

Acculturation and Intercultural Psychology

Introduction

- **One result of the intake and settlement of migrants is the formation of culturally plural societies.**
- **In the contemporary world all societies are now culturally plural, with many ethnocultural groups living in daily interaction.**
- **All industrialised societies will require immigration in order to support their economies and social services.**
- **For example, by 2030, the EU will need 80 million immigrants, the US 35 million, Japan 17 million, and Canada 11 million (Saunders, 2010).**
- **Thus, research into the underpinnings of intercultural relations is an urgent matter in such societies (as well as in the most plural societies of all- Brasil, China, India and most of Africa).**

Introduction

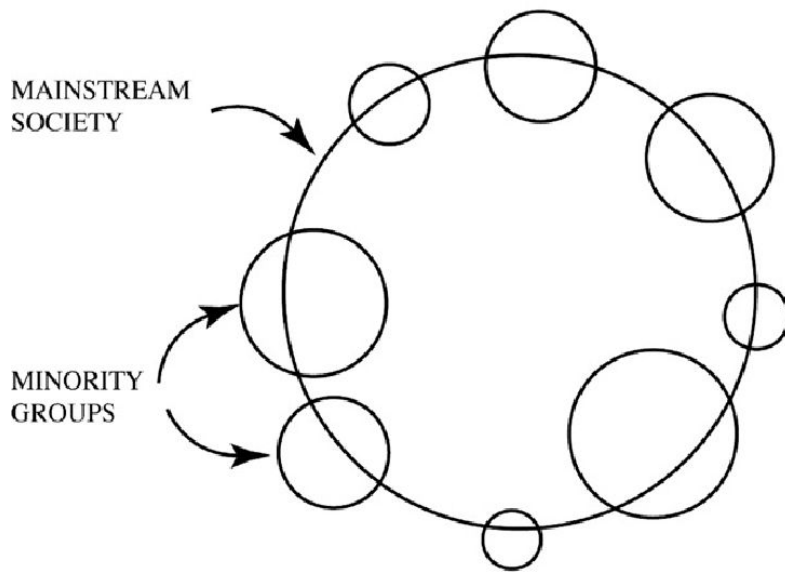
- In these plural societies, two phenomena (*acculturation* and *intercultural relations*) are ripe for psychological research and application.
- As for all cross-cultural psychology, research on intercultural psychology needs to be done comparatively, in the search for some general principles that may be useful in all plural societies
- Research on these issues can provide a knowledge basis for the development and implementation of policies and programmes in plural societies in order to improve intercultural relations.

Plural Societies

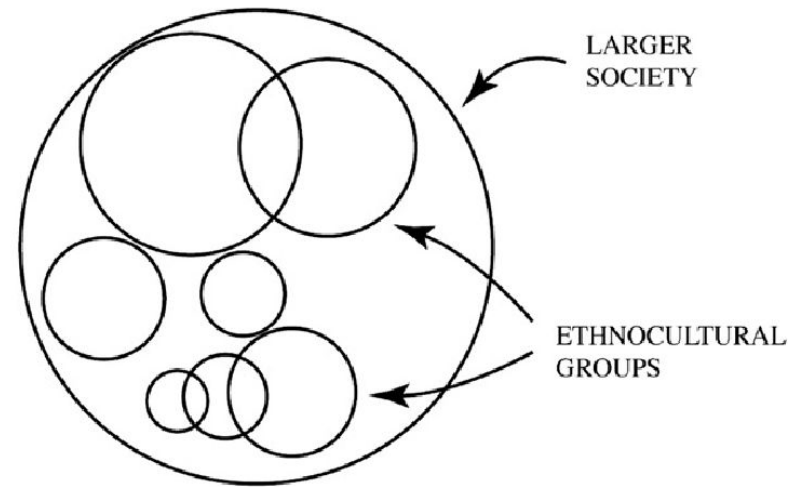
- Plural societies are those that have many cultural, linguistic and religious communities living together in a larger civic society.
- There are two implicit modes for thinking about how diverse groups may live together in plural societies:
 - melting pot (one common identity)
 - multicultural (many identities)

Two Implicit Models of Plural Societies

MELTING POT



CULTURAL PLURALISM



Plural Societies

- These groups may be identified by examining three dimensions of their context:
 - (i) mobility
 - (ii) voluntariness
 - (iii) permanence

Types of Groups in Plural Societies

MOBILITY	VOLUNTARINESS OF CONTACT	
	VOLUNTARY	INVOLUNTARY
SEDENTARY	ETHNOCULTURAL GROUPS	INDIGENOUS PEOPLES
MIGRANT permanent temporary	IMMIGRANTS SOJOURNERS	REFUGEES ASYLUM SEEKERS



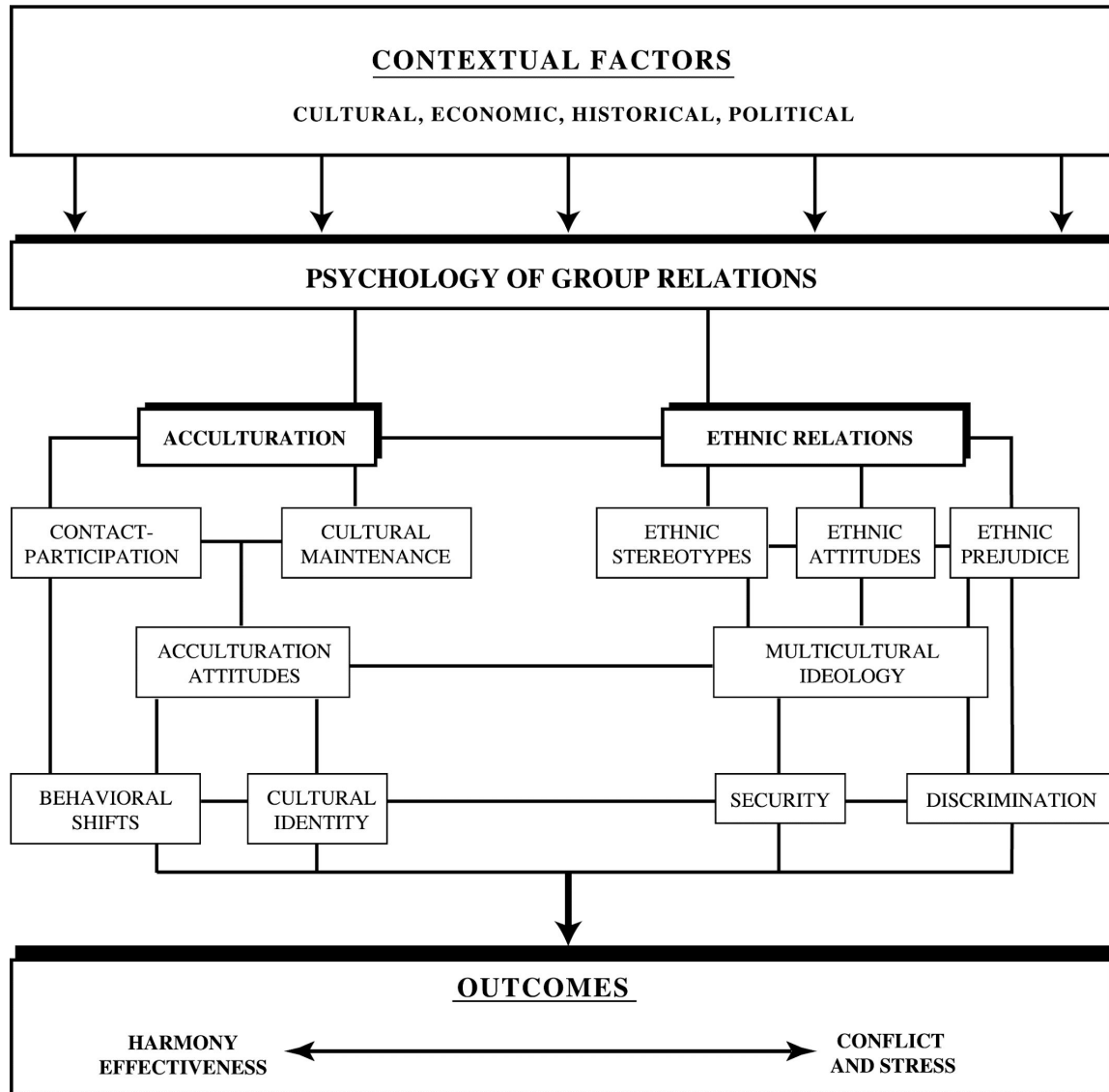
Some Conclusions

- Research in intercultural psychology is essential for the improvement of intercultural relations in plural societies.
- Plural societies provide the context for most research in intercultural psychology.
- Acculturation and Intercultural Relations are the two core areas of research and application.
- As for all work in cross-cultural psychology:
 - the *cultural context* needs to be examined, and
 - the research be done *comparatively*.

