Integration and Multiculturalism: Ways towards Social Solidarity

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The first two parts of the paper lay out some background ideas about the nature of plural societies, and about the various ways that groups and individuals engage interculturally within them (see Berry, 2007, for more detail). The third part examines more closely the meaning of integration and multiculturalism, using concepts and findings from cross-cultural and social psychology. A final section considers the possibility of rooting social solidarity on these concepts.

Integration can take place in the context of relations between nation states (internationally), between groups (within culturally-diverse nation states), and between individuals (who are members of these collective entities). All three levels can be examined using social science concepts and methods; and they can also be studied using psychological ones. This paper focuses on the psychological (individual) and cultural (group) dimensions of integration at the latter two levels, while not losing sight of the broader international political, economic and sociocultural contexts within which integration phenomena develop and are expressed.

PLURAL SOCIETIES

This broader context is the worldwide existence of culturally plural societies, many of which are products of international phenomena such as colonisation, slavery and refugee and immigration movements. Culturally plural societies are those in which a number of different cultural or ethnic groups reside together within a shared political and social framework (Brooks, 2002). All contemporary societies are now culturally plural; no society is made up of people having one culture, one language, and one identity (Sam & Berry, 2006). There has been a long-standing assumption that such cultural diversity within societies will eventually disappear. This is because contact between cultures is a creative and reactive process, generating new customs and values, and stimulating resistance, rather than simply leading to cultural domination and homogenization (see Berry, 2009).

The issue of the continuing reality of cultural pluralism, and the assumption of eventual cultural homogenisation is one that is central to our discussion. As phrased by Kymlicka (2001) "Can liberal pluralism be exported?" This question may be captured in a rather bald way Figure 1. There are two contrasting, usually implicit, models of cultural group relations in plural societies and institutions. In one (the *mainstream-minority* on the left), the view is that there is (or should be) one dominant society, on the margins of which are various minority groups; these groups typically remain there, unless they are incorporated as indistinguishable components into the mainstream. In the other

(the *multicultural* on the right) view, there is a national social framework of institutions (the *larger society*) that accommodates the interests and needs of the numerous cultural groups, and which are fully incorporated as *ethnocultural groups* into this national framework. In dealing with this question, I use the concept of the *larger society* (Berry, 1999). This refers to the civic arrangement in a plural society within which all ethnocultural groups (dominant and non-dominant, indigenous and immigrant) attempt to carry out their lives. It is constantly changing, through negotiation, compromise and mutual accommodations. It surely does not represent the way of life of the "mainstream", which is typically that preferred by the dominant group, and which became established in the public institutions that they created. All groups in such a conception of a larger society are ethnocultural groups (rather than "minorities"), who possess cultures and who have equal cultural and other rights, regardless of their size or power. In such complex plural societies, there is no assumption that some groups should assimilate or become absorbed into another group. Hence, the conception is not a unidimensional one, but multidimensional; and intercultural relations are not viewed as unidirectional, but as mutual and reciprocal.

Both implicit models refer to possible arrangements in plural societies: the mainstream-minority view is that cultural pluralism is a problem and should be reduced, even eliminated; the multicultural view is that cultural pluralism is a resource, and inclusiveness should be nurtured with supportive policies and programmes.

