# MIRIPS: DESCRIPTION OF THE PROJECT

## Contents

**Introduction**

There is probably no more serious challenge to social stability and development in the contemporary world than the management of intercultural relations within complex, culturally plural, societies. Successful management depends on a research-based understanding of a number of factors, including political, economic, psychological and religious features of the groups that are in contact. The MIRIPS project is focused on the psychological aspects, but it takes into account some of these other contextual features of the interacting groups, and of the larger society as a whole. It is situated within the broad field of cross-cultural psychology, which has two core principles (Berry, Poortinga, Breugelsmans, Chasiotis & Sam, 2011). First, individual behaviours should be understood within the cultural contexts in which they have developed and are now being displayed. And second, individual behaviours should be examined and compared across a number of cultural contexts in order to distinguish those that are specific to particular groups from those that might have more general validity, and eventually achieve a universal or global

psychology (Berry, 2013). Knowledge of these two features of human behaviour is essential if we are to understand intercultural relations as a set of culturally-situated, but also and pan-human phenomena. If there are some general principles to be found, then broadly-applicable policies may be possible to develop on the basis of these general principles.

In keeping with these goals for psychology generally, the goals of the MIRIPS project are to examine the validity of three hypotheses (see below) in many different cultural and intercultural contexts. Where they are widely supported, then some general principles of intercultural relations may become established. Where they are not supported, the specific conditions that prevail in intercultural relations in that context will need to be examined to discern why there is no support.

It is important to note that the goal is *not* to place all the data collected in all the societies into one data base, and to carry out pan-cultural analyses (as was done, for example, in the International Comparative Study of Ethnocultural Youth; Berry, Phinney, Sam & Vedder,

2006). This is because the operationalization of the concepts is often somewhat different in each society, based on the particular issues and features of intercultural relations there. However, some collaboration among groups of researchers (for example, among researchers who are working with Chinese or Russian migrants in a number of countries, or international students in a set of countries) may provide a fruitful comparison.

## Psychological Approaches to Intercultural Relations

In the psychological study of intercultural relations, two approaches have come to be used more or less independently of each other (reviewed in Berry, 2005). One approach ("ethnic relations") has usually examined the views and behaviours of the dominant group(s) toward the non-dominant ones, using concepts such as *stereotypes, prejudice, discrimination, and attitudes* towards a number of specific topics (eg., ethnic groups, immigrants, or the presence of  cultural diversity).  This 'one-way' view of intercultural relations has usually missed examining the important reciprocal views held by non-dominant groups

towards dominant group(s).  However, an early Canadian study (Berry, Kalin & Taylor, 1977) took the point of view that all groups in a culturally- plural society need to be examined in order to have a comprehensive understanding of ethnic relations.  This study set the stage for a number of follow-up studies and further analyses, including the *reciprocal attitudes* among dominant and non-dominant groups (Kalin & Berry,1996), and the development of a scale assessing the *Multicultural Ideology* of a number of interacting groups (Berry & Kalin, 2000).  Many of these scales and specific items have continued to be used in national surveys in canada and elsewhere, and studies of members of particular institutions (eg., in the Canadian Forces; Berry & Kalin, 1997).

A second approach ("acculturation") has been concerned with the views held by non-dominant groups regarding how they wish to live in the plural society, using such concepts as *acculturation strategies, cultural identities, acculturative stress* and *adaptation*. This has also typically been a "one-way" research approach, and has missed examining the views of members of the dominant

group(s) regarding how they themselves can change, and how they think that non-dominant groups and individuals *should live* in the plural society.  This field has become a very large one in recent years (see Sam & Berry, 2006 for an overview), which has even come to dominate conference programmes and journal space.  While the field has tended to focus on immigrants (eg. Berry, Phinney, Sam & Vedder, 2006 a,b), there is a parallel interest in the study of ethnocultural groups and indigenous peoples (Berry, 1999a). In addition to the interest in acculturation of these non-dominant groups, there has also been a longstanding interest in the views about acculturation among members of the larger society (eg., Berry,1974, 1980; Berry et.al.1977).

**General Framework for MIRIPS Project**

A framework for identifying the main categories of variables in the MIRIPS project is presented in Figure 1. The framework also indicates the flow of relationships among the variables, with the main flow starting from the left.  These are the group level context variables that are outlined in the Context Variables file. On the right are the

individual psychological variables which are assessed in the Questionnaire.

**GENERAL FRAMEWORK FOR MIRPIS PROJECT**

| CULTURAL/GROUP LEVEL | PSYCHOLOGICAL/INDIVIDUAL LEVEL |

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CULTURAL/GROUP LEVEL                    PSYCHOLOGICAL/INDIVIDUAL LEVEL

  ┌─────────┐                                    ┌──────────────────┐   ┌──────────────────┐
  │ CULTURE │─────────────────────────────┐      │   INTERCULTURAL  │   │   ADAPTATION     │
  │    A    │                             │      │     RELATIONS    │   │                  │
  └────┬────┘    ┌──────────────┐         ↓      │                  │   │                  │
       │         │   CULTURAL   │                │   INDIVIDUALS    │   │   INDIVIDUALS    │
       ↓         │   CHANGES    │                │   IN CULTURES    │   │   IN CULTURES    │
  ┌─────────┐    │              │                │    A AND B:      │   │    A AND B:      │
  │ CONTACT │───→│   CULTURE    │───────────→    │  ──────────      │   │  ──────────      │
  └─────────┘    │      A       │                │  INTERCULTURAL   │   │                  │
       ↑         │              │                │   BEHAVIOURS     │   │  PSYCHOLOGICAL   │
       │         │   CULTURE    │                │                  │   │                  │
  ┌─────────┐    │      B       │                │  ──────────      │   │  ──────────      │
  │ CULTURE │    └──────────────┘                │                  │   │                  │
  │    B    │─────────────────────────────→      │  INTERCULTURAL   │   │  SOCIO-CULTURAL  │
  └─────────┘                                    │   STRATEGIES     │   │                  │
                                                 └──────────────────┘   └──────────────────┘
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The cultural group variables include the characteristics of the two (or more) cultures in contact, the nature of their relationships and the cultural changes that are underway as a result of the contact. In MIRIPS, these context variables are essential to study, because no interpretation or explanation of the psychological variables , nor any assessment of the hypotheses, can be valid without this fundamental ethnographic research being first carried out.

The psychological variables include all the sections and scales of the questionnaire. These need to be adapted to the cultural groups being studied in order to make them sensitive to the character of the groups. All scales should be examined in a pilot study to determine the appropriate content and phrasing of the items. In many cases, items will need to be selected on the basis of their face validity, and on their internal consistency (reliability).

