

A Psychology of Immigration

J. W. Berry*

Queen's University

The discipline of psychology has much to contribute to our understanding of immigrants and the process of immigration. A framework is proposed that lays out two complementary domains of psychological research, both rooted in contextual factors, and both leading to policy and program development. The first (acculturation) stems from research in anthropology and is now a central part of cross-cultural psychology; the second (intergroup relations) stems from sociology and is now a core feature of social psychology. Both domains are concerned with two fundamental issues that face immigrants and the society of settlement: maintenance of group characteristics and contact between groups. The intersection of these issues creates an intercultural space, within which members of both groups develop their cultural boundaries and social relationships. A case is made for the benefits of integration as a strategy for immigrants and for multiculturalism as a policy for the larger society. The articles in this issue are then discussed in relation to these conceptual frameworks and empirical findings.

The study of immigrants and immigration is rooted in many disciplines: Anthropology, demography, economics, political science, and sociology have all predominated, whereas psychology has lagged somewhat behind. There is a clear role for psychology to play in this field, however, just as there is for the broader domain of ethnic and intercultural studies more generally. In claiming such a role, I have previously argued (Berry, 1990a) that there are two broad areas of potential contribution by psychology: acculturation and intergroup relations. The former has come into psychology from anthropology and has become a major focus of cross-cultural psychology (Berry, 1990b; Liebkind, 2000; Ward, 1996). The latter had its origins in sociology and has taken a central position in social psychology

*Correspondence concerning this article should be addressed to J. W. Berry, Psychology Department, Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario, Canada K7L 3N6 [e-mail: berryj@psyc.queensu.ca]. The author wishes to thank Rudy Kalin for his comments on this article and for his long-term collaboration in the study of intercultural relations in Canada.

(Brewer & Brown, 1998; Brown & Gaertner, 2001). Both are now contributing policy-relevant findings for the management of group relations in culturally plural societies (Aboud & Levy, 1999; Berry, 1999a; Berry & Kalin, 2000).

Articles in this issue can be seen as substantiating this claim by contributing to these two domains: Some are concerned with acculturation, and some with intergroup relations; moreover, some have policy implications that flow from work in these two domains. My task in this final article is to develop a framework for understanding a “psychology of immigration,” to place the various articles in such a framework, to discern common themes among them, and to draw out their theoretical and policy import.

A Framework

Figure 1 illustrates these cultural, social, and policy components of immigration phenomena (modified from Berry, 1990a, 1999a), and places them in relation to their broad social science contexts. Distinctions and possible linkages are portrayed, using terms that are generally known in psychology. Other schemas, employed in cognate disciplines (e.g., Banton, 2000; Kymlicka, 1998; Portes, 1997), emphasize other components and terminology; they serve to coordinate their perspectives and concerns, but they often overlap with those of psychology.

Acculturation

On the left side of Figure 1 is the domain of *acculturation*, a process that entails contact between two cultural groups, which results in numerous cultural changes in both parties (Redfield, Linton, & Herskovits, 1936). Graves (1967) later proposed that individuals who are members of cultures in contact will experience various psychological changes, coining the term *psychological acculturation* to refer to this individual level. Acculturation is a process involving two or more groups, with consequences for both; in effect, however, the contact experiences have much greater impact on the nondominant group and its members. For this reason, much of the research on acculturation has focused on such nondominant peoples (such as immigrants and indigenous peoples), tending to ignore the impact on the dominant population. It is obvious, however, that immigrant-receiving societies and their native-born populations have been massively transformed in the past decades. Recent trends in acculturation research have come to focus more on the process of *mutual* change (Berry, 1997; Bourhis, Moise, Perreault, & Senecal, 1997), involving both groups in contact.

For more than 30 years, psychologists have focused on some fundamental aspects of these phenomena, particularly people’s attitudes toward the process, their overt behaviors (continuity or change), and their internal cultural identities. All are rooted in two basic aspects of intercultural contact that have been described