MELTING POT   **CULTURAL PLURALISM**

MAINSTREAM
SOCIETY

MINORITY
GROUPS

LARGER
SOCIETY
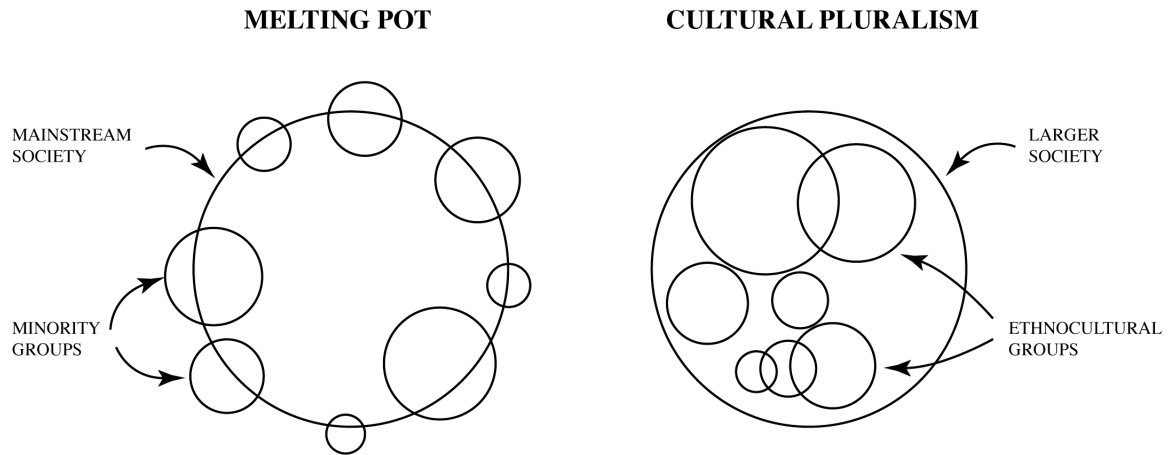
ETHNOCULTURAL
GROUPS

Figure 1   Two Implicit Models of Plural Societies

INTERCULTURAL STRATEGIES

What is meant by the phrase *intercultural strategies* is the core idea that groups and individuals (both dominant and non-dominant) living in plural societies engage each other in a number of different ways (Berry, 1974, 1980). Whether it is the colonizer or the colonized, immigrants or those already settled, individuals and groups hold preferences with respect to the particular ways in which they wish to engage their own and other groups. When examined among non-dominant ethnocultural groups that are in contact with a dominant group, these preferences have become known as *acculturation strategies*. When examined among the dominant group, and when the views held are about how non-dominant groups *should* acculturate, they have been called *acculturation expectations* (Berry, 2003). Finally, when examined among the dominant group, and when the views held are about how they *themselves* should change to accommodate the other groups in their society, the strategy is assessed with a concept called *multicultural ideology* (Berry, Kalin & Taylor, 1977).

All three sets of views 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. Underlying these two issues is the idea is that not all groups and individuals seek to engage in intercultural relations in the same way (Berry, 1980, 1984); 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: 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 two issues are presented in Figure 2, where they are presented as independent of (ie., orthogonal to) of each other. Their independence has been empirically demonstrated in a number of studies (eg., Ben-Shalom & Horenczyk, 2003; Ryder, Alden & Paulhus, 2000).
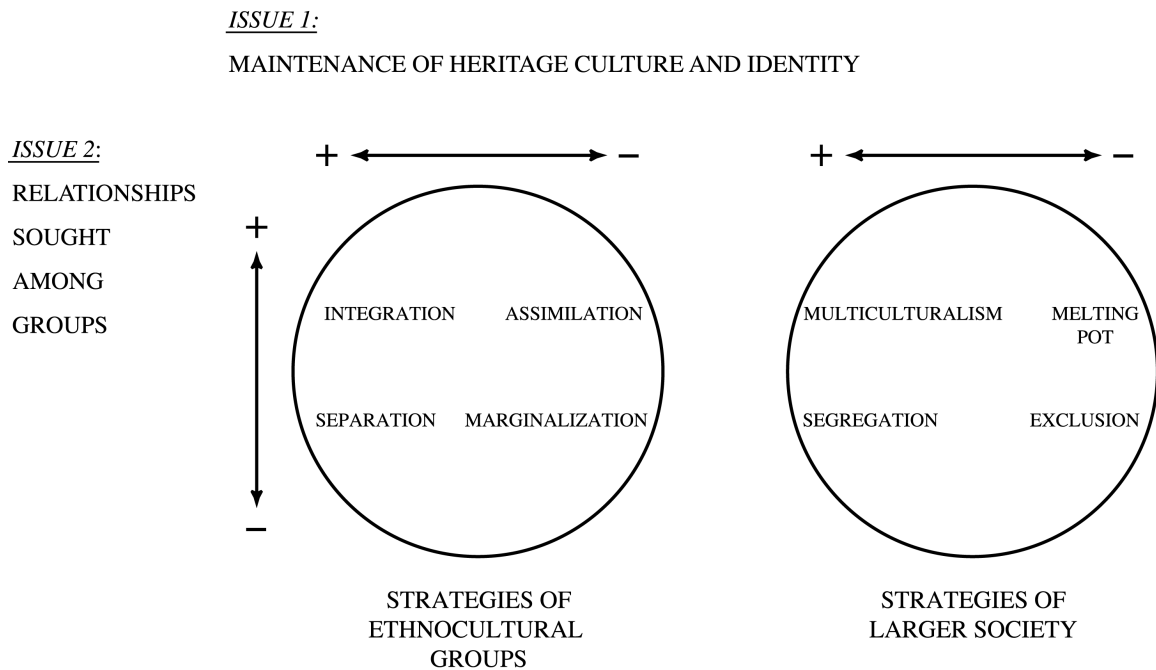