## Intercultural Strategies

One concept that is central to, and underlies all aspects of acculturation and ethnic relations phenomena is the *intercultural strategies* that all groups have when they experience intercultural relations. These strategies may be explicit and be overtly expressed or implicit and not expressed in daily life. Whether it is the colonizer or the colonized, immigrants or those already settled, it is clear that individuals and groups hold preferences with respect to the particular ways in which they wish to engage their own and the other groups with whom they are interacting in the plural society. When examined among non-dominant ethnocultural groups that are in contact with a dominant

group, these preferences have become known as *acculturation strategies* These were earlier called *relational attitudes* (Berry, 1974) and *acculturation attitudes* (Berry, 1980). When examined among the dominant group, there are two aspects. The first is the views that are held are about how non-dominant groups *should* acculturate; these have been called *acculturation expectations* (Berry, 2003). Second, are the views held by the dominant group about how they *themselves* should change to accommodate the other groups now in their society; this strategy is assessed with a concept called *multicultural ideology* (Berry, Kalin & Taylor, 1977).

All these intercultural strategies are based on the same two underlying issues: 1. the degree to which there is a desire to maintain the group's culture and identity; and 2. the degree to which there is a desire to engage in daily interactions with other ethnocultural groups in the larger society, including the dominant one(s). Underlying these two issues is the idea is that not all groups and individuals seek to engage in intercultural relations in the same way. There are large variations in how people seek to relate to

each other, including various alternatives to the assumption of eventual assimilation. They have become called *strategies* rather than *attitudes* because they consist of both attitudes and behaviors (that is, they include both the preferences and the actual outcomes) that are exhibited in day-to-day intercultural encounters.

Four strategies have been derived from these two basic issues facing all acculturating peoples: the relative preference for maintaining one's heritage culture and identity; and the relative preference for having contact with and participating in the larger society along with other ethnocultural groups. These two issues are presented in Figure 1, where they are shown as independent of (ie., orthogonal to) each other. Their independence has been empirically demonstrated in a number of studies (eg., Ben-Shalom & Horenczyk, 2003; Berry & Sabatier, 2011; Ryder, Alden & Paulhus, 2000).

These two issues can be responded to on attitudinal dimensions, represented by bipolar arrows. Generally positive or negative orientations to these issues intersect to define four strategies. These strategies carry different

names, depending on which groups (the dominant or non-dominant) are being considered. From the point of view of non-dominant ethnocultural groups (on the left of Figure 1), when individuals 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 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 ones original culture, while in daily interactions with other groups, *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 society. Finally, when there is little possibility or interest in cultural maintenance (often for reasons of enforced cultural loss), and little interest in having relations with others (often for reasons of exclusion or discrimination) then *Marginalization* is defined.

ISSUE 1:

MAINTENANCE OF HERITAGE CULTURE AND IDENTITY

ISSUE 2:
RELATIONSHIPS
SOUGHT
AMONG
GROUPS

+

−

+ ← → −

INTEGRATION     ASSIMILATION

SEPARATION    MARGINALIZATION

STRATEGIES OF
ETHNOCULTURAL
GROUPS

+ ← → −

MULTICULTURALISM     MELTING POT

SEGREGATION          EXCLUSION

STRATEGIES OF
LARGER SOCIETY
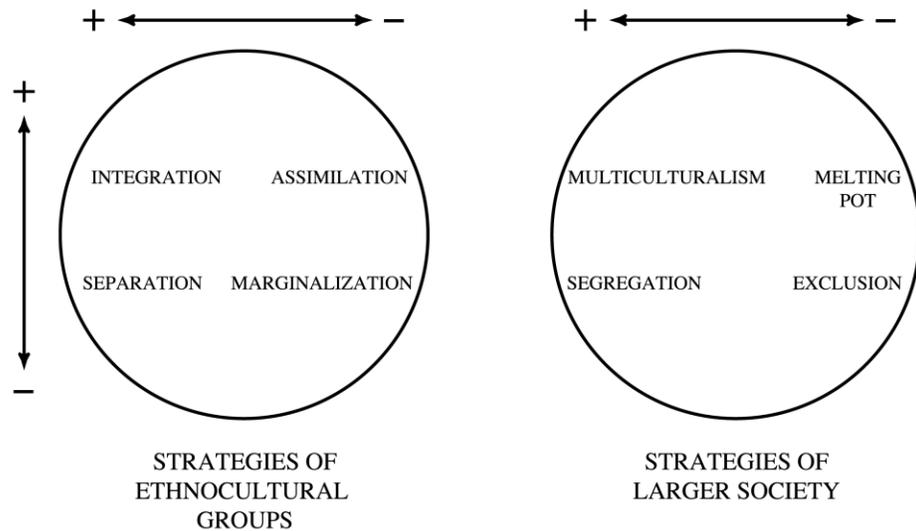
## FIGURE 1. Intercultural Strategies in Ethnocultural Groups and the Larger Society

This presentation was based on the assumption that non-dominant groups and their individual members have the freedom to choose how they want to acculturate. This, of course, is not always the case. When the dominant group enforces certain forms of acculturation, or constrains the choices of non-dominant groups or individuals, then a third element becomes necessary.   This is the power of the dominant group to influence the acculturation strategies available to, and used by, the non-dominant groups

(introduced by Berry, 1974).  As a result, there is a mutual, reciprocal process through which both groups arrive at strategies that will work in a particular society, and in a particular setting.  For example, integration can only be chosen and successfully pursued by non-dominant groups when the dominant society is open and inclusive in its orientation towards cultural diversity. Thus a mutual accommodation is required for integration to be attained, involving the acceptance by both groups of the right of all groups to live together as culturally different peoples. This strategy requires non-dominant groups to adopt the basic values of the larger society, while at the same time the dominant group must be prepared to adapt national institutions (e.g., education, health, labor) to better meet the needs of all groups now living together in the plural society.

As noted above, the original anthropological definition of acculturation clearly established that *both* groups in contact would experience acculturation  (Redfield, Linton & Herskovits, 1936). The concern for the role that the dominant group played in the emergence of these strategies

(Berry, 1974) led to a conceptualization portrayed on the right side of Figure 1. Assimilation when sought by the non-dominant acculturating group is termed the *Melting Pot*. When separation is forced by the dominant group it is *Segregation*. Marginalization, when imposed by the dominant group it is *Exclusion*. Finally, for integration, when cultural diversity is a feature of the society as a whole, including all the various ethnocultural groups, it is called *Multiculturalism*. With the use of this framework, comparisons can be made between individuals and their ethoncultural groups, and between non-dominant peoples and the larger society within which they are acculturating.