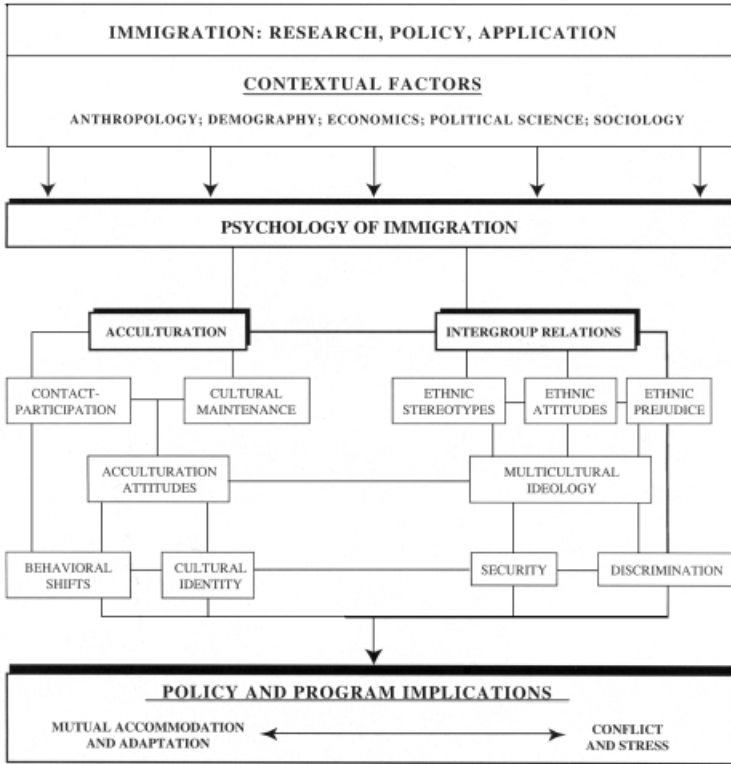


Fig. 1. A framework for understanding psychology of immigration, linking acculturation and intergroup relations research to background context variables and outcomes.

by anthropologists and sociologists: (1) the degree of actual contact and the resultant participation of each group with the other, and (2) the degree of cultural maintenance manifested by each group. That is, in any intercultural situation, a group can penetrate (or ignore) the other, and groups can remain culturally distinct from (or merge with) each other. The distinction between these two group-level phenomena is critical for understanding the process of both cultural and psychological acculturation. If it is assumed that high contact always and inevitably leads to low cultural maintenance, then the only possible outcome of intercultural contact is the absorption of one group into the other, with the melding of the two into a blended culture, leading to the disappearance of distinct cultural groups. The persistence of indigenous peoples in Africa and the Americas following European migration, however, and the continuity of French and Spanish immigrant societies in North America attest to the viability of alternatives to such cultural demise.

At the psychological level, virtually everyone in an intercultural contact arena holds attitudes toward the two fundamental aspects (intercultural contact and

cultural maintenance) noted above. When examined among immigrant (or other nondominant) individuals, these have become known as *acculturation attitudes*. Here, the issues are: To what extent do people wish to have contact with (or avoid) others outside their group, and to what extent do people wish to maintain (or give up) their cultural attributes? When examined among the population at large (often representing the dominant receiving society), views about these issues have been termed *multicultural ideology* (Berry, Kalin, & Taylor, 1977) and are illustrated on the right of Figure 1, as a counterpart to acculturation attitudes. In this case, the focus is on how one group thinks that others (e.g., immigrants, ethnocultural groups, indigenous peoples) *should* acculturate (i.e., acculturation expectations).

One way of illustrating these distinctions (between the two dimensions, and between the views of dominant and nondominant groups) is presented in Figure 2. The two basic dimensions are portrayed as independent of each other (orthogonally), first for the nondominant (or immigrant) groups on the left, and then for the dominant group (or receiving society) on the right. For each issue, a dimension is shown, with a positive orientation at one end and a negative one at the other.

For immigrants, the main question is “How shall *we* deal with these two issues?” whereas for the receiving society it is “How should *they* deal with them?” In practice, however, each group must also concern itself with the views and practices of the other. For members of the former, their choices may be constrained by the orientations of the receiving society, whereas for members of the latter, the receiving society needs to consider how to change in order to accommodate immigrants. Thus, for both groups in contact, there is necessarily a *mutual* process, involving one’s own attitudes and behaviors and a perception of those of the other groups.

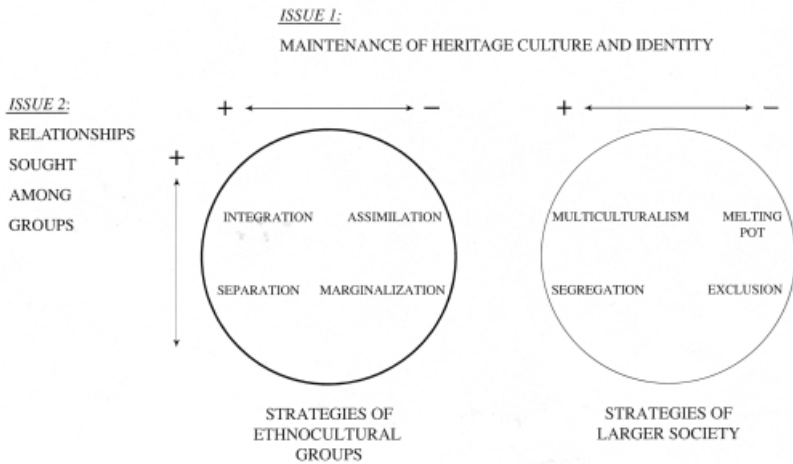


Fig. 2. Varieties of intercultural strategies in immigrant groups and in the receiving society.