Intercultural Psychology

- **The field of intercultural psychology has two closely-related branches:**
 - **Acculturation**
 - **Intercultural relations**
- **In the following figure the core concepts of each branch are shown.**

Intercultural psychology



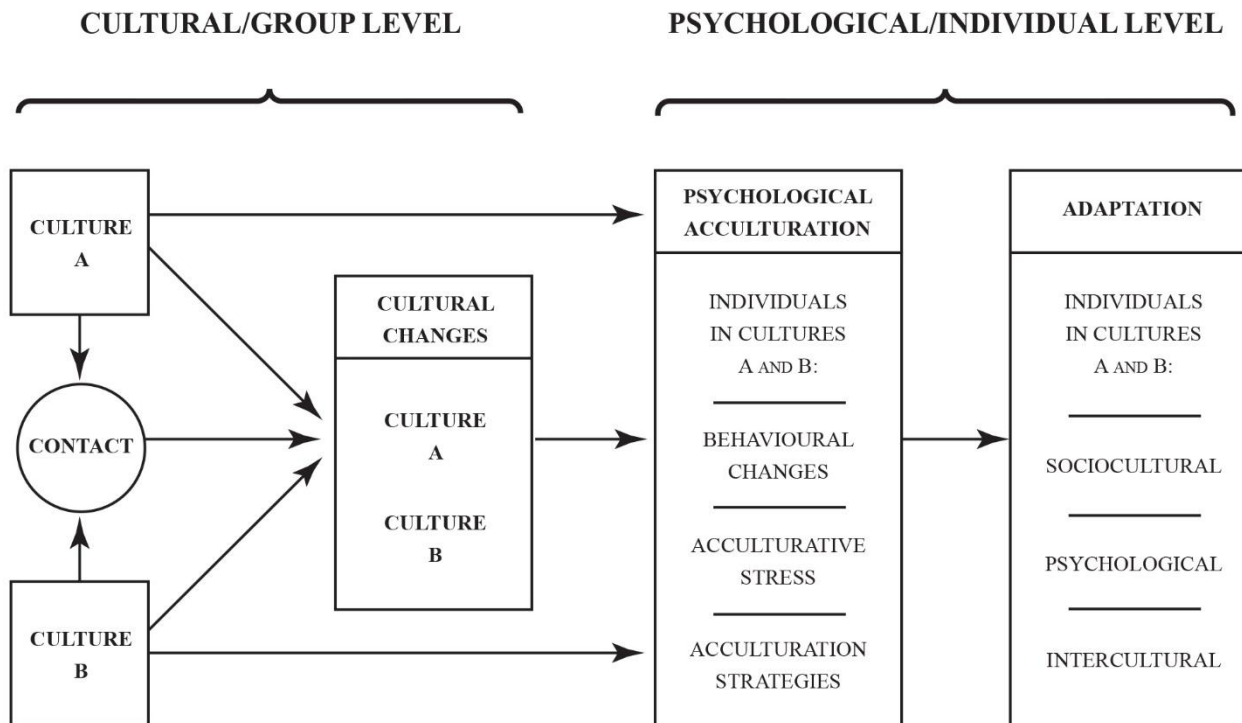
Intercultural Psychology

- **As for cross-cultural psychology, it is essential to first understand the background contextual factors in which the intercultural contact is taking place (at top).**
- **Armed with conceptual and empirical knowledge, it should be possible to achieve harmonious and effective intercultural relations, and to avoid conflictual and stressful relations (at bottom).**

Acculturation Psychology

- Acculturation is the process of **cultural** and **psychological change** following contact between cultural groups and their individual members.
- It takes place in **both** groups and **all** individuals in contact.
- Although one group is usually dominant over the others, successful outcomes require **mutual accommodation among all groups and individuals** living together in the diverse society.

Acculturation Framework



Acculturation

- **At the cultural level, there are three phenomena that need to be examined:**
 - **features of the groups prior to their contact,**
 - **the nature of their intercultural relationships,**
 - **the cultural changes following their contact.**
- **At the psychological level, there are also three phenomena:**
 - **behavioural changes (in daily repertoire, identity),**
 - **stress reactions (acculturative stress),**
 - **adaptations (psychological and sociocultural).**

Goals of Acculturation Research

The goals of acculturation research are:

- to understand the various phenomena of acculturation and adaptation,
- to examine *how* individuals and groups acculturate,
- to examine *how well* individuals and groups adapt
- to search for relationships between *how* and *how well*, in order to discover if there is a *best practice*,
- to apply these findings to the betterment and wellbeing of immigrant and ethnocultural individuals and groups.

Goals of Acculturation Research

These same goals apply equally to all members of the societies of settlement.

Without an understanding of how they are impacted by immigration and acculturation, there can be no improvement in the wellbeing for immigrant and ethnocultural groups when their social, economic and political environments remain unchanged, and often negative because of prejudice and discrimination.

Acculturation: Positive and Negative

- Much early research on acculturation provided 'evidence' that the experiences of acculturation peoples **were generally negative**, and led to poor outcomes.
- This 'evidence' was often published by those who provided services to persons and groups who were in difficulty following immigration (psychiatrists, social workers and other clinicians)
- These workers rarely made observations on persons who made satisfactory acculturative transitions.

“Culture shock”: the shock of the new

- “Culture shock” or acculturative stress is typically defined as a set of complex psychological experiences, usually unpleasant and disruptive (Tsytsarev & Krichmar, 2000).

Some Symptoms of Acculturative Stress and Their Descriptions

Symptoms of Acculturative Stress	Description of Symptoms
Acculturative stress as nostalgia	The person may feel longing for relatives, friends, and familiar cues and experiences.
Acculturative stress as disorientation and loss of control	Familiar cues about how another person is supposed to behave are missing. Disorientation creates anxiety, depressive thinking, and a sense of desperation.
Acculturative stress as dissatisfaction over language barriers	Lack of or difficulties in communication may create frustration and feelings of isolation.
Acculturative stress as loss of habits and lifestyle	The individual is not able to exercise many previously enjoyed activities; this causes anxiety and feelings of loss.
Acculturative stress as perceived differences	Differences between the host and home cultures are typically exaggerated and seem difficult to accept.
Acculturative stress as perceived value differences	Differences in values are typically exaggerated; new values seem difficult to accept.

Acculturation: Positive and Negative

- **As more community surveys were carried out, using general samples of acculturating populations, a more balanced picture emerged.**
- **In some studies, acculturating individuals achieved equal or even better levels of wellbeing than those already settled in the larger society.**
- **As a result, a more balanced picture of the process and outcomes of acculturation has emerged.**

Variations in Acculturation

- It is now well established that acculturation takes place in many ways, and has highly variable outcomes.
- These variations appear in regard to *how* people acculturate and *how well* they adapt.
- The most important question is whether there are relationships between *how* people acculturate and *how well* they adapt.
- As noted above, if there are such relationships, then there may be a *best practice* for societies, groups and individuals to follow during the process of acculturation

Acculturation Strategies: The *How* Question

- **Groups and individuals in acculturating groups hold differing views about *how* to relate to each other and how to change.**
- **These views concern two underlying issues:**
 - 1. Maintenance of heritage cultural and identity in order to sustain cultural communities,**
 - 2. Participation with other groups in the life of the national society.**
- **Their intersection produces four *acculturation strategies* used by groups in contact**
- **These strategies represent the *how* issue mentioned earlier.**

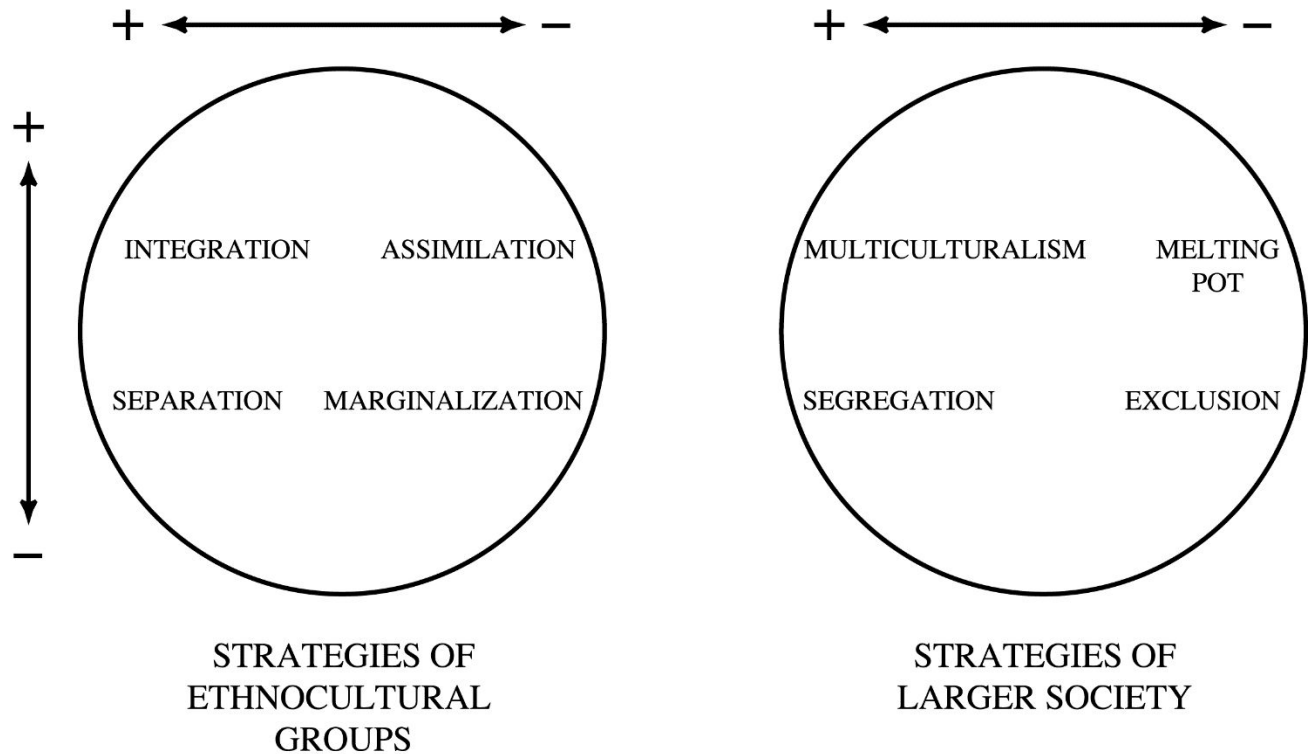
4. Acculturation Strategies: Framework

ISSUE 1:

MAINTENANCE OF HERITAGE CULTURE AND IDENTITY

ISSUE 2:

RELATIONSHIPS
SOUGHT
AMONG
GROUPS



Acculturation Strategies

- On the left are the terms used for the strategies of *ethnocultural* individuals and groups.
- On the right are the terms used for the strategies adopted by individual members of the *larger society*, and for societal policies used to manage acculturation.
- The terms define various locations in the acculturation space.
- Individual and groups explore these various options during the process of acculturation, but eventually settle on one place as their preferred way to acculturate.