The views of the larger society have been examined by Berry, Kalin and Taylor, (1977) and Berry and Kalin (2001). The acculturation ideologies and policies of the dominant society and the attitudes of their individual members (sometimes called *acculturation expectations*; Berry, 2003), constitute an important element of acculturation research. As a counterpart to the acculturation attitudes of non-dominant peoples (on the left of Figure 1)

there is also the construct of *multicultural ideology* (introduced by Berry et al., 1977) that is held by members of the larger society. This concept includes the views that cultural diversity is good for a society and its individual members (i.e., there is a high value placed on cultural maintenance), and that such diversity should be shared and accommodated in an equitable way (i.e., there is a high value placed on contact and participation among all groups). This combination of the acceptance of both cultural diversity and equity among groups and individuals constitutes the basis of the integration and multiculturalism strategies. In addition, the notion of multicultural ideology incorporates a third element: acceptance that the dominant society and its members should be prepared, themselves, to change in order to accommodate others in the larger society (i.e., mutual accommodation). In various studies, this ideology has been assessed by a scale that loaded integration items positively, and melting pot, segregation, and exclusion items negatively. Our results generally support its construct validity (e.g., Berry et al, 1977; Berry & Kalin, 1995), and others have also found that

integrationist views usually contrast with the other three attitudes (e.g., van de Vijver et al, 1999). Multicultural ideology has close empirical links to ethnic attitudes and prejudice, but is more explicitly related to views about how to manage intergroup relations in culturally diverse groups. The assertion that there is a close connection between the attitudes of the non-dominant and dominant communities has been reinforced by the work of Bourhis and colleagues (e.g., Bourhis, Moise, Perreault & Senecal, 1997) in their presentation of an interactive acculturation model. This approach has been further developed by Navas and colleagues in Spain (Navas, Rojas, García & Pumares, 2007).

## Assessment of Intercultural Strategies

In recent years, there have been some variations in how these acculturation strategies are conceptualised and assessed. There are now four approaches to their assessment. All of them begin with ethnographic research to understand the acculturation issues that exist between the groups and individuals in contact. This is required because

the issues that arise during intercultural contact, and that initiate the process of acculturation, vary from one intercultural contact situation to another. Sometimes the issues are language, religion, values, dress, food, male-female relations, parent-child relations, social activities, friendship choices, schooling, media use, prejudice, discrimination; the list is virtually endless. These are sometimes referred to as the 'domains' of acculturation.

*Four scales*.  Originally, four scales were developed, one to measure each of the four strategies (Integration, Assimilation, Marginalization and Separation; IAMS) for each of the acculturation domains identified in the preliminary research. Individuals respond (in a 5-point scale from strongly agree to strongly disagree) to statements that portray the strategy (e.g., an Integration item: "I would like my children to learn both Turkish and Canadian values and customs"; from Ataca, 1998). In this case, each individual receives an independent score on each of the four acculturation strategy scales. A structural validation of the four-scale approach was carried out by

Schmitz and Berry (2009) with Turkish immigrant and national samples in Germany. The factorial structure of the acculturation attitudes items in both the immigrant and German samples clearly indicate that there are four factors; these closely match the four ways of acculturation that have been conceptualised by Berry (1980, 1997). They concluded that the four postulated ways of acculturating, both the attitudes of immigrants and the expectations held by members of the larger society, are supported by these factor structures.

*Two scales*. Later, scales were developed by creating items for the two underlying dimensions (cultural maintenance, participation in the larger society) for each domain. For example, for cultural maintenance "I want my children to go to Latin American heritage classes"; and for contact and participation "I want my children to learn Canadian customs" (from Dona & Berry, 1994). The scores of individuals on these two underlying dimensions can then be crossed (using the theoretical midpoint of each scale) and individuals can then be placed in a space where those

high on both are thought of as pursuing integration. Those who are high on one and low on the other dimension are considered to be pursuing either assimilation or separation. And those low on both are treated as pursuing marginalisation. Berry and Sabatier (2011) found that different ways of operationalising these two dimensions yield much the same distributions. Arends-Toth and van de Vijver (2006) have further examined the psychometric properties of this approach.

*Clusters.* A third method uses cluster analysis of a number of acculturation variables. These include the four acculturation attitudes, and scales to assess the two cultural identities, the two languages and the two social networks that individuals deal with during their acculturation (for both the heritage cultural and the larger society). For example, individuals in a cluster who have a positive attitude towards integration, identify with both their heritage culture and the larger society, speak both their heritage and national languages, and have social

relationships with members of both groups (Berry, Phinney, Sam & Vedder, 2006).

*Vignettes*. A final approach uses four vignettes that characterize each of the four acculturation attitudes. These two- or three-sentence statements attempt to capture the essence of what it means to seek integration, assimilation, separation or marginalisation for this particular cultural population. For example, for integration: "I am very proud of my culture and traditions. I think it is very important to keep them alive and respect the ways of our ancestors. However, I feel it is equally important to maintain good relations with non-Aboriginal peoples. I believe that we have much to offer each other. It is important to me to preserve my own cultural heritage while actively participating in Anglo-Canadian society" (from Pruegger, 1993). Scores are obtained by individuals rating which way of acculturation they prefer, or by ranking them.

*Validation.*Validation for all these approaches to assessing acculturation strategies is accomplished by the "known group" method. This involves administering the scale to groups that should theoretically be higher or lower

on a particular scale. For example, people who belong only to ethnocultural organisations (but not to any organisations representing the larger society) should score higher on separation than other respondents; people who belong to both should score higher on integration, etc. The degree to which acculturation *attitudes* and acculturation *behaviours* correspond with each other not only establishes validity, but these indicators can be combined to create a score on acculturation *strategies.* In my thinking: strategies = attitudes + behaviours.

## Adaptation

Adaptations can be primarily internal or *psychologica*l (e.g., sense of well-being, or self-esteem) or *sociocultural,* linking the individual to others in the new society as manifested for example in competence in the activities of daily intercultural living (Ward, 1966). As a result of attempts to cope with these acculturation changes, some long-term adaptations may be achieved. Both forms of adaptation refer to the relatively stable changes that take place in an individual or group in response to external

demands. Moreover, adaptation may or may not improve the "fit" between individuals and their environments. It is thus not a term that necessarily implies that individuals or groups change to become more like their environments (i.e., adjustment by way of Assimilation), but may involve resistance and attempts to change their environments, or to move away from them altogether (i.e., by Separation). In this usage, adaptation is an outcome that may or may not be positive in valence (i.e., meaning only well-adapted). Long-term adaptation to acculturation is highly variable, ranging from well- to poorly- adapted, and varying from a situation where individuals can manage their new lives very well, to one where they are unable to carry on in the new society.