Figure 2 . Intercultural Strategies of Ethnocultural Groups and the Larger Society

These two issues can be responded to on attitudinal dimensions, represented by bipolar arrows. For purposes of presentation only, generally positive or negative orientations to these issues intersect to define four strategies. These strategies carry different names, depending on which ethnocultural groups (the dominant or non-dominant) are being considered. From the point of view of non-dominant 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.

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 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.

These two basic issues were initially approached from the point of view of the non-dominant ethnocultural groups. However, the original anthropological definition of acculturation clearly established that *both* groups in contact would become acculturated (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 ideologies and policies of the dominant group constitute an important element of ethnic relations research (see Berry, et al, 1977), while the preferences of non-dominant peoples are a core feature in acculturation research, (Berry et al., 1989). Bourhis and colleagues (Bourhis, Moise, Senecal & Perrault,1997; Montreuil & Bourhis, 2004) have recently expanded on this interest, examining situations where the two parties in contact may have different views about how to go about their mutual acculturation. Inconsistencies and conflicts between these various acculturation preferences are sources of difficulty, usually for acculturating individuals, but can also for members of the dominant group. Generally, when acculturation experiences cause problems for acculturating individuals, or conflict between acculturating groups, we observe the phenomenon of *acculturative stress* (Berry & Ataca, 2007).

Numerous studies with immigrant, indigenous and ethnocultural populations have shown these four orientations to be present in individuals engaged in intercultural relations (Sam & Berry, 2006). One example is research with immigrant youth (Berry, Phinney, Sam & Vedder, 2006).   This study examined the acculturation and adaptation of immigrant youth (aged 13 to 18 years) settled in13 societies (N= 5366), as well as a sample of national youth (N= 2631). The countries of settlement included the traditional

"settler" societies (such as Australia, Canada USA), and others that have more recent experiences of immigration (such as France, Germany, Norway, Sweden). The countries of origin included major sending societies (such as China, India, Mexico,Turkey, Vietnam). Immigrant youth and their parents were interviewed in the major cities of settlement, along with their national peers and their parents. Variables in the study included those dealing with intercultural relations, and the adaptations achieved by the immigrant youth (see description of variables below). The study was guided by three core questions: *how* do immigrant youth deal with the process of acculturation; *how well* do they adapt; and are there important relationships between *how* they acculturate and *how well* they adapt? A first question was the existence of variations in how youth acculturate. We assessed *intercultural relations*, including the four acculturation strategies (AIMS); cultural identities; language knowledge and use; and peer relations (all distinguishing between ethnic and national orientations); and family relationship values (family obligations and adolescent rights). Cluster analysis of these intercultural variables produced four distinct acculturation profiles, which we termed *integration*, *ethnic*, *national* and *diffuse*. These appear to correspond well to the four ways of acculturating outlined in Figure 2.