Acculturation Strategies: Ethnocultural Groups

- **When these two issues are crossed, four acculturation strategies are defined:**
- **For non-dominant ethnocultural groups, orientations to these issues intersect to define the four acculturation strategies of *assimilation, separation, integration* and *marginalization*.**
- **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.**

Acculturation Strategies

- 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 Marginalisation is defined
- Finally, when there is an interest in both maintaining one's original culture, while in daily interactions with other groups, the Integration strategy is defined. In this case, there is some degree of cultural *integrity* maintained, while at the same time seeking, as a member of an ethnocultural group, there is a desire to participate as an *integral* part of the larger society.
- Note that *integration* has a very specific meaning within this framework: it is clearly different from assimilation (because there is substantial cultural maintenance with integration), and it is not a generic term referring to just any kind of long term presence, or involvement, of an immigrant group in a society of settlement.

Acculturation Strategies:

Larger Society

- From the point of view of the larger civic society other concepts are often used:
- Assimilation when sought by the dominant group is termed the *Melting Pot*.
- When Separation is forced by the dominant group it is called *Segregation*.
- Marginalisation, when imposed by the dominant group is called *Exclusion*.
- Finally, Integration, when diversity is a widely accepted and valued feature of the society as a whole, including by all the various ethnocultural groups, it is called *Multiculturalism*.

Acculturation Strategies Findings

- **In most research, integration is found to be the preferred strategy.**
- **In some research with indigenous peoples and sojourners, separation is preferred.**
- **In a few studies with refugees, assimilation is preferred.**
- **In no studies is marginalisation preferred.**

Acculturation Empirical Example: Study of Immigrant Youth

- Book: *Immigrant youth in cultural transition: Acculturation, identity and adaptation across national contexts.* LEA, 2006.
- Article in *Applied Psychology* (2006).

Both by John Berry, Jean Phinney, David Sam and Paul Vedder.

International Comparative Study of Ethnocultural Youth

- 13 SOCIETIES OF SETTLEMENT:
(5 Settler, 8 Recent)
- 32 IMMIGRANT GROUPS
- Immigrant youth N = 5366
(aged 13 -18; 65.3% 2nd generation)
- Immigrant parents N = 2302
- National youth N = 2631
- National parents N = 863

How do immigrant youth acculturate ?

- Used 13 intercultural variables:
 - Acculturation attitudes (IASM)
 - Cultural identities (ethnic, national)
 - Language use (ethnic, national)
 - Social relationships (ethnic, national)
 - Family relationship values (obligations, rights)

How do immigrant youth acculturate?

Cluster analysis of these 13 variables yielded four acculturation profiles:

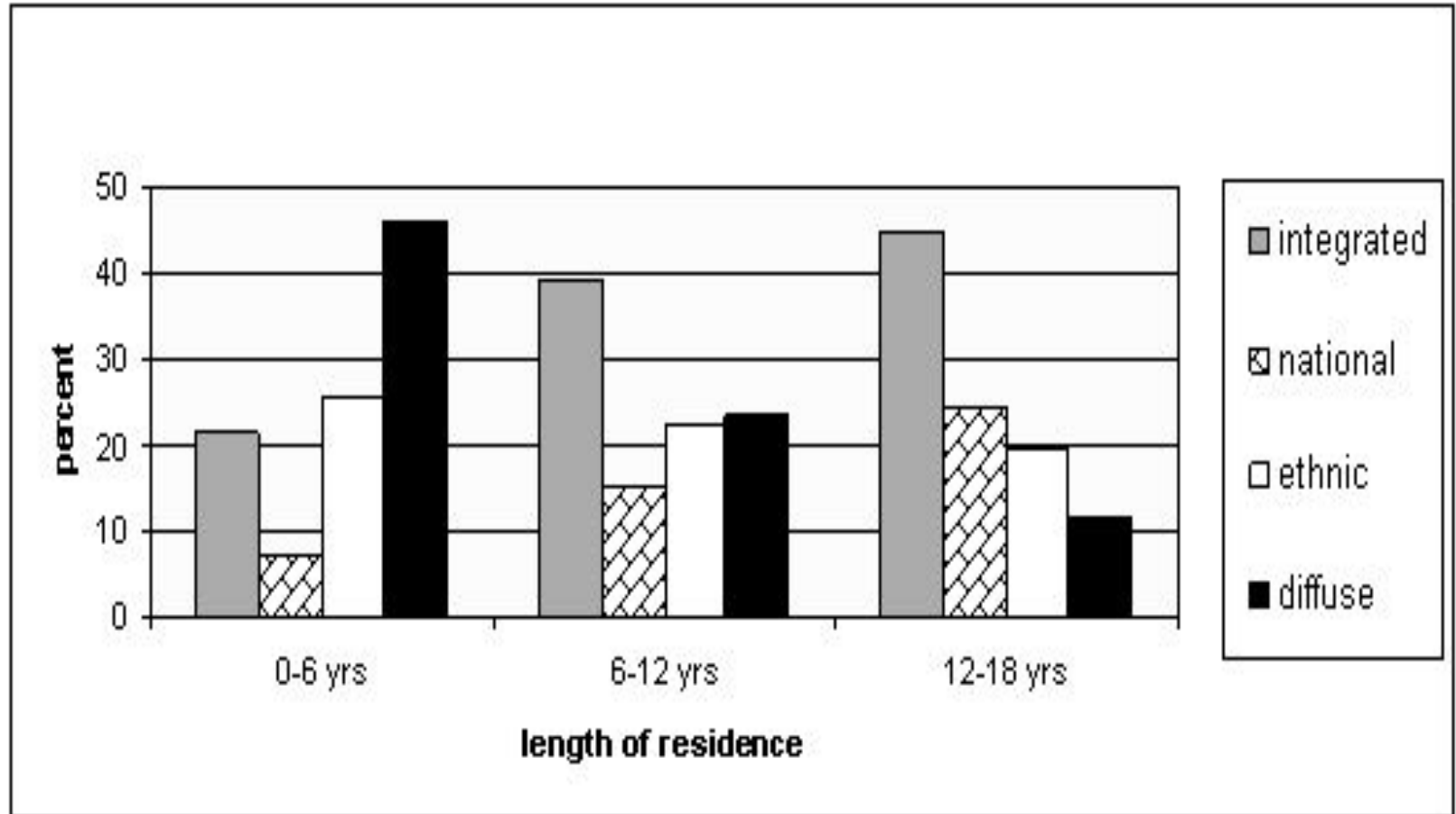
- Integration: 36.4% (oriented to both cults.)
- Separation: 22.5 % (oriented to heritage)
- Assimilation: 18.7 % (oriented to national)
- Marginalisation: 22.4%(oriented to neither)

Acculturation Profile Membership

Being in a cluster or profile is related to:

1. Length of residence in the new society
2. Discrimination against self and group

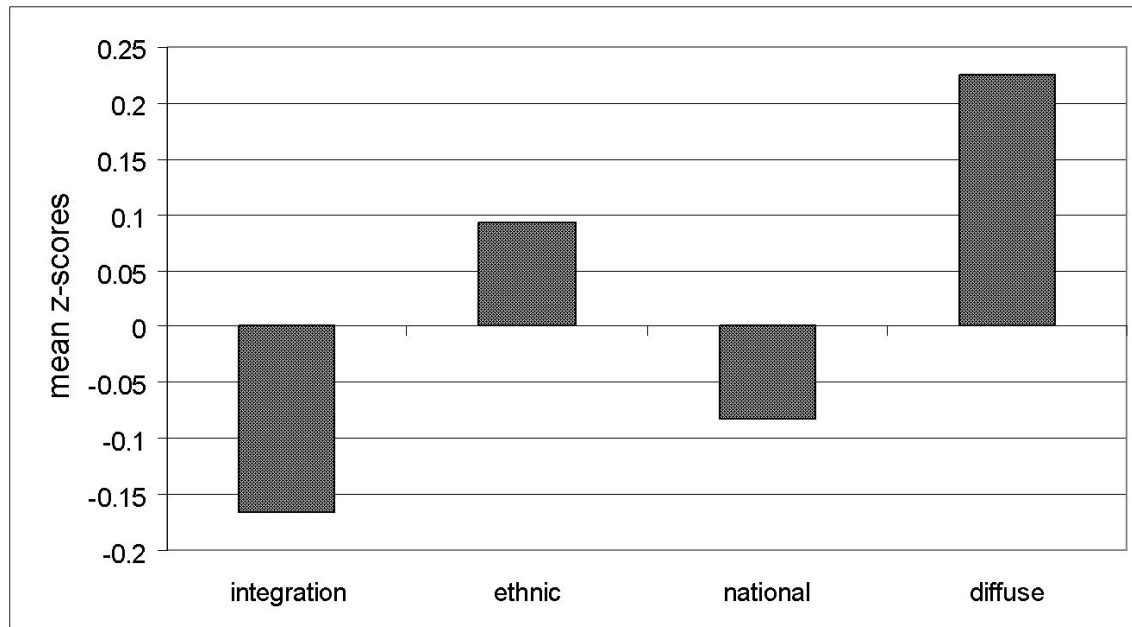
Acculturation Profiles by Length of Residence



Perceived Discrimination

- Respondents were asked to indicate (in response to 5 questions) whether they had been treated unfairly because of their ethnic group.
- Sample items were: “I don’t feel accepted by (national) group”. And “ I have been teased or insulted because of my ethnic background”.
- Discrimination was the single most important contributor to not achieving integration, and to being marginalised.

Perceived Discrimination by Acculturation Strategy



How Well do Immigrant Youth Adapt?

Two forms of adaptation were found in all samples:

- 1. *Psychological*: Lack of Psychological Problems (anxiety, depression, psychosomatic symptoms), high Self-esteem, Life satisfaction.**
- 2. *Sociocultural*: good School Adjustment, lack of Behaviour Problems (eg., truancy, petty theft).**

Immigrant and National Youth Adaptation

- Using the national youth as the comparison group, the results indicated that immigrant youth as a group are just as well adapted and in some cases better adapted than their national peers.
- Immigrant youth reported slightly fewer psychological problems, better school adjustment and fewer behavior problems, although no significant differences were found between immigrants and their national peers in the areas of life satisfaction and self-esteem.