Adaptation is also multifaceted. The initial distinction between psychological and sociocultural adaptation was proposed and validated by Ward (1996). Psychological adaptation largely involves one's psychological and physical well-being, while socio-cultural adaptation refers to how well an acculturating individual is able to manage daily life in the new cultural context. While conceptually distinct, they are empirically related to some extent

(correlations between the two measures are in the +0.4 to +0.5 range). However, they usually have different time courses and different experiential predictors. Psychological adaptation is predicted by personality variables, social support, and life change events, while sociocultural adaptation is predicted by cultural knowledge, degree of contact and positive intergroup attitudes. Psychological problems often increase soon after contact, followed by a general (but variable) decrease over time; positive sociocultural adaptation, however, typically has a linear improvement with time (see Ward et al 2001 for a comprehensive review).

## Relationship between Strategies and Adaptation

The most important question about adaptation is whether there is a 'best way' to acculturate that is associated with better adaptation. In an article, I asserted (Berry, 1977, p. 27): "Psychological acculturation is influenced by many individual-level factors. In particular, the integrationist or bi-cultural acculturation strategy

appears to be a consistent predictor of more positive outcomes than the three alternatives of assimilation, separation or marginalisation". This generalisation has found support in my own continuing work (e.g., Berry & Sabatier, 2011; Gui, Berry & Zheng, 2012).

To illustrate the positive link between acculturation strategy and adaptation, in the study of immigrant youth (Berry et al, 2006), we asked the question; "is it the case that *how* an adolescent acculturates relates to *how well* they adapt?" The pattern in our findings was very clear: those in the integration profile had the best psychological and sociocultural adaptation outcomes, while those in the a marginalisation/diffuse profile had the worst; in between, those with an separation/ethnic profile had moderately good psychological adaptation but poorer sociocultural adaptation, while those with an assimilation/national profile had moderately poor psychological adaptation, and slightly negative sociocultural adaptation. This pattern of results was largely replicated using structural equation modeling with the same data set. We also examined relationships between the two forms of adaptation and perceived

discrimination: we found that discrimination was negatively and significantly related to both psychological and sociocultural adaptation.

A further illustration of the link between acculturation strategy and adaptation has been shown in the study of Turkish migrants in Germany (Schmitz & Berry, 2009). There are many correlations supporting the expected relationships between *how* individuals acculturate, and *how well* they adapt. Consistent with most previous findings, integration was negatively related to anxiety and depression; a new finding was that it is also negatively related to anger. On the positive side, a preference for integration was related to high life satisfaction; a new finding was that it is also positively related to curiosity. This pattern replicates earlier patterns and adds the role of curiosity in promoting integration, and of anger in limiting it. The opposite pattern is found for marginalisation: these immigrants have high anxiety, depression and anger; and they have low life satisfaction (but no relationship with curiosity). For those preferring assimilation, the pattern is similar to that for marginalisation, except that there was no

relationship with life satisfaction (but a negative one with curiosity). Finally, the separation preference is similar to that for assimilation (high anxiety and anger), but there was low life satisfaction and no relationship with depression.

The most comprehensive examination of the relationship between acculturation strategy and adaptation was carried out by Nguyen and Benet-Martinez (2013) using meta-analysis across 83 studies with over 20,000 participants. They found that integration (biculturalism in their terms) was found to have a significant and positive relationship with both psychological adaptation (e.g., life satisfaction, positive affect, self-esteem) and sociocultural adaptation (e.g., academic achievement, career success, social skills, lack of behavioral problems).

## Multiculturalism Policy

With the advent of the Multiculturalism policy in Canada in 1971, much research there has become focused on the study of intercultural relations (see Berry, 1984 for a psychological analysis of the policy; Berry & Laponce, 1994 and Berry 2012 for overviews and assessments of intercultural research in Canada).  A general international overview and assessment of multiculturalism has been carried out by Kymlicka (2012). Within psychology, studies of acculturation and prejudice developed rapidly, along with research in other disciplines (Berry, 1990). Most recently, two special issues of journals have been devoted to the psychological examination of multiculturalism (Berry & Sam, 2013; Leong & Liu, 2013).

A key element of multiculturalism policy is contained in the following section of the Canadian  Multiculturalism policy:

*"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 in ones own individual identity; out of this can grow respect for that of others, and a willingness to share ideas, attitudes and assumptions…”)..(Government of Canada, 1971).*

Thus, in the multicultural policy statement, there is a concern for creating a sense of confidence among everyone who resides and interacts in a culturally plural society. We have considered this 'confidence' to involve a sense of security, or conversely a sense of threat, to one's ethnocultural group. The multiculturalism hypothesis (advanced by Berry et al, 1977, p.192) is that such a sense of security in one's identity is a psychological precondition for the acceptance of those who are culturally different (see below). Conversely, when one's identity is threatened, people will reject others.