A second example, with a focus on members of the larger society, comes from a series of national surveys in Canada (and internationally) that explore the views of the dominant population. To explore empirically this more complex view of intercultural relations in plural societies, 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.

The acculturation strategies espoused by members of the larger society have been examined in these surveys. In the first (Berry et al., 1977), we created items to reflect respondents' *acculturation expectations* about how the acculturation of others should take place, using the two issues underlying the strategies framework: cultural maintenance and equitable participation. Initial analyses indicated that, rather than there being four

distinct acculturation expectations, the items scaled into a unidimensional construct, with preferences for Multiculturalism (i.e., Integration) anchoring one end of the dimension, and the other items anchoring the other end. This unidimensional structure may well be due to the high endorsement rate of Integration and the low endorsement rate for the alternatives; when attitudes are very positive for one way of viewing acculturation, and there is a common rejection of the other three ways, this unilinear structure is likely to result.

We termed this scale *Multicultural Ideology*. This concept attempts to encompass the general and fundamental view that cultural diversity is good for a society and for 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 on contact and participation). Moreover, some items express a willingness to change one's cultural ways in order to accommodate those of other groups.

Items were developed that assessed these views, both positively (e.g., "Canada would be a better place if members of ethnic groups would keep their own way of life alive;" "There is a lot that Canadians can gain from friendly relations with immigrants") and negatively (e.g., for Assimilation: "It is best for Canada if all immigrants forgot their cultural background as soon as possible;" "People who come to Canada should change their behaviour to be more like us;" and for Segregation, "If members of ethnic groups want to keep their own culture, they should keep it to themselves, and not bother the rest of us"). Items also expressed the basic ideas that cultural diversity is a resource and is something to be valued by a society (e.g., "A society that has a variety of ethnic groups is more able to tackle new problems as they occur").

Our results generally support its construct validity (e.g., Berry et al., 1977; Berry & Kalin, 1995); internal consistency is high (.80), and it forms part of a complex set of relationships with other conceptually similar scales (r= -.42 with ethnocentrism; r= +. 56 with tolerance; r= +. 55 with perceived consequences of immigration). However, conceptually it is explicitly related more to the idea that diversity is a resource for a society, and that all groups, including the dominant ones, need to adapt to each other in order for there to be harmonious intercultural relations in culturally diverse groups.

Results show that a large majority of Canadians endorse multicultural ideology as the way for ethnocultural and immigrant groups to relate to each other. In the first national survey, 63.9% of respondents were on the positive side of the scale (mean of 4.51 on a 7- point scale), and this rose to 69.3 % (mean of 4.59) in the second survey. Overall, we can say that Canadians support this way of acculturating by a large, and growing, margin; we can also say that there is a rather happy coinciding of public opinion with public policy!

Variations in support for this ideology follow the characteristics of respondents that were noted earlier: respondents of French origin who live in Quebec, those with lower levels of education and income have lower acceptance than other groups. However, those of French origin living outside Quebec have a higher (in fact the highest) level of support. We interpret this as being due to the different perceptions of multiculturalism among French origin Canadians living outside and inside Quebec: outside Quebec, multicultural policies and programs that promote cultural maintenance are seen as a support for the continuity of French culture and identity, whereas inside Quebec, they are seen as supporting the cultural continuity of other groups, and possibly undermining the majority position of French Canadians in "their own" province (Berry, 1996).

Following on these earlier distinctions, the meaning of *integration* has recently become diversified into a number of sub-varieties. In one core paper (Lafromboise, Coleman & Gerton, 1993) the term *biculturalism* was employed to refer to this way of living with two set of cultural knowledge and competencies. These authors proposed that there were five different ways ('models') in which individuals deal with living with two cultures. The first is the *assimilation* model, in which individuals become absorbed into the dominant cultural group, losing much of their heritage culture at the same time. The second is the *acculturation* model, which proposes that individuals will lose some of their heritage culture (as for assimilation), but will "always be identified as a member of the minority culture" (p. 397). [This use of the term acculturation is clearly different from more general way in which the concept has been presented in this paper]. A third is the *alternation* model, in which individuals are assumed "to know and understand two different cultures. It also supposes that an individual can alter his or her behaviour to fit a