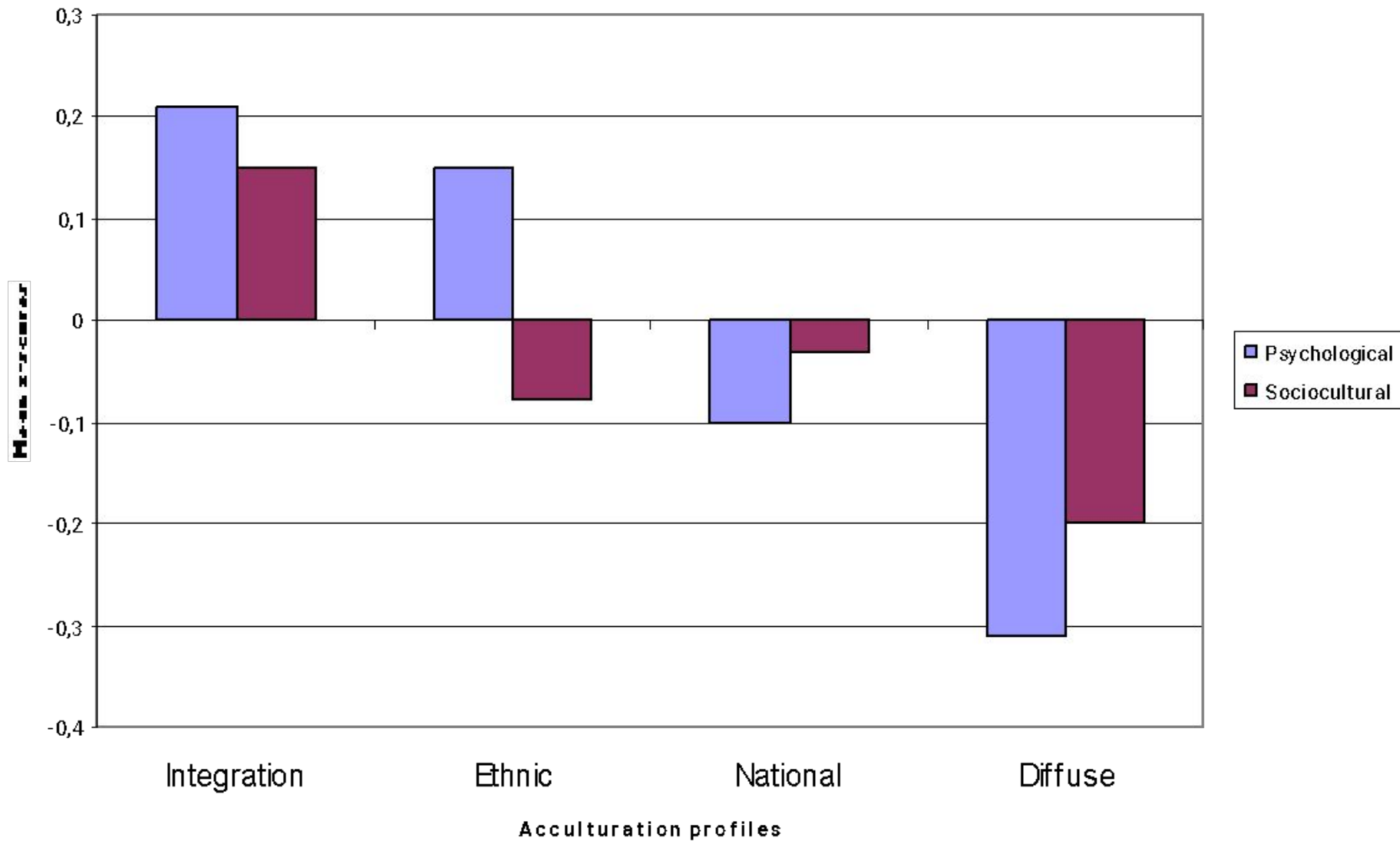
Relationships Between Acculturation Strategy and Adaptation

Are there relationships between *how* youth acculturate, and *how well* they adapt psychologically and socioculturally? Yes.

Psychological Adaptation: Integration highest; followed by Separation, then Assimilation; Marginalisation lowest.

Sociocultural Adaptation: Integration highest; followed by Assimilation, then Separation; Marginalisation lowest.

Adaptation by acculturation profiles



Acculturation Policy Implications

These consistent relationships may permit the development of policies and programme applications to improve the outcomes for all groups in contact:

- the national society,**
- public institutions,**
- ethnocultural groups,**
- individuals.**

Policy Implications for National Society

In the *national society*, public policies of Multiculturalism, supporting the integration of all individuals and groups, will serve the general good more than any of the other ways of acculturating.

At all cost, the descent into Marginalisation should be avoided.

Policy Implications for Public Institutions

- For *public institutions*, such as those dealing with education, health, and justice should move toward more inclusive multicultural structures and practices.
- Changing these institutions requires :
 - the elimination of ideologies and practices that exclude or diminish acculturating peoples;
 - the insertion of ideologies and practices that include the cultural and psychological qualities that acculturating peoples value.

Policy Implications for Ethnocultural Communities

For all *ethnocultural communities*, it is important to provide encouragement and support for both their cultural maintenance and their full and equitable participation in the life of the larger society through multicultural policies.

- **Participation without maintenance promotes Assimilation, and threatens the group's security.**
- **Maintenance without participation promotes Separation, and threatens the dominant group's security.**
- **Engaging in both promotes Integration, and avoids Marginalisation.**

Policy Implications for Ethnocultural Individuals

For *individuals*, the general dissemination of information and personal counselling are important in order for acculturating individuals to understand the benefits of engaging both cultures in a balanced way (integration), and avoiding becoming marginalised.

Acculturation Conclusions

- **Results of many recent studies of acculturation and adaptation reveal a rather positive outcome for immigrants, in contrast to earlier reports.**
- **Variations in outcomes appear to be related to a number of factors, some of which can be managed by public and private action.**
- **The use of these findings to develop public policies and programmes should be a major focus of current efforts to improve the wellbeing of all acculturating groups and individuals.**

Introduction to Intercultural Relations

- Intercultural contact take place in all plural societies.
- When this happens, *attitudes* towards groups may become more positive, or less positive, or not change at all.
- More generally, *prejudice and discrimination* may increase or decrease.
- Research on the outcomes of contact is essential to improving intercultural relations.

Intercultural Relations

- **Much of the research has been carried out in “settler societies”, ones that have largely been built upon colonisation (of indigenous peoples) and immigration (eg., Australia, Canada, New Zealand, USA).**
- **A key research question is whether findings from these societies apply to nation states that have long-established national and regional cultures, such as those in Europe and Asia.**
- **Comparative research on psychological aspects of culture contact following migration and settlement is essential in order to answer this question.**

Intercultural Policies

- **All plural societies are now attempting to deal with the issues of intercultural relations within their own diverse populations.**
- **Some declare that “multiculturalism has failed”, having tried a policy that is not multiculturalism at all (in the terms used here), but is essentially one of separation.**
- **As an alternative, they usually propose the term ‘integration’, usually meaning a form of ‘assimilation’.**
- **Others propose that ‘integration’, through a policy of multiculturalism, is the only possible solution.**
- **Following is a summary of the first such policy (in Canada, 1971), and of the EU (2005) policy.**

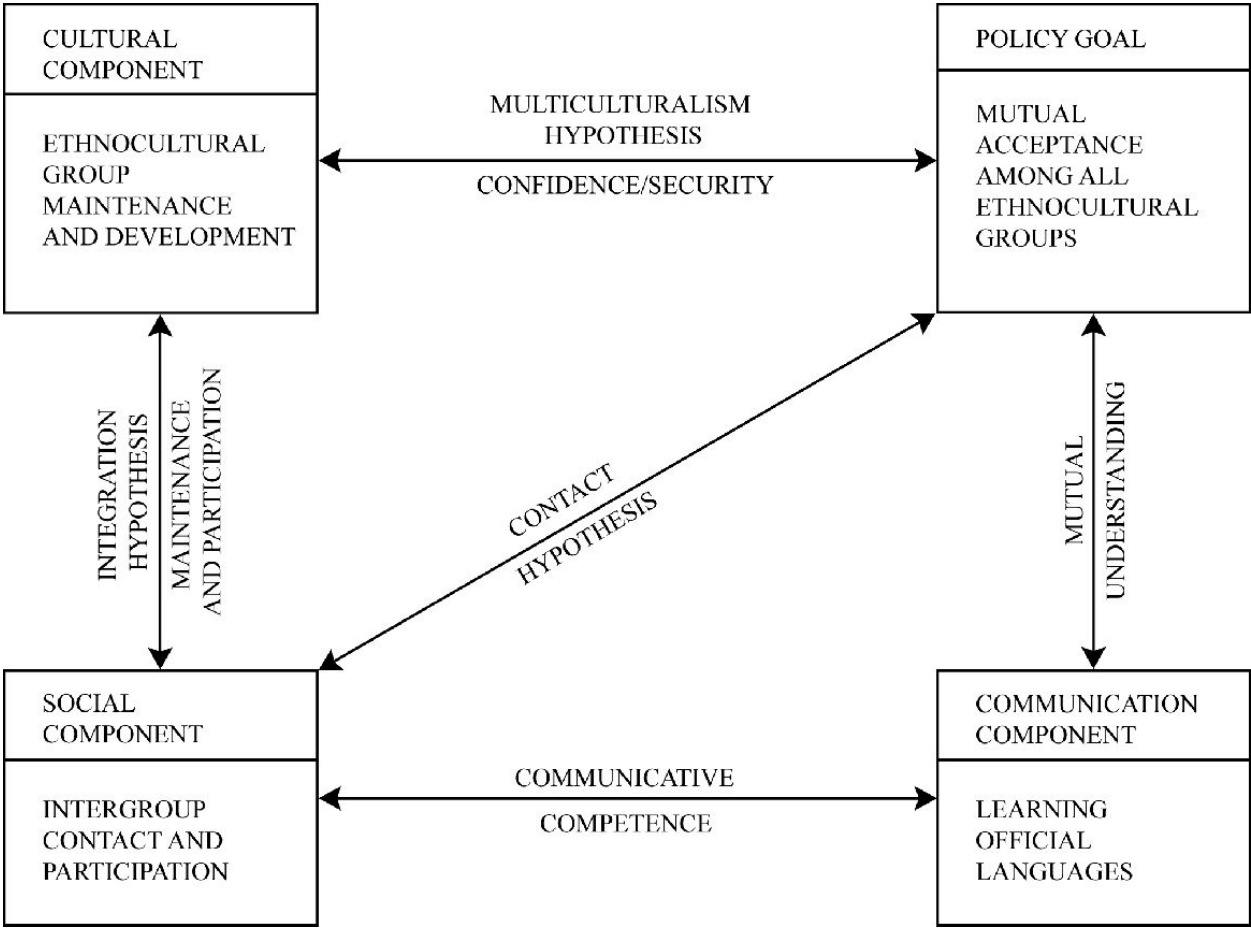
Canadian Multiculturalism Policy

In 1971, the Canadian Federal government announced a policy of Multiculturalism, whose goal was “to break down discriminatory attitudes and cultural jealousies”.