A framework for examining the Canadian multiculturalism policy was proposed by Berry (1984).  This framework is shown in Figure 2. The fundamental goal of the policy (upper right) is to enhance mutual acceptance and to improve the quality of intercultural relations among all cultural groups. This goal is to be approached through three main program components: the *cultural diversity* component; the *intercultural* component; and the *official language learning* component. In addition to these components, there are three links among the components that give rise to three hypothothese. These are being examined in MIRIPS: the *multiculturalism hypothesis*; the *integration hypothesis;* and the *contact hypothesis,* and are shown as links among the policy components in Figure 2.
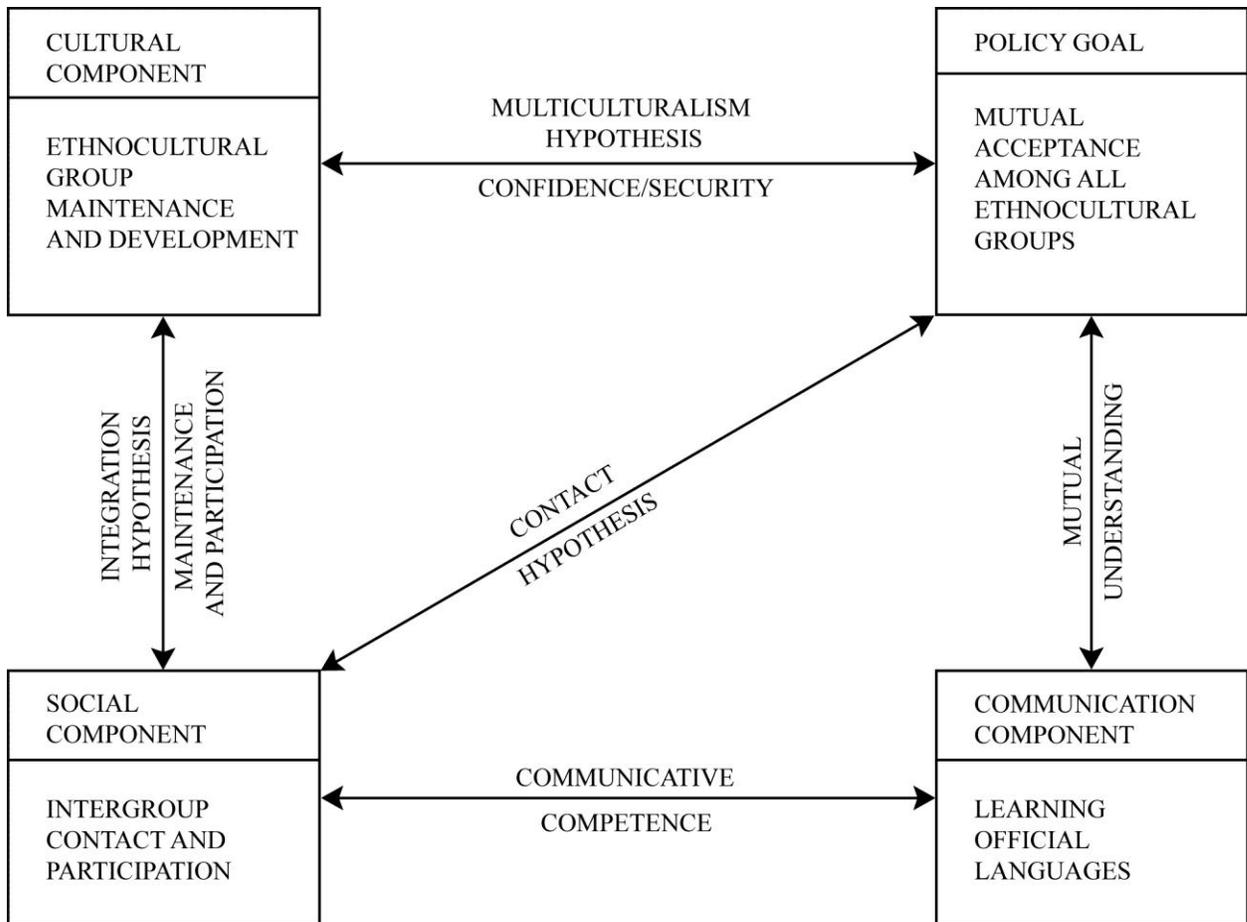
Figure 2: Framework for Examining the Canadian Multiculturalism Policy (from Berry, 1984)

## Hypotheses

The first hypothesis (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. Our initial findings from national surveys (Berry et al, 1977; Berry & Kalin, 1995) lend support to this link between confidence in one's identity and mutual acceptance. In those studies, measures of cultural security/threat and economic security/threat were created with respect to extant diversity, and the continuing flow of immigration. These two security scores were correlated positively with each other and with various intercultural attitudes: cultural security was negatively correlated with ethnocentrism, and positively with multicultural ideology and with perceived consequences of multiculturalism. Economic security had a similar pattern of correlations with these variables. In New Zealand, using a structural model, Ward and Masgoret (2008) found that security was positively related to multicultural ideology and with attitudes towards immigrants. In Russia, Lebedeva and Tatarko (2012) studied migrants from the Caucasus to Moscow and Muscovites. They found that cultural security predicted tolerance, integration and social equality in both groups, but to a lesser extent among Muscovites. In Estonia, a representative sample of Russian speakers was

asked about their intercultural strategies, their ethnic self-esteem, their experience of discrimination, and their level of cultural threat, civic engagement and economic and political satisfaction (Kruusvall, Vetik, & Berry, 2009). The four usual intercultural strategies were found. Groups following the separation and marginalistion strategies had the highest levels of threat and lowest levels of self-esteem and civic engagement. In contrast, the integration and assimilation groups had lowest threat and discrimination, and highest civic engagement and satisfaction. From this sampling of empirical studies, it is possible to conclude that security in one's own identity underlies the possibility of accepting "others". This acceptance includes being tolerant, accepting cultural diversity in society, and accepting immigrants to, and ethnocultural groups in, that society. In contrast, threatening an individual's or group's identity and place in a plural society is likely to lead to hostility.

A second link is the basis for the *integration hypothesis*: when individuals and groups seek integration, by being 'doubly engaged' (in both their heritage cultures and in the larger society) they will be more successful in

achieving a higher level of wellbeing, in both psychological and social domains, than if they engage only one or the other of the cultural groups. The integration strategy has often been found to be associated with better adaptation than other strategies (Berry, 1997). A possible explanation 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. The evidence for integration being associated with better adaptation has been reviewed (Berry, 2011). As noted above, Nguyen and Benet-Martínez (2013) carried out a meta- analysis across 83 studies and over 20,000 participants. They found that integration ('biculturalism' in their terms) was found to have a significant and positive relationship with both psychological adaptation (e.g., life satisfaction, positive affect, self-esteem) and sociocultural adaptation (e.g., academic achievement, career success, social skills, lack of behavioral problems).

A third link is the *contact hypothesis*, by which contact and sharing is considered to promote mutual acceptance under certain conditions, especially that of equality The contact hypothesis asserts that "Prejudice...may be reduced by equal status contact between majority and minority groups in the pursuit of common goals." (Allport,1954). However, Allport proposed that the hypothesis is more likely to be supported when certain conditions are present in the intercultural encounter. The effect of contact is predicted to be stronger when: there is contact between groups of roughly equal social and economic status; when the contact is voluntary,(sought by both groups, rather than imposed); and when supported by society, through norms and laws promoting contact and prohibiting discrimination. A good deal of research has been carried out to test this hypothesis. In a massive comparative examination, Pettigrew and Tropp (2011) conducted a meta-analysis of hundreds of studies of the contact hypothesis, which came from many countries and many diverse settings (schools, work, experiments). Their findings provide general support for

the contact hypothesis: intergroup contact does generally relate negatively to prejudice in both dominant and non-dominant samples: Overall, the results from the meta-analysis reveal that greater levels of intergroup contact are typically associated with lower level of prejudice. This effect was stronger where there were structured programs that incorporated the conditions outlined by Allport than when these conditions were not present.