particular social context" (p.399). A fourth is the *multicultural* model, which "promotes a pluralistic approach... and addresses the feasibility of cultures maintaining distinctive identities while individuals from one culture work with those of other cultures to serve common national or economic needs" (p. 401). [This model approximates the meanings of integration and multiculturalism presented in figures 1 and 2]. The fifth model is *fusion*, in which "cultures sharing an economic, political or geographic space will fuse together until they are indistinguishable, to form a new culture" (p. 401).

Building on these distinctions, the notion of *bicultural competence* was introduced by LaFromboise et. al. (1993), which is founded on the notion that "individuals living in two cultures may find the experience to be more beneficial than living a mono-cultural life. The key to psychological wellbeing may well be the ability to develop and maintain competence in both cultures" (p. 402). The six components of bicultural competence are: knowledge of cultural beliefs and values of both cultures: positive attitudes towards both the majority and minority groups; bicultural efficacy (confidence that one can live effectively in both cultures); communication ability (in both languages); role repertoire (knowledge of culturally appropriate behaviours); and a sense of being grounded (having a well developed social support system). In essence, bicultural competence refers to the attainment of cognitive, affective motivational qualities that permit successful functioning in both cultures in contact.

A second perspective has been advanced by Benet-Martinez and her colleagues (Benet- Martinez, Lee, Lee & Morris, 2002; Benet-Martinez & Hariatos, 2002; Benet-Martinez, Lee & Leu, 2006). She has developed the concept of *bicultural identity integration* (BII) drawing to a large extent on the concept of cultural identity (Phinney, 2000; Phinney & Devich-Navarro,1997) and applying it to situations where an individual attempts to sort out two or more possible cultural identities. The concept refers to "the degree to which a bicultural individual perceives his/her two cultural identities to be compatible or conflictual" (Benet- Martinez & Hariatos, 2005, p 1015). BII is not a uniform phenomenon, but has two distinct components: perceptions of *distance (vs. overlap)*, and perceptions of *conflict (vs. harmony)* between a person's two cultural identities. In a study of Chinese Americans, distance scores were related positively to the number of years a person had lived in a Chinese culture, and negatively to length of

residence in the USA; there were no relationships with the conflict score. With respect to acculturation strategies, a preference for separation (and to a lesser extent, marginalisation) was related to the distance score, while a preference for assimilation and integration were negatively related. There were no relationships between the four acculturation strategies and conflict.

A third recent perspective has bee developed by Phinney and Alipuria (2006), using the concept of *multiple social categorisation*. This concept refers to the common experience of simultaneously being (and identifying with) two social groups of different kinds, such as being female (gender) and Canadian (nationality). However, many individuals have links to two groups of the same kind, for example being Italian and Canadian (as in dual nationality or dual ethnicity). As noted by Phinney and Alipuria (2006, p. 211), "The issue faced by these individuals is not that of balancing the importance or relevance of two distinct characteristics of the self, but rather that of integrating or otherwise managing an internal complexity involving two potentially conflicting, often enriching, parts of one's ethnic, racial, or cultural self.... These individuals can claim membership in two or more groups but are sometimes not accepted by others as a member of either". The authors refer to such persons as *multicultural,* and the situation as one of *hybridity*.

Research on multiple categorization has examined the ways in which individuals categorize, label themselves. Phinney and Alipuria (2006) have identified four ways in which those with a 'multiracial' heritage may identify themselves. First, an individual may identify with only one of the two possible groups. [This is the situation when individuals seek either to assimilate or to separate, in the terms used in Figure 2]. Second is to create a new category, in which individuals develop and name a new mixed way to refer to themselves [cf. the integration concept in Figure 2]. Third, individuals may claim membership in both groups and switch between them [cf, the alternation model proposed by LaFromboise et al, 1993]. And fourth, individuals may think of themselves, not mainly in group terms, but as individuals [cf, Bourhis et al, 1997 concept of *individualism*], or in other personal ways. Phinney and Alipuria (2006) note that the setting (social, political, economic) in which people operate may have a strong influence on how multiracial individuals multiply categorise themselves.