This goal of improved intercultural relations was to be achieved by:

- supporting ethnocultural communities in their wish to maintain their heritage cultures, and**
- by promoting intercultural contact and participation in the larger society.**

Canadian Multiculturalism Policy



Canadian Multiculturalism Policy

It is essential to note that the concept of multiculturalism and of the MC policy have two simultaneous and equally important emphases:

1. the **maintenance and development of heritage cultures** and identities (the **cultural** component) and,
2. the full and **equitable participation** of all ethnocultural groups in the life of the larger society (the **social** component).

Together, and in balance with each other, it should be possible to achieve a functioning multicultural society.

Note that these two components are identical to the acculturation strategies framework presented in the last lecture

3. A third component is that of learning either or both 'official languages' (English or French) in order to permit mutual understanding and participation in the larger society.

Canadian Multiculturalism Policy

- **Most recently (2011), the Federal government has asserted that:**

"Integration is a two-way process, requiring adjustment on the part of both newcomers and host communities... the successful integration of permanent residents into Canada involves mutual obligations for new immigrants and Canadian society. Ultimately, the goal is to support newcomers to become fully engaged in the social, economic, political, and cultural life of Canada".

European Union Integration Policy

- **The European Union (2005) adopted a set of “Common Basic Principles for Immigrant Integration”.**
- **“Integration is a dynamic, two-way process of mutual accommodation by all immigrants and residents of Member States. Integration is a dynamic, long-term, and continuous two-way process of mutual accommodation, not a static outcome. It demands the participation not only of immigrants and their descendants but of every resident. The integration process involves adaptation by immigrants, both men and women, who all have rights and responsibilities in relation to their new country of residence. It also involves the receiving society, which should create the opportunities for the immigrants’ full economic, social, cultural, and political participation”.**

EU Integration Policy

- **In these EU principles, the cornerstones of multiculturalism policy are evident:**
 - **the right of all peoples to maintain their cultures;**
 - **the right to participate fully in the life of the larger society;**
and
 - **the obligation for all groups (both the dominant and non-dominant) to engage in a process of mutual change.**
 - **Note that there is no place for the option of permitting cultural maintenance in the family or cultural community (private maintenance), while rejecting such expressions in the public space.**

Three Intercultural Hypotheses

- The Canadian MC policy has give rise to three hypotheses that have been examined by research in a number of societies.
- These are:
 - Multiculturalism hypothesis
 - Integration hypothesis
 - Contact hypothesis

Multiculturalism Hypothesis

- **The multiculturalism hypothesis is that when individuals and societies are confident in, and feel secure about, their own cultural identities and their place in the larger society, more positive mutual attitudes will result.**
- **In contrast, when these identities are threatened, mutual hostility will result.**
- **This hypothesis derives from the policy statement that positive relations “...must be founded on confidence on one’s own individual identity; out of this can grow respect for that of others, and a willingness to share ideas, attitudes and assumptions...”.**

Integrated Threat Hypothesis

- Parallel research on the relationship between security and out-group acceptance has been carried out using the integrated threat hypothesis
- This hypothesis argues that a sense of *threat* to a person's identity (the converse of security) will lead to rejection of the group that is the source of threat.

Meta-Analysis

- In a meta-analysis using a sample of 95 published studies, Riek et al., (2006) found significant correlations (ranging from .42 to .46 for the various forms of threat) between threat and out-group attitudes.
- They concluded that “the results of the meta-analysis indicate that intergroup threat has an important relationship with out-group attitudes. As people perceive more intergroup competition, more value violations, higher levels of intergroup anxiety, more group esteem threats, and endorse more negative stereotypes, negative attitudes toward out-groups increase” (p. 345).

Conclusions:

Multiculturalism Hypothesis

- **We conclude that since first being introduced, the multiculturalism hypothesis has largely been supported.**
- **Various feelings of security and threat appear to be part of the psychological underpinnings of the acceptance of multiculturalism.**
- **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.**

Integration Hypothesis

- The integration hypothesis is that when individuals are 'doubly engaged' [in their heritage cultures and in the larger society] they will have higher levels of psychological and sociocultural adaptation.
- This hypothesis was examined in the lecture on acculturation.
- Research findings [e.g., from the study of immigrant youth] supported this hypothesis.

Integration Hypothesis

- **A recent meta-analysis by Benet- Martinez has shown that this relationship is indeed in evidence**
- **In over 80 studies (with over 8000 participants) integration ('biculturalism' in her terms) was positively associated with positive adaptation ('adjustment' in her terms).**
- **From these studies, we may conclude that the integration hypothesis is largely supported.**

Contact hypothesis

- 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.

Meta-Analysis of Contact Hypothesis

- Pettigrew and Tropp (2001) 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, results from the meta-analysis reveal that greater levels of intergroup contact are typically associated with lower level of prejudice...” (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2001, p. 267).
- This effect was stronger where there were structured programs that incorporated the conditions outlined by Allport than when these conditions were not present.

Meta-Analysis of Contact Hypothesis

- Most recently, Pettigrew and Tropp (2011) continued their meta-analytic examination of the relationship between contact and the quality of intercultural relations.
- They confirmed the findings of their previous research: contact (under most conditions) leads to more positive attitudes, and reduced prejudice.

Some of the prescriptions recommended in the contact literature include the following:

- Contact should be regular and frequent
- Contact should involve a balanced ratio of in-group to out-group members
- Contact should have genuine “acquaintance potential”
- Contact should occur across a variety of social settings and situations
- Contact should be free from competition
- Contact should be evaluated as “important” to the participants involved
- Contact should occur between individuals who share equality of status
- Contact should involve interaction with a counter -stereotypic member of another group
- Contact should be organized around cooperation toward the achievement of a superordinate goal
- Contact should be normatively and institutionally sanctioned
- Contact should be free from anxiety or other negative emotions
- Contact should be personalized and involve genuine friendship formation
- Contact should be with a person who is deemed a typical or representative member of another group

A Meta-Analytic Test of Intergroup Contact Theory

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The present article presents a meta-analytic test of intergroup contact theory. With 713 independent samples from 515 studies, the meta-analysis finds that intergroup contact typically reduces intergroup prejudice. Multiple tests indicate that this finding appears not to result from either participant selection or publication biases, and the more rigorous studies yield larger mean effects. These contact effects typically generalize to the entire outgroup, and they emerge across a broad range of outgroup targets and contact settings. Similar patterns also emerge for samples with racial or ethnic targets and samples with other targets. This result suggests that contact theory, devised originally for racial and ethnic encounters, can be extended to other groups. A global indicator of Allport's optimal contact conditions demonstrates that contact under these conditions typically leads to even greater reduction in prejudice. Closer examination demonstrates that these conditions are best conceptualized as an interrelated bundle rather than as independent factors. Further, the meta-analytic findings indicate that these conditions are not essential for prejudice reduction. Hence, future work should focus on negative factors that prevent intergroup contact from diminishing prejudice as well as the development of a more comprehensive theory of intergroup contact.

Keywords: intergroup prejudice, intergroup contact, meta-analysis

Does Intergroup Contact Reduce Prejudice?

The meta-analytic results clearly indicate that intergroup contact typically reduces intergroup prejudice. Synthesizing effects from 696 samples, the meta-analysis reveals that **greater intergroup contact is generally associated with lower levels of prejudice** (mean r .215).

Moreover, the meta-analytic findings reveal that contact theory applies beyond racial and ethnic groups to embrace other types of groups as well. As such, intergroup contact theory now stands as a general social psychological theory and not as a theory designed simply for the special case of racial and ethnic contact.

For the future, multilevel models that consider both positive and negative factors in the contact situation, along with individual, structural, and normative antecedents of the contact, will greatly enhance researchers' understanding of the nature of intergroup contact effects.

Both Altman and Taylor's (1973) and Miller and Steinberg's (1975) theories support the argument that the influence of group membership on interpersonal relationships varies as relationships become more intimate.

Initially, group membership have an effect on the relationship and how it develops. As relationships between people from different groups move through the stages of relationship development, however, the effect of group membership begins to disappear.

Once interpersonal relationships between people from different groups reach the friendship stage (i.e., Altman & Taylor's, 1973), group memberships appear to have little effect on the relationship because the majority of interaction in friendships has a personalistic focus.