As for all comparative studies, we seek to learn the cultural limits, or generalisability, of what has been found in one society. That is, in this study, we seek to know whether some fundamental relationships, dimensions and structures found in Canada also hold in other culturally-plural societies. Some of these specific relationships include: security, ethnocentrism, hierarchy and reciprocity. If these findings are replicated, then this international research can possibly serve as a guide to the development of policy that seeks to improve intercultural relations. We propose some structural models to provide some guidance for the examination of the three hypotheses that are being used in the MIRIPS project. They were produced

for the project  by Alexander Tatarko (MIRIPS colleague in Moscow).

In addition to the usual preliminary analyses [means, sds, correlations, and MRAs], the use of structural models will provide a clear test of the three hypotheses.

Cluster analysis may also be carried out for the integration hypothesis.

**1.Multiculturalism Hypothesis.**

 (a) Feelings of *security* (variable 15) will promote the *acceptance of 'others'* (18, 19)
(b) Conversely, feelings of *threat* (discrimination, 17) will promote *rejection of 'others'* (18.19)

We may operationalize these italicized concepts:
 (a)   Security-> Tolerance [SEC->TOL]
            Security-> Multicultural Ideology [SEC->MCI]
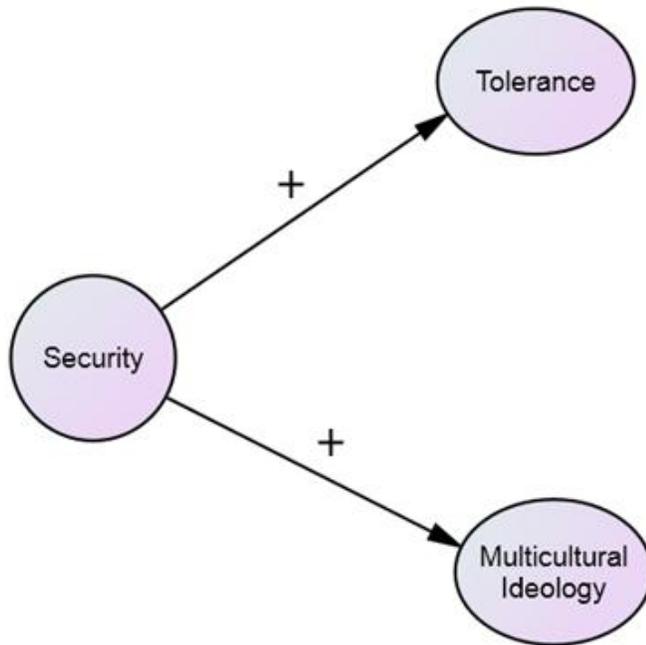
 (b)  Perceived Discrimination -> low Tolerance [PD->low TOL]

 Perceived Discrimination-> low Multicultural Ideology [PD->low MCI]

 In addition, we may expect that PD will promote low Integration and Assimilation
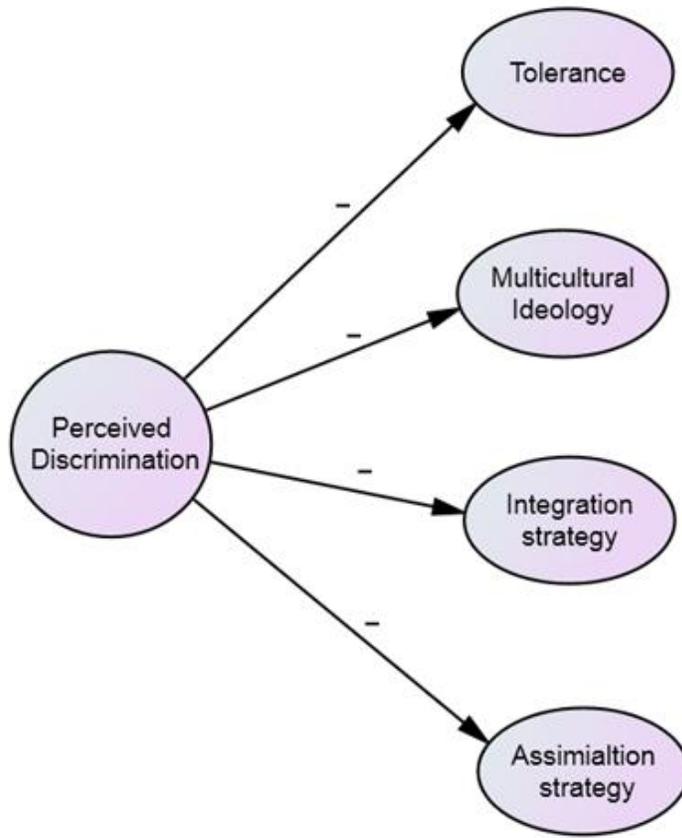
## 2.Integration Hypothesis

When individuals are *engaged with both cultures* [Integration 16, with their own culture and that of the larger society], they will have better *psychological adaptation (variables 22, 23, 24)* and better *sociocultural adaptation (*variable 25; NB see new scale available for use).

Conversely when they are *engaged with neither culture*

[Marginalization 16], they will have *poor psychological*

*and sociocultural adaptation.*

We may operationalize these italicized concepts:


 Integration strategy -> high psychological adaptation [
INT-> PA]
   Integration strategy  -> high sociocultural adaptation
[INT->SA]
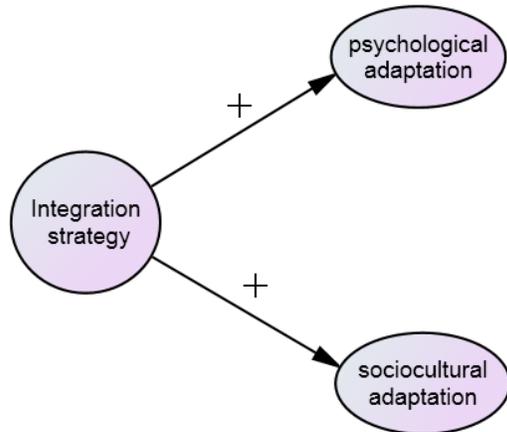