These two issues define an intercultural contact space (the circle) within which individuals occupy a preferred attitudinal position. Each sector of the circles in Figure 2 carries a name that has a long-standing usage in acculturation studies. From the point of view of immigrant groups (on the left of Figure 2), when individuals do not wish to maintain their cultural heritage and seek daily interaction with other cultures, the *assimilation* strategy is defined. In contrast, when immigrants 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 and engaging in daily interactions with other groups, *integration* is the option; here, some degree of cultural integrity is maintained, while at the same time immigrants seek, 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 of attitudinal positions is based on the assumption that immigrant groups and their individual members have the freedom to choose how they want to engage in intercultural relations. This, of course, is not always the case (Berry, 1974). When the receiving society enforces certain kinds of relations or constrains the choices of immigrants, then other terms need to be used. This is most clearly so in the case of integration, which can only be chosen and successfully pursued by immigrants when the receiving society is open and inclusive in its orientation toward cultural diversity (Berry, 2000). Thus a *mutual accommodation* is required for integration to be attained, involving the acceptance by both dominant and nondominant groups of the right of all groups to live as culturally different peoples within the same society. This strategy requires immigrants to *adopt* the basic values of the receiving society, and at the same time the receiving society must be prepared to *adapt* national institutions (e.g., education, health, justice, labor) to better meet the needs of all groups now living together in the larger plural society.

Obviously, the integration strategy can be pursued only in societies that are explicitly *multicultural*, in which certain psychological preconditions are established (Berry & Kalin, 1995). These preconditions are the widespread acceptance of the value to a society of cultural diversity (i.e., the presence of a multicultural ideology), and of low levels of prejudice and discrimination; positive mutual attitudes among ethnocultural groups (i.e., no specific intergroup hatreds); and a sense of attachment to, or identification with, the larger society by all individuals and groups (Kalin & Berry, 1995). These conditions will be considered below in relation to the intergroup relations side of Figure 1.

Just as obviously, integration (and separation) can be pursued only when other members of one's immigrant group share in the wish, and have the vitality, to maintain the group's cultural heritage. Other constraints on one's choice of intercultural strategy have also been noted. For example, those whose physical

features set them apart from the receiving society (e.g., Turks in Germany) may experience prejudice and discrimination and thus be reluctant to pursue assimilation in order to avoid being rejected (Berry, Kim, Power, Young, & Bujaki, 1989; Piontkowski, Florack, Hoelker, & Obdrzalek, 2000).

These two basic issues have so far been presented from the point of view of the nondominant immigrant groups only (on the left side of Figure 2). The original definitions of acculturation, however, clearly established that *both* groups in contact would become acculturated. Hence, a third dimension is required: that of the powerful role played by the dominant group in influencing the way in which mutual acculturation would take place (Berry, 1974). The addition of this third dimension produces a duplicate framework (right side of Figure 2). Assimilation when sought by the dominant group can be termed the “melting pot” (and when strongly enforced, it becomes a “pressure cooker”!). When separation is demanded and enforced by the dominant group, it is “segregation.” For marginalization, when imposed by the dominant group it is a form of “exclusion” (Bourhis et al., 1997). Finally for integration, when cultural diversity is an objective of the larger society as a whole, it represents the strategy of mutual accommodation now widely called “multiculturalism” (Berry, 1984).

As noted above these orientations toward the process of acculturation have been assessed frequently, using various methods (reviewed by Berry, 1997; Berry et al., 1989). The most common of these is to select a number of domains relevant to intercultural relations (e.g., language use, food preference, parent-child relations) and then create four statements for the various domains, one for each of the four attitude sectors (e.g., Van de Vijver, Helms-Lorenz, & Feltzer, 1999). Another is to create two statements for a particular domain, one for each of the two underlying dimensions (e.g., Ryder, Alden, & Paulus, 2000). In most studies, attitudes in the acculturation space can be sampled successfully and usually reveal evidence for the validity of the bidimensional conception portrayed in Figure 2.