As Wright (1978) observes, **in friendship, each person reacts to the other as a person-qua-person or, more specifically, with respect to his/her uniqueness, and irreplaceability in the relationship.**

Conclusions: Contact Hypothesis

- **The evidence is now widespread across cultures that greater intercultural contact is associated with more positive intercultural attitudes, and lower levels of prejudice.**
- **This generalisation has to be qualified by two cautions.**
- **First, the appropriate conditions need to be present in order for contact to lead to positive intercultural attitudes.**
- **And second, there exists many examples of the opposite effect, where increased contact is associated with greater conflict. The conditions (cultural, political, economic) under which these opposite outcomes arise are in urgent need of examination.**

Conclusions: Contact Hypothesis

- **One issue still to be decided is whether the positive effects of intergroup contact are present at both the individual and group levels of analysis.**
- **It appears settled that the positive effects are usually present when individuals meet.**
- **However, less clear is whether they are also present at the group level: does contact between groups (communities, states) breed conflict and hostility, or mutual acceptance?**

Conclusions:

Intercultural Relations

- Research on intercultural relations in plural societies has advanced in recent years.
- The examination of the *cultural contexts* and the use of the *comparative method* has allowed for some *general principles* to emerge.
- These general principles should permit the development of policies for dealing with intercultural relations.

Intercultural relations in Latvia and Azerbaijan: comparative analysis

Nadezhda Lebedeva, Victoria Galyapina

National Research University Higher School of Economics, Moscow, Russia International conference on integration „Shared Identities in Diverse Communities: the Role of Culture, Media and Civil Society“ 16 – 17 November 2017 in Tallinn, Estonia



KULTUURIMINISTEERIUM



Research goal

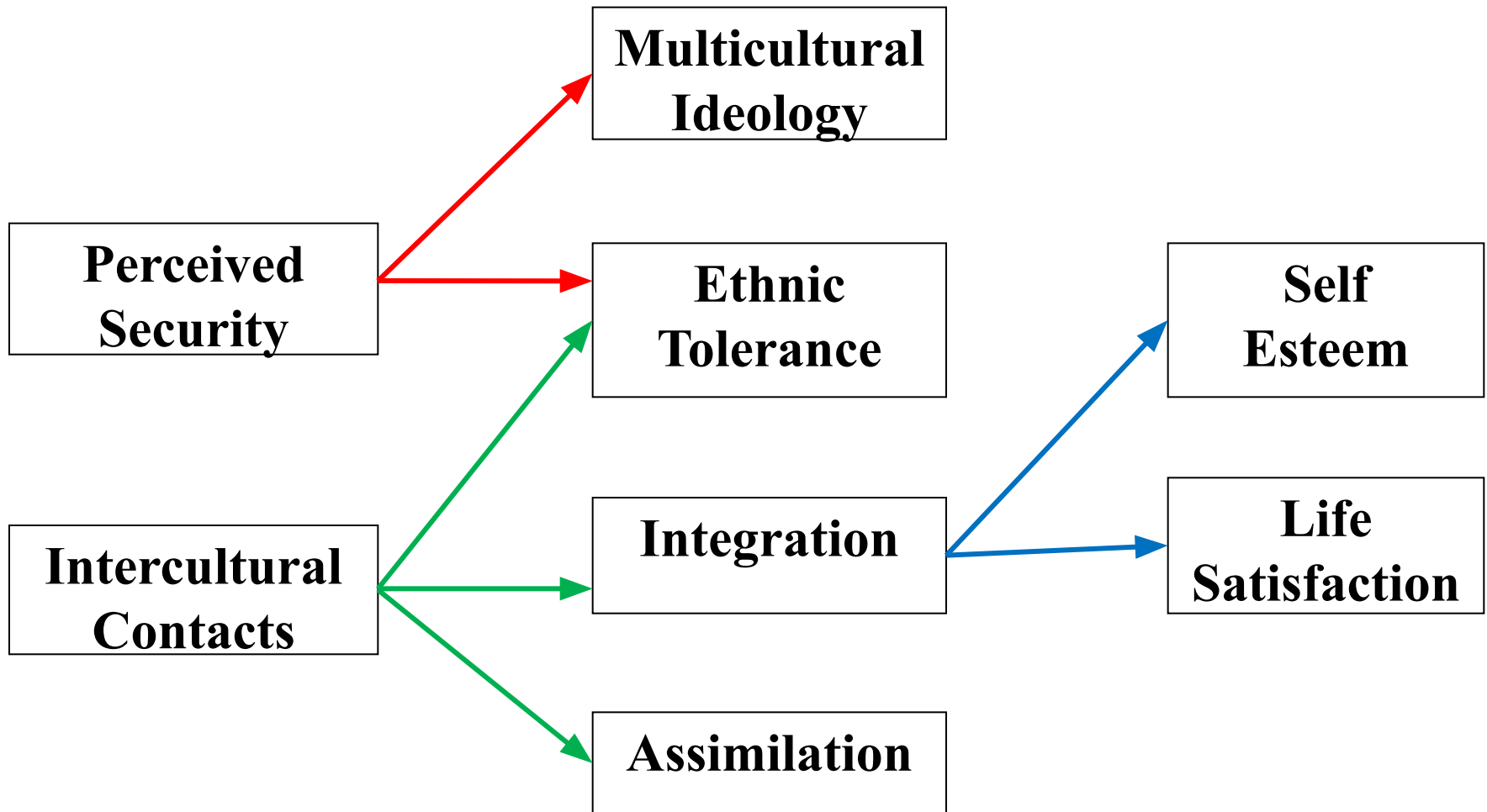
To test three hypotheses of intercultural relations (*multiculturalism, contact, integration*) between host population and ethnic Russians in two countries with different trajectories of post-Soviet development – Latvia and Azerbaijan.

The research was supported by the Russian Science Foundation (project "Empirical test of feasibility of multiculturalism policy in Russia in the context of international experience", №15-18-00029)

Research hypotheses

1. The *multiculturalism hypothesis*: the higher the perceived security, the higher are support of multicultural ideology and ethnic tolerance (for both the minority group and the members of the larger society).
2. The *contact hypothesis*: Intercultural contact and sharing promote mutual acceptance (under certain conditions, especially that of equality).
3. The *integration hypothesis*: Those who prefer the integration strategy have greater psychological adaptation.

Theoretical model



Comparison of the context

Latvia

Citizenship. Latvians - 61.1%, Russians -26,2% (Statistical Yearbook of Latvia 2013). 12.7% of the total population are non-citizens, 99 percent of non-citizens are ethnic minorities, 66% of which are Russians[Naturalizācija, 2014].

Language. In 2004 60% of teaching hours in secondary schools should be taught in the Latvian language. Final exams of the core disciplines are accepted only in the Latvian language. Over the past 10 years, 96 of Russian schools are closed in Latvia. (Solopenko 2013). Since 1999 in Latvia, according to the Education Act, in public universities and colleges the language of instruction is Latvian only (Skrinnik, 2009).

Intercultural relations. Education reform in Latvia has become a catalyst for dissent among the Russian-speaking population. (Syтин, 2012; Skrinnik, 2009). Total ethnic situation in Latvia is a conflict-prone (Rodin, 2013).

Azerbaijan

Citizenship. Russians in Azerbaijan amount to 1.34% of the total population (Perepisi, 2013). Russian, who stayed in Azerbaijan after the collapse of the USSR, received citizenship in this country automatically. (Vykhovanets, 2005).

Language. Russian language is still widely used in everyday communication in Azerbaijan, 47% of ethnic Azerbaijanis speak Russian (Musabekov, 2011). Not one Russian school has not been closed, more than 109 thousand schoolchildren (11%) and 20 thousand of university students are studying in Russian. In 2000 year Baku Slavic University (BSU) was founded (Gavrilov, Kozievskaya, Yatsenko, 2008), the language of instruction is Russian.

Intercultural relations The results of many studies haven't shown significant problems in the inter-ethnic relations in Azerbaijan. (Guliev, 2012; Azerbaijan in 2006-2010, 2011; Faradov, 2011)

Sample composition

Groups	<i>N</i>	Age		Gender
		<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	Male (%)
Latvians (Riga)	363	42.6	20.7	49
Ethnic Russians (Riga)	336	42.8	21.5	51
Azerbaijanis	300	46.6	20.1	43
Russians	307	45.8	21.6	29,3

Measures and Procedure

The study used some scales and items from the project Mutual Intercultural Relations in Plural Societies (<http://www.victoria.ac.nz/cacr/research/mirips>).

The scales used are: *Perceived security scale, Multicultural Ideology, Ethnic Tolerance, Intercultural strategies of the nondominant population, Intercultural expectations of the dominant population, , Sociocultural adaptation, The Satisfaction With Life Scale (SWLS), The Rosenberg Self-esteem Scale (RSES), Intercultural (Ethnic) Contacts.*

Data processing: structural equation modeling (SEM) and path analysis with AMOS version 19 (Arbuckle, 2010).

Procedure

In Riga the snowball technique was used; for Russians, the survey was conducted in Russian, for Latvians it was conducted in Latvian.

The research in Azerbaijan was conducted by the Center for Research of Development and International Cooperation "SIGMA". They used convenience sampling in the survey process. For Russians and Azerbaijanis, the survey was conducted in Russian.