   Marginalisation strategy -> poor psychological adaptation
[MAR-> low PA]
   Marginalisation strategy-> poor sociocultural adaptation
[MAR-> low SA]

psychological adaptation

−

Marginalisation strategy

−

sociocultural adaptation
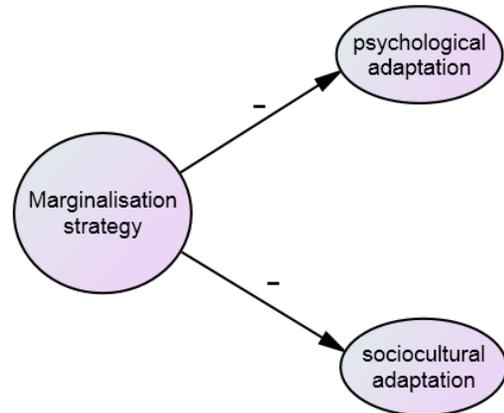
**Cluster Analyses.**

We may also create clusters of individuals who may be classified as Integration, Assimilation, Separation, Marginalisation profiles. These clusters can be generated using intercultural variables: the four acculturation strategies, 2 identities, 2 languages, 2 social networks [see ICSEY analyses as a guide].

If there are four clusters [which we expect], the following differences between clusters can be assessed:

    Integration profile -> high adaptation

    Marginalisation profile -> low adaptation

    Other two profiles -> intermediate adaptation.

If you find other clusters that these four, attempt to describe and name them. Then you can examine differences in adaptation across them.

## 3. Contact Hypothesis

Under most conditions, high *intergroup contact* (variable 12) will lead to *acceptance of others* (variables 18,19, 20,21)

We may operationalize these concepts:

High contact -> high Tolerance  [CON-> TOL]

High contact-> high Multicultural Ideology  [CON-> MCI]

High contact -> high Acceptance of immigrants and ethnocultural groups. [TOL-> AIE]
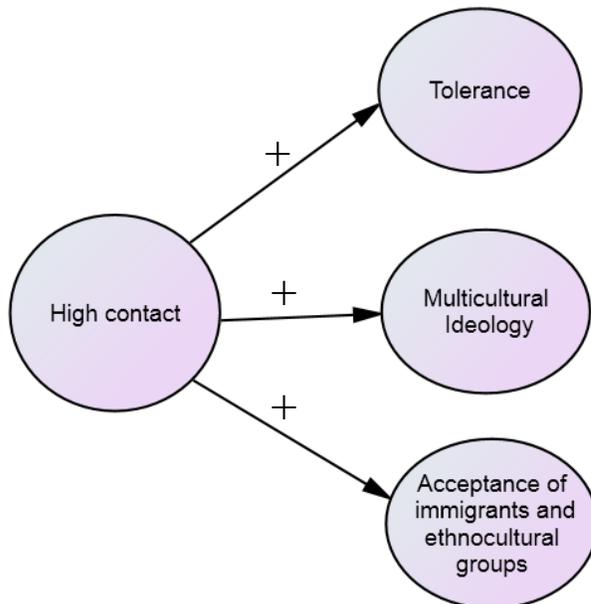
Notes on Contact Hypothesis

1. It is important to check the direction of these relationships, since contact may be the result of these attitudes.

2. The acceptance of immigrants and ethnocultural groups variable is a combined score on questionnaire variables 20, 21 and 22]

3. We need to be aware of the social conditions that must be present in order to test  the contact hypothesis. These conditions include equal status of the groups, voluntary contact between the groups, and no sense of threat between the groups. When these are not present, the contact hypothesis is not expected to be supported.

## Relationships among Intercultural Attitudes

In addition to examining these three hypotheses in MIRIPS, some other analyses should be possible with the data. Following is a brief presentation of some aspects of intercultural relations that have been examined in Canada. This overview is provided to suggest some specific issues and analyses that can be examined in the MIRIPS project.

To explore empirically this more complex view of intercultural relations in a plural society, the attitudes held by various groups that constitute the larger Canadian society have been examined in a series of studies over the past 30 years.  Some of these were national surveys, with large representative samples of the Canadian population (Berry, Kalin & Taylor, 1977, n= 1849; Berry & Kalin, 1995, n= 3325). In the first, respondents were interviewed in their homes; in the second, the interviews took place on the telephone.  In addition, there have been studies with specific groups, such as the Canadian Armed Forces (Berry & Kalin, 1997) and community and student samples

(Berry, 1975; Berry, Kalin & Bourhis, 2000 ; Wells & Berry, 1992).

*Security*

In the national surveys, measures of *cultural security/threat* and *economic security/threat* were created with respect to extant diversity, and the continuing flow of immigration. These measures were devised in order to assess the 'multiculturalism hypothesis'. For cultural security, sample items were: "English Canadians will lose their identity" and "The French Canadians voice in Canada will become weaker and weaker"; For economic security, items included: "There will be more unemployment" and "There will be more slums".  These two security scores were positively correlated with each other, and negatively correlated with prejudice, attitudes toward immigrants, and the acceptance of the consequences of multiculturalism. That is, the relationship between security and these attitudes was as expected from the multiculturalism hypothesis: the greater cultural and economic security persons felt, the more they accepted multiculturalism, and

had positive attitudes towards other ethnic groups and immigrants. For example, in the first survey (Berry et al., 1977), cultural security was correlated negatively with ethnocentrism, and positively with multicultural ideology and perceived consequences of multiculturalism. Economic security had a similar pattern of correlations. In the second survey (Berry & Kalin, 1995, 2000), the correlations between cultural security and scores on the multicultural ideology and tolerance scales were positive for those of British, French, other than British or French origins.

Since we first introduced the multiculturalism hypothesis and measures of cultural and economic security as part of our examination of the psychological underpinnings of the MC policy, similar concepts have been proposed, and empirical studies have been carried out, that establish the essential validity of this assumption (e.g., Esses, Hodson, & Dovidio, 2003; Stephan, Stephan, & Gudykunst, 1999). Whether phrased in positive terms (security is a prerequisite for tolerance of others and the acceptance of diversity), or in negative terms (threats to, or anxiety about, one's cultural identity and cultural rights

underpins prejudice), there is little doubt that there are intimate links between being accepted by others, and accepting others.

