism is for everyone, not only for non-dominant groups. This aspect emphasises that all groups and individuals are engaged in a process of cultural and psychological change.

In the European Union, a set of "Common Basic Principles for Immigrant Integration Policy in the EU" was promulgated in 2005. Among the 11 principles, one article accepts the right to cultural maintenance: "The practice of diverse cultures and religions is guaranteed under the Charter of Fundamental Rights and must be safeguarded, unless practices conflict with other inviolable European rights or with national law". Another promotes participation: "Frequent interaction between immigrants and Member States citizens is a fundamental mechanism for integration. Shared forums, intercultural dialogue, education about immigrants and immigrant cultures, and stimulating living conditions in urban environments enhance the interactions between immigrants and Member State citizens". Further: "Access for immigrants to institutions, as well as to private goods and services, on an basis equal to national citizens and in a non-discriminatory way is a critical foundation for better integration". And a third notes the importance of learning the national language: "Basic knowledge of the host society's language, history, and institutions is indispensable to integration; enabling immigrants to acquire this basic knowledge is essential to successful integration". With respect to the process, the directive identifies the integration of migrants and their cultural communities as "[…] a dynamic, two-way process of mutual accommodation by all immigrants and residents of Member States. Integration is a dynamic, long-term, and continuous two-way process of mutual accommodation […] It demands the participation not only of immigrants and their descendants but of every resident" (p. 1).

We find in this EU statement the three cornerstones of multiculturalism: the right of all peoples to maintain their cultures, the right to participate fully in the life of the larger society, and the obligation for all groups (both the dominant and non-dominant) to engage in a process of mutual change. Research on the acceptance of this policy in Europe has only just begun.

However, there is some indication that Europeans make a clear distinction between the right of immigrants to maintain their cultures in private (i.e. in their families and communities), and the right to expect changes to the public culture of the society of settlement. In much of this research, it was found that it is acceptable to express one's heritage culture in the family and in the community, but that it should

not be expressed in the public domains, such as in educational or work institutions. This view is opposed to the basic principles outlined by the European Union, where the process is identified as one of mutual accommodation.

An overview of evidence pertaining to these three hypotheses can be found in Berry (2013).

6. Mutual adaptation to living in culturally diverse societies

One important outcome for individuals living interculturally is how well they adapt. In the multiculturalism framework, the integration hypothesis proposed that adaptation will be more successful in culturally diverse societies when individuals engage both their heritage culture and the larger society. There are three kinds of adaptation: psychological, sociocultural, and intercultural. The first two of these were identified by Ward (1996) who distinguished between psychological adaptation and sociocultural adaptation. The first refers to adaptations that are primarily internal or psychological (e.g. sense of well-being, or self-esteem, sometimes called "feeling well"). The second adaptations (sociocultural) are sometimes called "doing well". This form of adaptation is manifested by competence in carrying out the activities of daily intercultural living. A third form of adaptation was introduced: intercultural adaptation (Berry, 2005). This concept refers to how well individuals relate to each other in a culturally diverse society. It includes both affect (liking or disliking) and behaviours (acting on these preferences), and is assessed using constructs such ethnic attitudes, tolerance, discrimination and prejudice.

In the general population, there is now considerable evidence that having multiple identities promotes a wide range of indicators of well-being (Jetten *et al.*, 2015). In this meta-analysis, the authors found that being connected with many groups and social networks is associated with self-esteem and subjective well-being.

Specifically for living interculturally, there is also widespread evidence supporting the integration hypothesis. Berry (1997) reviewed a number of studies and concluded that this relationship formed a general pattern. More recently, the meta-analysis by Nguyen and Benet-Martínez (2013) concluded that integration is associated with better adaptation. Specifically, they found that integration ("biculturalism" in their terms) has a significant and positive relationship not only with psychological and sociocultural adaptation but also domain-specific outcomes such as academic achievement and career success. A possible explanation for the relationship between integration and these positive outcomes is that those who are "doubly engaged" with both cultures receive support and resources from both and are competent in dealing with both cultures. The social capital afforded by these multiple social and cultural engagements may well offer the route to success in plural societies.

It is important to note that integration can only be achieved in multicultural societies characterised by mutual accommodation, positive perceptions of diversity and policies to support cultural maintenance and equitable participation. Comparative research demonstrated that the link between integration and adaptation is weaker in France where there is more perceived discrimination and fewer multicultural policies than in Canada (Berry and Sabatier, 2010). Indeed, Verkuyten (2007) has argued that in contrast to settler societies, most European countries have a long history of established majority groups, and as immigration has not played a significant role in the national self-image, it is more difficult for immigrants to be included and find a sense of belonging.