Means, standard deviations, and t-tests

(Russians in Latvia, Latvians, Russians in Azerbaijan, Azerbaijanis)

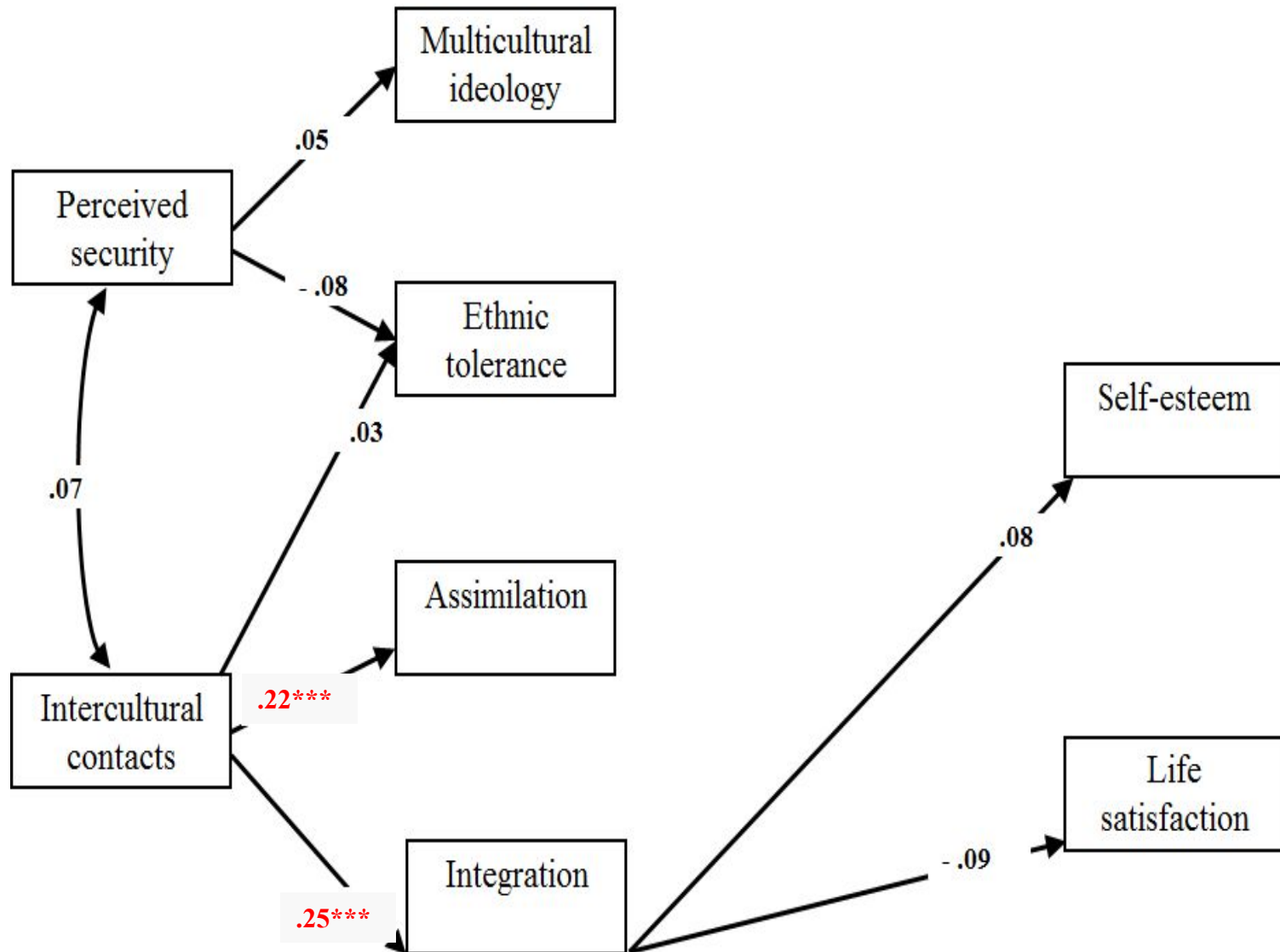
	M; σ				t-test, p			
	RL	La	RA	Az	RL-La	RA-Az	RL-RA	La- Az
SEC	2.70; 0.66	2.69; 0.66	3.76; 1.41	4.29; 0.81	-.48	-7.3***	-13.9***	-26.8***
IC	2.66; 0.96	3.62; 0.95	3.65; 1.05	2.60; 1.11	-11.4***	11.8***	-11.0***	11.6***
MI	3.52; 0.81	3.36; 0.65	4.08; 0.67	4.19; 0.83	2.8**	-1.7	-9.5***	-13.8***
INT	3.98; 0.64	4.33; 0.63	4.38; 0.54	4.37; 0.82	.08	.05	-6.2***	-.78
ASS	1.76; 0.74	2.09; 0.73	1.44; 0.53	1.62; 0.89	.40	-2.9**	5.8***	7.4***
TOL	3.73; 0.92	3.45; 0.83	4.07; 0.84	4.24; 0.83	3.7***	-2.6**	-4.7***	-11.8***
LS	3.23; 0.89	3.15; 0.77	3.33; 0.95	3.16; 0.87	.07	2.3*	-.13	-.07
S-Est	4.05; 0.74	3.97; 0.58	4.25; 0.55	4.01; 0.67	.13	1.4	-3.6***	-.08

RL, Russians in Latvia; La, Latvians; RA, Russians in Azerbaijan; Az, Azerbaijanis

SEC, Security; IC, Intercultural contacts; MI, Multicultural ideology; INT, Integration; ASS, Assimilation;

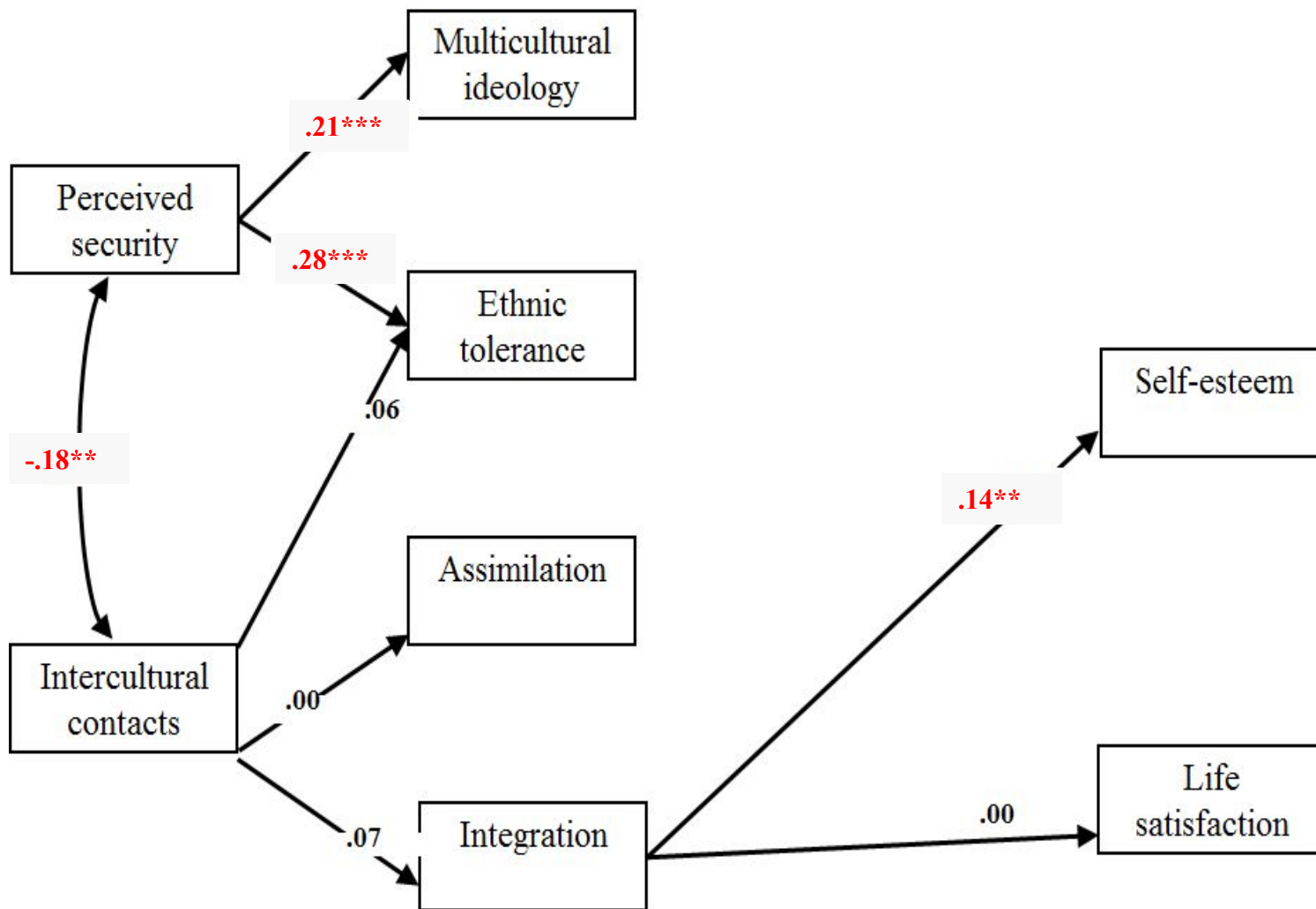
TOL, Ethnic Tolerance; SCA, Sociocultural adaptation; LS, Life satisfaction; S-Est, Self-Esteem

Results of structural equation modeling for all three hypotheses combined for Russians in Latvia