 *Ethnocentrism*

It has been proposed that ethnocentrism is a social and psychological *universal* (LeVine & Campbell, 1972); that is, all cultural groups are seen as thinking of themselves in more positive terms than all other groups. In plural societies, this proposition can be examined, using the mutual attitudes of constituent ethnocultural groups. In the first national survey (Berry et al., 1977; 1979), we obtained ratings of eight groups (e.g., English- , French-, Chinese-Canadians, plus "immigrants in general") on eight evaluative adjectives (e.g., 'important', 'clean', 'interesting'), and created an overall evaluation of each group. In the second national survey (Berry & Kalin, 1995; Kalin & Berry, 1996), we assessed "comfort levels" when being around members of 14 ethnocultural groups (same groups as in first survey, plus others, e.g., Arabs, Sikhs).  In both surveys, there is clear evidence that each group holds

more positive evaluations of their own group than of other groups. Beyond this general ethnocentrism, we found evidence for group differences in the *degree* of ingoup preference: in both studies, respondents of French-Canadian background had relatively more positive ingroup attitudes than other groups; Ukrainian-origin respondents were second highest in ingroup preference, while German-origin respondents were lowest. On the basis of these findings, we can say that ethnocentrism is indeed universal across these groups, but also that some groups appear to be more ethnocentric than other groups.

*Hierarchy*

When attitudes towards ethnocultural groups are assessed, a clear preference hierarchy has usually been found (Berry et al., 1977; Berry & Kalin, 1995). In Canada, those of West and North European backgrounds are usually viewed more positively than those of other origins: East and South Europeans are lower in the hierarchy, followed by those not of European background. These attitudes have been studied with respect to both immigrants and to

ethnocultural groups, with immigrants usually viewed less positively than those who were born and raised in Canada of the same cultural origin (see section below on immigrants). Similar hierarchies have been found in Europe (e.g., Hagendoorn et al., 1998; Van Oudenhoven et al., 1996) and in New Zealand (Ward, Masgoret & Leong, 2006). When the ethnic origin of the respondent is taken into account, a number of other features become apparent. First, there is a *consensual hierarchy* evident below own-group attitudes; this general hierarchy is shared by most other groups of respondents (Berry & Kalin, 1979; Kalin & Berry, 1996). That is, there is an implicit agreement among all groups about which groups are highly valued in Canadian society and which are not. Second, there is generally lower acceptance of all ethnocultural groups and immigrants by Francophone (French-speaking) respondents than by Anglophone (English-speaking) respondents. This difference is usually interpreted as a consequence of the greater cultural threat perceived by Francophones, who feel that cultural diversity and immigration may undermine their own special place in Canadian society (Berry et al.,

1977; Berry & Kalin, 1995; Bourhis, 1994). This interpretation in terms of threat is a general one, and will be addressed in the later section on the role of security.

*Reciprocity*

From the point of view that intercultural relations are mutual and interactive phenomena, the question can be raised whether there are there reciprocal attitudes among ethnocultural groups in plural societies. In the two surveys (Berry & Kalin, 1979; Kalin & Berry, 1996), we found positive correlations (+.54 and +.38, respectively) between the mutual attitudes that each group holds of the other. More specifically, when intercultural attitudes are studied among all interacting groups, rather than just those held by the dominant group toward non-dominant ones, we can generate an attitude matrix of pairs of mutual attitudes, with reciprocal attitudes across the diagonal. In the 1979 study, we obtained the attitudes of members of five groups (British, French, German, Italian and Ukrainian; total n= 1244); excluding own-group attitudes, we obtained a correlation of +.54 across the matrix. In the 1996 study, we

had mutual attitudes from 12 groups (same as before, plus Jewish, Chinese, Aboriginal, Dutch, Polish and Scandinavian; total n= 3299) and obtained a correlation of +.38. That is, if one group likes another group, the other tends to reciprocate that positive affect; and if one group dislikes another, this negative view tends to be reciprocated as well. In the unidirectional tradition of studying intercultural attitudes (where only the attitudes of dominant about non-dominant groups are examined), this reciprocal pattern of mutual regard could not have been discovered.

## Variables in the Project

In order to provide information on the views of the dominant and non- Dominant cultural groups, variables and measures have been incorporated from the earlier ISATIS and ICSEY project instruments.

**Demographic:** age, sex, education, religion, socioeconomic status (occupation and ownership), [questions 1 to 6]

**Ethnicity**: Origin (of self, parents), marriage preference; neighbourhood composition place of birth, length of residence [questions 7 to 10]

**Languages** known/used [question 11]

**Social Contacts**: [question 12]

**Travel** [question 13]

**Cultural Identity:** ethnic, national. [question 14]

**Security:** cultural, economic, personal. [question 15]

**Acculturation Attitudes and Expectations:** non-dominant group preferences,

dominant group expectations.[question 16]

**Perceived Discrimination:** against self, against group.[question 17]

**Multicultural Ideology**, [question 18]

**Tolerance/Prejudice**. [question  19]

**Attitudes Towards Immigration:** Perceived consequences of immigration, number of immigrants [question 20]

**Attitudes Towards Ethnocultural Groups:** own group, other groups [question .21]

**Self Esteem** [question 22]

**Life Satisfaction**  [question 23]

**Psychological Problems**  [question 24]

**Sociocultural Competence** [question 25].NB see new version of the SCAS in the Questionnaire section.

**Social Desirability** [question 26]

## Countries in the Project

The MIRIPS project began with a focus on large multiethnic societies: Australia, Canada, China, India, and Russia.  Since then, colleagues from other countries have expressed an interest in participating (often based on their use of the ISATIS instrument): Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Indonesia, Italy, New Zealand, Norway, Spain and Turkey. Please see section on countries and colleagues on this website for a full listing.

## Samples

Both the dominant group(s) and a number of non-dominant groups should be included. These will obviously vary from country to country, but some repetition or

overlap of non-dominant groups would be interesting (eg., Turks in European countries; North Africans in Canada, France, the Netherlands; South Asians in Canada, UK, USA, ). We should attempt to obtain samples of 200 persons, distributed evenly by gender and by age groups (20-35, 35-50, 50+).

Ideally, we should have representative samples of adults in all groups that are selected in each country. However, this may be difficult to achieve, where population data do not exist. Instead, diverse samples of the population (in terms of age, sex, education, SES) may have to suffice. Least interesting would be student samples.

**Funding**

Each collaborating researcher would seek their own funding, in their own countries.
Berry will seek funding for the comparative aspects, including costs of communication, and data analysis.

## Ownership of Data

Collaborating researchers will own their own data, and be free to publish them as they wish. The only requirement is that the work be acknowledged as part of the MIRIPS project. This is in order to alert readers to the existence of similar studies being carried out in other societies by other MIRIPS researchers, and to acknowledge the origin of the hypotheses and instruments.

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