7. Improving intercultural relations in culturally diverse societies

As noted throughout this paper, the multicultural vision is defined as meeting two requirements: the maintenance of diverse heritage cultures; and equitable participation for all ethnocultural groups. Some multiculturalism policies advance these features and legislate for these outcomes; however, others only promote diversity without equitable inclusion. The multicultural vision for a society reflects the notion that diversity should be valued as a public good, that it should be accommodated and that it should have positive consequences for individuals and groups. But how can we ensure positive outcomes from sustained intercultural contact?

First is the requirement, that multicultural policy and practice focus not only on diversity, but equally on inclusive participation. It is the absence of this equity component that has led people in some countries and their political leaders to assert that "multiculturalism has failed". However, as argued above, it has not failed because it has not been tried. The most important element in this lack of equitable inclusion is the practice and experience of discrimination at three levels: systemic (in the society), group (excluding groups of people because of some presumed characteristic), and personal (diminishing an individual's opportunity to participate as a member of a cultural community). In much of the research reviewed in this paper, discrimination was found to be the single most important contributor to mutual hostility (i.e. reciprocating negative affect) as well as to poor psychological and sociocultural adaptation. Public legislation promoting inclusion and limiting expressions of exclusion (both in words and in action) are required to minimise such negative outcomes.

Second, public education about the double nature of multiculturalism (cultural diversity and equitable inclusion) needs to be articulated so that all members of the society can come to understand and appreciate this complex vision. The advantages of diversity and equity need to be exemplified for all domains of life: education, health, justice, media and political life. The costs can also be identified, but then be challenged by studies that show, for example, that the immigration and diversity may have initial economic costs, but make significant economic and cultural contributions in the longer term. For example, public advertising in Canada, based on the slogan "Multiculturalism Works" promotes the idea that a society in which members know many languages, sets of customs and values can engage the world in trade and diplomacy to their advantage. And for cultural activities, having cinema, theatres, music and literatures from diverse parts of the world is widely acknowledged as a way to enrich people's lives.

Third, the contact hypothesis has been repeatedly assessed and has been found to be largely valid (Tropp and Pettigrew, 2011). Under most conditions (especially that of equal status contact), more contact is associated with more positive intercultural encounters and outcomes. Intercultural contact, of course, is a prerequisite for the inclusion component of multiculturalism, and positive intercultural attitudes and practices are usually prerequisites for equitable inclusion. Policies and programmes that encourage intercultural encounters and dialogue, such as shared endeavours in arts, sport, and politics, may meet the requirements for contact to yield positive relations.

Fourth, implicit in the multicultural vision at the country level is the notion that national identity can and should incorporate diversity. We have seen that in some societies ("settler societies"), holding both a positive ethnic identity and a positive national identity are compatible ways to think of oneself. However, in some other societies (those new to the experience of immigration and diversity), these two identities are negatively correlated. We have also seen that this "double" way of

living (using the integration/multicultural strategy) is usually associated with greater levels of personal well-being. One way to achieve these positive outcomes is to promote a common ingroup identity (Dovidio *et al.*, 2000), which is a superordinate inclusive identity, one that accommodates both national and ethnic attachments (see Kunst *et al.*, 2014). For example, research has shown that the values of diversity and inclusion lie at the core of Canadian pride, which underpins Canadian national identity (Cameron and Berry, 2011).

Finally, there is evidence that support for multiculturalism depends on the meaning attributed to the concept and policy. The distinction between multiculturalism in principle and multiculturalism in practice has been examined by Yogeeswaran and Dasgupta (2014), who found that construing multiculturalism in abstract terms and in relation to broad goals reduced the extent to which diversity was viewed as threatening by members of dominant groups; conversely, highlighting the concrete ways in which multiculturalism can be achieved increased perceptions of threat. Similarly, in Berry *et al.*'s (1977) Canadian national survey, support for the ideology of multiculturalism was high, but diminished when it was made more concrete by referring to the practical consequences, and even lower when the costs (e.g. possible tax implications) were identified. This presents challenges for the accommodation of diversity and puts a greater onus on governments to balance the benefits of multiculturalism with its costs. Despite these challenges, we believe that multiculturalism policy and programmes that are rooted in the research reviewed in this chapter will provide a solid basis for the improvement of the experience of acculturation, and for making intercultural relations more positive for all.

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