In some contrast, *multicultural* individuals differ from *multiracial* people, because they often have choices open to them that are not available to 'racialised' individuals. They usually have the freedom to identify with one, the other, both or neither of their two cultures. It is also possible that such persons may create and adopt a completely new cultural identity that is not linked to either of their two cultures.

INTEGRATION: PSYCHOLOGICAL AND CULTURAL

From these recent research programmes, we can see the evolving complexity of the meaning of the term integration, both as a process and as a set of alternative outcomes. Following is my attempt to draw together these various threads into a more comprehensive picture, at both the individual/psychological and group/cultural levels.

Psychological Level Meaning

With respect to the psychological meaning, I draw on the well-established distinction in psychology between *process, competence and performance* (Sternberg & Grigorenko, 2004). Processes are those psychological features of individuals that are the fundamental ways in which people deal with their day-to-day experiences, such as perception, learning, and categorisation. Competencies are those features of individuals that develop with experience, such as abilities, attitudes and values. Performances are those activities of individuals that are expressed as behaviour, such as carrying out projects, and engaging in political action.

Processes. It is assumed that psychological processes are universal; that is, all human beings everywhere have these basic features, regardless of culture or experience (Berry, Poortinga, Segall & Dasen, 2002). Competencies are built up on the basis of the interaction of underlying processes and peoples' encounters with the outside world. Performances are those expressions of competencies that are appropriate to, or are

triggered by, particular contexts. For example, all immigrants have the process available to learn the language of their new society. The competence in the language will depend on a number of factors, including opportunities to learn it (through formal instruction or informal social interaction). The actual performance will depend, not only on the competence, but also on a host of situational factors, such as the language of the interlocutor, and the requirement to speak the new language in any particular situation (such as at work, or in one's ethnocultural community). Table 1 provides these distinctions on the horizontal dimension.

PSYCHOLOGICAL COMPONENT	PSYCHOLOGICAL ACTIVITY		
	Process (Underlying)	Competence (Developed)	Performance (Expressed)
Affective	Liking, identifying	Values, attitudes	Social action
Cognitive	Culture Learning, Culture memory	Cultural knowledge, Abilities	Work performance, Actions

Table 1. Psychological Components of Integration

Applying these distinctions to the concept of integration, we may identify two of the core *processes* involved (Berry, 1992, 1997). First is *learning,* using the processes of enculturation and acculturation; individuals have the capacity to acquire the main features of their societies including the language, norms, values, skills important to their survival. Second, is *memory* in order to retain those features that have been learned in either cultural community. The converse of memory is *forgetting*, in which some of these features are selectively cast aside.

Integration involves the maximal learning and memory by individuals and minimal forgetting of earlier-established ways of living. *Assimilation* involves maximal learning of features of the dominant society by non-dominant individuals, combined with minimal

memory for (maximal forgetting of) features of one's heritage culture. *Separation* involves minimal learning for features of the new society, combined with maximal retention of features of one's heritage culture. *Marginalisation* involves the combination of minimal learning of the new culture, and maximal forgetting of one's heritage culture.

Competencies. Another common set of distinctions in psychology is between *affective* (emotional), and *cognitive* (intellectual) features of psychological functioning (e.g, Ward, Bochner & Furnham, 2001). This distinction alerts us to the differences in the kinds of competencies that people may develop.

Affective competencies include such aspects as *attitudes* towards one's own group and other groups, *identities* with both groups, and *values* of both groups. Integration involves the positive evaluation of, identification with and acceptance of the values of both groups. Assimilation involves positive attitudes towards the dominant group (and the rejection of one's own group), identification with the dominant group but not with one's heritage group, and acceptance of the values of the dominant group and not of one's heritage group.

