MULTICULTURAL IDEOLOGY

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INTRODUCTION

The Canadian 'policy of multiculturalism within a bilingual framework' was announced in the House of Commons in 1971.The goal of this policy was to improve the mutual understanding and acceptance of peoples of all cultural backgrounds within a larger shared civic framework.

Since then, multiculturalism has acquired many meanings and can be described at many levels. At the most basic level, it refers to demography; the presence of peoples of many cultural origins living within a society. This degree of cultural diversity can be described by indicators of national or ethnic origin using census or survey information, such as the Ethnic Fractionalization Index (Alesina, et al. 2003; Drazanova, 2019). This index is based on the proportion of foreign-born, and diversity of origin of immigrants in a country.

Second, it refers to the ways that governments or other public institutions seek to manage this diversity through various policies and programmes. This can be assessed by the examination of these public responses to the presence of diversity, such as the Multiculturalism Policy Index (Banting & Kymlicka, 2020).

The third aspect is at the level of the individual, where peoples' attitudes

toward both the extant diversity and the policies toward it can be assessed. This allows us to know the publics' evaluations of these first two levels of multiculturalism. This level has been called *multicultural ideology*. This psychological approach supplements the two approaches from the social sciences noted above (Berry, 2013).

These three facets are interrelated: if cultural divers-

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ity is not present in a society, there is no need for a public policy to deal with it, and no need to be concerned with what people think about it (Berry, 1984). The success of any multicultural policy depends on widespread acceptance of the value of diversity in a society, or the multicultural ideology that prevails in a population.

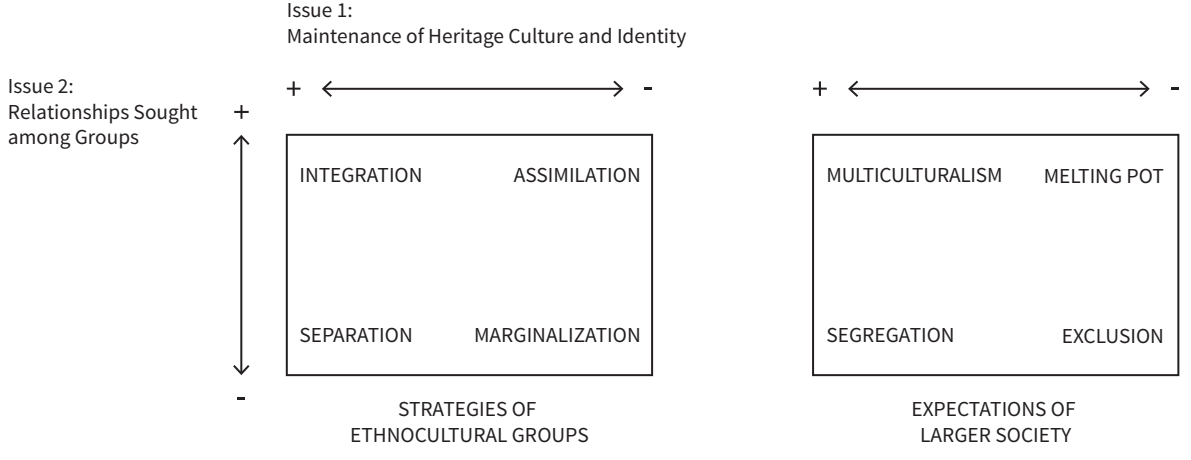
This concept of multicultural ideology was introduced by Berry, Kalin and Taylor (1977) in the first national study of multiculturalism. It was an attempt to assess Canadians' attitudes towards the two underlying values that were advocated in the 1971 policy. Multiculturalism is a public good (I) in a society that has many cultural groups that transmit their cultures and persist over generations, and (II) for groups and individuals who socially interact and share their cultures with each other.

INTERCULTURAL STRATEGIES

These two values were incorporated into an intercultural framework that seeks to illustrate the various options that are available to both public institutions a and individuals (see Figure 1).

This framework presents two intercultural spaces, one for the ethnocultural groups (on the left) and the other for the larger society (on the right). Within

FIGURE 1. VARIATIONS IN INTERCULTURAL RELATIONS IN ETHNOCULTURAL GROUPS AND IN THE LARGER SOCIETY (FROM BERRY, 1997)



these two spaces, the framework provides concepts that lie at the intersection of these two issues. These concepts identify the relative preference for the two basic principles of multiculturalism: cultural maintenance, and contact and participation (I) maintaining heritage culture and identity at the top; and (II) a relative preference for having contact with and participating in the larger society down the side.

These two issues can be responded to as attitudinal dimensions, ranging from generally positive or negative orientations to these issues. Different terms may be used to refer to the orientations of non-dominant ethnocultural groups and the larger society. 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 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, 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 a cultural 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 exclusion or discrimination) then *marginalisation* is defined.

The views and expectations of members of the larger society require some different terms. From the point of view of the larger society, Assimilation when sought by the dominant group is termed the *Melting Pot*. When Separation is forced by the dominant group, it is called *Segregation*. *Marginalization*, when imposed by the dominant group is termed *Exclusion*. Finally, when diversity maintenance and equitable participation are widely accepted features of the society as a whole, integration is called *Multiculturalism*.

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These various concepts are not in discrete boxes, but are presented to show prototypical locations in the two intercultural spaces. For example, when the two issues are both valued, but the second dimension (contact and participation) is emphasized more than cultural maintenance, especially when the dominant group has more power, then the concept of *interculturalism* may be seen as intermediate between integration and assimilation. The two circles are also interrelated, with the strategies of one being influenced by those of the other (Bourhis et al., 1997).

Using these concepts and terms, we can note that historically, Canada pursued a policy of Assimilation (as well as Segregation) for Indigenous Peoples, and Assimilation for those of French background, and for immigrants and for members of ethnocultural groups. The questioning of this assimilationist goal for Canada was raised early on by John

Buchan (author and Governor General of Canada from 1935 to 1940). Buchan (1937) argued that immigrant groups "should retain their individuality and each make its contribution to the national character…each could learn from the other, and … while they cherish their own special loyalties and traditions, they cherish not less that new loyalty and tradition which springs from their union." Somewhat later, in a position paper presented to an international conference on the integration of post-war migrants (Borrie, 1954) which considered the appropriate approach to immigrant integration, the official position paper of the Canadian delegation stated that Canadian society should be "…built on the ideas of individual worth and cultural differences. The pressure of one dominant group to assimilate, that is to absorb others, is therefore impractical as a general theory" (quoted in Borrie, 1954, p. 51).

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MULTICULTURAL IDEOLOGY SCALE

To assess this multicultural ideology, a scale was developed that incorporates these two values (Berry et al., 1977). Since then, the scale has been modified and used by others in over 20 countries, with findings that show large variations across societies (e.g., Berry, 2017). Australia and Canada are usually the most supportive of multiculturalism as defined by these two dimensions, with Greece and Austria being least supportive.

The scale is currently being revised with the addition of some new issues, especially on the acceptance of social equity and the belief in essential boundaries between groups. This research is being carried out in Canada, Germany, Luxembourg and the UK. The goal is to produce a way of measuring peoples' degree of acceptance of multiculturalism as an approach to deal with the presence of cultural diversity in their societies.

If this goal is achieved, then we will have a way of understanding this third facet of multiculturalism that will be as useful as the currently available indices of actual diversity and the policies toward it. Knowledge about this psychological dimension to multiculturalism can be an important addition to the work being done in the other social sciences.

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