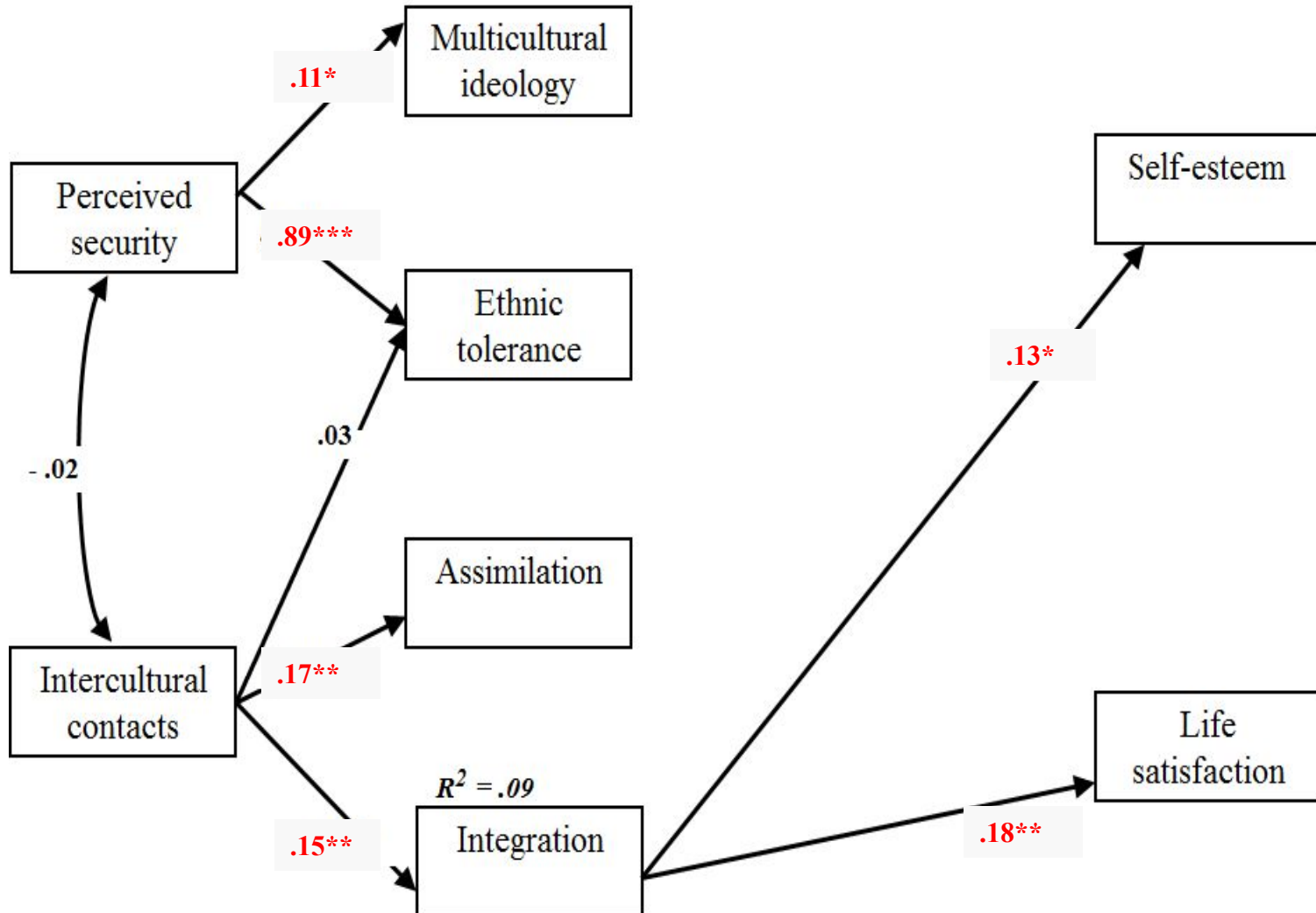
$\chi^2/df=2.1$; CFI=.97; RMSEA=.05; PCLOSE=.31

Results of structural equation modeling for all three hypotheses combined for the Latvians in Riga



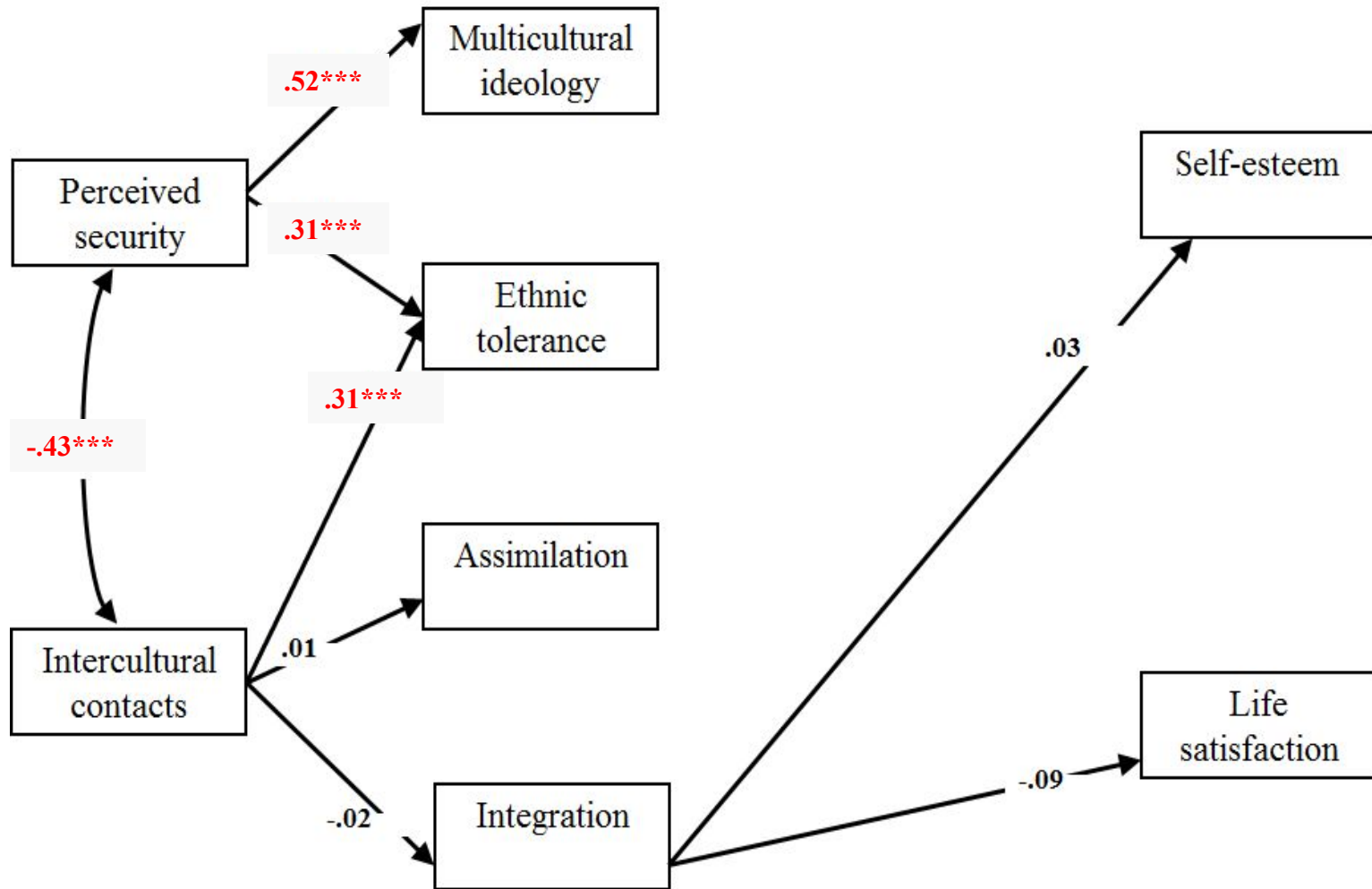
$\chi^2/df=1.9$; CFI=.96; RMSEA=.05; PCLOSE=.44

Results of structural equation modeling for all three hypotheses combined for the Russians in Azerbaijan



$\chi^2/df=2.3$ CFI=.98; RMSEA=.06; PCLOSE=.20

Results of structural equation modeling for all three hypotheses combined for the Azerbaijanis



$\chi^2/df=2.0$; CFI=.99; RMSEA=.06; PCLOSE=.34

Findings

Hypothesis	Latvia		Azerbaijan	
	Latvians	Russians	Azerbaijanis	Russians
The multiculturalism hypothesis	fully supported	not supported	fully supported	fully supported
The contact hypothesis	not supported	partially supported	partially supported	partially supported
The integration hypothesis	partially supported	not supported	not supported	fully supported

Conclusion

The multiculturalism hypothesis was fully confirmed with three groups: Latvians, Azerbaijanis and Russians in Azerbaijan and didn't receive support with Russians in Latvia.

The contact hypothesis was partially confirmed with three groups: Russians in Latvia, Russians in Azerbaijan and was not confirmed with Latvians.

The integration hypothesis was fully supported with Russians in Azerbaijan, partially supported with Latvians and was not supported with Russians in Latvia as well as with Azerbaijanis.

Thus all three hypotheses were supported only with Russians in Azerbaijan.

Why some hypotheses were not supported?

Why Perceived security did not predict Multicultural ideology and Ethnic tolerance, and Integration did not predict psychological well-being for **Russians in Latvia**?

Low level of security corresponds with preference for assimilation among Russians in Latvia. The preference for assimilation has different meaning for Russian minority and Latvian majority: for Russians it is connected with intolerance and lack of integration; in Latvians it is connected with tolerance and integration. Perhaps for Latvians, assimilation and integration have very close meanings, which is not a true for Latvian Russians. The latter avoid such a type of integration and it didn't contribute to their psychological well-being.

Parallel with other studies: ‘The ethnically connoted nation-state model equates integration with forced assimilation, and as the majority of Estonian Russians do not wish to assimilate, integration for them means “something to avoid.” (Kruusvall et al., 2009).

Why contact hypothesis was not supported with Latvians?

There is significant negative relationship between security and contact in Latvians. It means that intercultural contacts may make Latvians feel less secure or vice versa: low security impedes intercultural contact.

Latvians have low level of security and high level of intercultural contact. This high level of contacts do not promote acceptance of Russians among Latvians. Moreover they assessed the intensity of their intercultural contacts much higher than Russians did, despite the fact that Latvians are a numerical majority in Latvia. Probably this subjective evaluation of excessive intercultural contacts do not promote acceptance of Russians among Latvians.

There is negative relationship between security and contact in Azerbaijanis also, but the nature of this relationship is different: discordance of high security and low contacts. Such combination does not impede contact hypothesis and contacts promote ethnic tolerance among Azerbaijanis.

Why integration hypothesis was not supported with Azerbaijanis?

Preference for integration among Azerbaijanis does not promote their Life satisfaction and Self-esteem.

We suppose that the integration of Russians is due to their low proportion in Azerbaijan (1.34%) and the relatively positive mutual attitudes did not significantly contribute to the psychological wellbeing of Azerbaijanis.

At the same time, acceptance of multicultural ideology demonstrated unexpected and disturbing negative relationship with the self-esteem of Azerbaijanis ($-.27; p < .001$). This means that psychological well-being of host population of Azerbaijan is sensitive to multicultural ideology and the latter could reduce the self-esteem of Azerbaijanis. Probably the very small proportion of Russians and their reduced influence on the situation in the republic could explain relatively positive intercultural relations in Azerbaijan.

Further analysis of sociocultural contexts might shed light on these findings.

Limitations

- The first limitation concerns the samples which reduces the generalizability of the findings: they are not representative for Azerbaijan as well as for Latvia because data were collected mostly in the capitals of these countries (Baku and Riga).
- The second limitation concerns the snowball sampling technique, in which respondents were recruited from a narrow circle of friends and acquaintances.