Cognitive competencies refers cultural knowledge about how to carry out daily activities. These can range from some rather mundane abilities (such as knowing how to use the phone or transport systems) to much more complex sets of knowledge (such as the laws pertaining to taxation or hate speech). Once again, integration involves knowledge of both sets, assimilation and separation of one set, and marginalisation of neither.

Performances. As noted above, not everything a person is capable of doing is actually carried out; the stage needs to be set appropriately for any competence to be performed. Attitudes, identities and values may or may not be expressed depending on the social context. Similarly, motivation to acquire a particular competence may be enhanced or suppressed by the reward or punishment features of the context. And skills that have been acquired (for example to speak, or to engage in social interactions) may be advantageous for a person in some situations but not in others. Integration involves performing in

settings where both sets of competencies are valued and allowed; assimilation and separation in places where only one set is accepted, and marginalisation, where neither set is allowed, or even supressed.

Cultural level meaning

The cultural level of *integration* was referred to as *multiculturalism* in Figure 2. This vision of how to live in plural societies incorporates two basic social processes. The first is the acceptance of the value of *cultural diversity* for a society by all constituent cultural communities. Such diversity is to be seen as a resource, to be prized and nurtured. The second is the promotion of *equitable participation* by all groups in the larger society. All groups have the right to access all aspects of the larger society, including culturally-appropriate education, work, health care, and justice. These two components are the basis of the Canadian multicultural policy (see Berry 1984, for a psychological analysis), as well as of the two dimensions that underlie the intercultural strategies framework (Figure 2).

In order to accomplish these two goals, multiculturalism involves *social change* to meet the needs of all the groups living together in the plural society. All groups should be prepared to *constantly reassess* their ways of living together, and to engage in compromise. That is, attaining the multicultural vision requires *mutual accommodation*, rather than change on the part of only one of the groups. This accommodation requires that the institutions of the dominant group/larger society should *evolve*, so that the needs of all (dominant and non-dominant) groups can be met. It also requires that the non-dominant groups *adopt* the basic (but evolving) values of the larger society, and to *adapt* to the existing (but evolving) social institutions and structures.

In 2005, the European Union adopted some "Common Basic Principles for Immigrant Integration Policy in the EU." The basic requirement is for mutual accommodation, in which all groups and individuals in contact need to change culturally and psychologically in order to achieve harmony in these plural societies. 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 a 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."

The cultural level meaning of integration corresponds with the psychological level in a number of ways. First, they both are based on the acceptance of the two underlying values of *diversity* and *equity*. If there is diversity without the acceptance of equity, separation/segregation results; if there is equity without the acceptance of diversity, then assimilation/melting pot result; if there is acceptance of neither value, then marginalisation/exclusion result. Only when there is a balance between the two values, within individuals and in society at large, can personal integration and societal multiculturalism be achieved.

Second, the process of change is inherent in the two levels. Intercultural relations take place over time, during which individuals explore, learn, forget, adapt and eventually settle into a preferred way of living. Similarly, societies evolve their positions over time, often beginning with a preference for an ethnically-homogeneous nation state, then coming to realise that this is not a realistic vision. Alternatives are then explored, sometimes with a view to segregating or excluding others from full and equitable participation in the public life of the larger society. Others may seek to balance the interests and needs of all the cultural communities, while still privileging those of the dominant cultural community.

ACHIEVING SOCIAL SOLIDARITY

Armed with these concepts and empirical findings it may be possible to achieve social solidarity among the culturally diverse peoples living in contemporary plural societies. I have argued that it is possible to achieve integration in a person's psychological life, based on the underlying commonality of psychological processes, and on the compatibility of cognitive and affective domains of behaviour. I have also argued that multicultural policy arrangements that reflect the extant cultural diversity and a willingness to accept equity can (and have been) be achieved in some societies. It is thus a possibility in all societies if there is sufficient public goodwill, and there are public policies (as in the EU) to promote it. The integration/multiculturalism option may serve as a way forward, in which there is a public construal of such change as a 'win-win' situation.

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