A parallel approach to understanding acculturation strategies uses the concept of *cultural identity*. This notion refers to a complex set of beliefs and attitudes that people have about themselves in relation to their culture group membership; usually these come to the fore when people are in contact with another culture, rather than when they live entirely within a single culture (Berry, 1996b; Phinney, 1990). Just as the notion of acculturation strategies is based on two underlying dimensions (own cultural maintenance and involvement with other cultures), there is now a consensus that how one thinks of oneself is also constructed along two dimensions. The first of these dimensions is identification with one’s heritage or ethnocultural group, and the second is identification with the larger or dominant society. These two aspects of cultural identity have been referred to in various ways, for example, as ethnic identity and civic identity (Kalin & Berry, 1995). Moreover (as for the acculturation dimensions) these dimensions are usually *independent* of each other (in the sense that they are not negatively correlated or that

more of one does not imply less of the other), and they are *nested* (in the sense that one's heritage identity may be contained within a larger national identity; for example, one can be an Italian Australian).

Using these two identity dimensions, strategies emerge that have clear similarities to the four acculturation strategies: When both identities are asserted, this resembles the integration strategy; when one feels attached to neither, then there is a sense of marginalization; and when one is strongly emphasized over the other, then one exhibits either the assimilation or separation strategy.

The final term on the left of Figure 1 is *behavioral shifts* (Berry, 1980). This refers to the core phenomenon of acculturation, that of psychological change resulting from cultural contact. Virtually every behavior in a person's repertoire is a candidate for change following one's involvement with other cultures. In most cases, there is a rather easy transition involving both "culture shedding" and "culture learning": Individuals change the way they dress, what they eat, their greeting procedures, even their values by reducing (suppressing, forgetting) one way of daily living and taking on replacements. The pace and extent of individual change is clearly related to the degree of cultural maintenance in one's own group, which in turn is linked to the relative demographic, economic, and political situation of the groups in contact. Although there are many behavioral shifts to be understood, a great deal of attention has been paid to that of language knowledge and use (Bourhis, 1994; Clément & Noels, 1992) and its relation to acculturation attitudes (Masgoret & Gardner, 1999).

Substantial empirical relationships have now been established between these acculturation phenomena and the creation of a supportive policy and program climate for positive intercultural relations following migration (see bottom of Figure 1). Outcomes can range from conflictual and stressful contacts and relationships to those in which mutual accommodations are achieved. These linkages will be surveyed following a parallel consideration of the intergroup relations (right-hand side of Figure 2).

Intergroup Relations

The phenomena discussed here are probably better known to psychologists, since they constitute the core of the social psychological study of intergroup relations. Although it may be difficult to distinguish this domain of immigration research from the large general literature on the topic, there are a few differentiating features: First, the groups are usually *culturally* defined (including specific features of language, religion, status, and "race"), more than is the case for intergroup relations generally (where the focus is often on "minorities" or other generic categories, such as "Asians"). Second, immigrants are typically less *familiar* to the resident population, making more salient the well-established relationship between familiarity and attraction. For example, when holding specific cultural

background constant, immigrants (compared to those born and raised in a particular country) are usually rated less favorably (e.g., Berry & Kalin, 1995; Kalin, 1996). And third, immigrants are typically less *similar* to the resident population, making more salient the similarity-attraction relationships. In keeping with this, those who seek to assimilate and who undergo greater behavioral shifts (toward receiving society norms) may experience less discrimination (Mummendey & Wenzel, 1999).

Ethnic stereotyping, ethnic attitudes, and ethnic prejudice can be studied with respect to both the receiving society and immigrants. Thus, as for studies of acculturation, mutual or *reciprocal* views need to be taken into account. Just as acculturation research tends to focus only on nondominant groups, however, intergroup relations research has been largely concerned with studying only dominant groups. In ethnic stereotype research there is a tradition of considering dominant groups' views of others (heterostereotypes) and sometimes of themselves (autostereotypes); few studies, however, have examined the auto- and heterostereotypes held by the numerous nondominant groups in a reciprocal way. Brewer and Campbell (1976) did so, revealing a pattern of complex relationships, including universal ingroup favoritism, a widely shared hierarchy of outgroup acceptance, and "balance" in dyadic attitudes (see also Berry & Kalin, 1979; Kalin & Berry, 1996). Such multigroup designs are of special importance in immigrant studies for two reasons. First, there is often competition among immigrant groups for favor and status in the receiving society; hence a complex network of attitudes is the essential research focus in such situations. Second, many countries now compete to attract immigrants; hence immigrants' attitudes toward the receiving society are an essential counterpart to the attitudes held by the larger society toward them.

Ethnic prejudice (and its variants, based on language, religion, or "race") is, of course, at the core of intergroup relations research, because it seeks a broader and deeper psychological basis for outgroup rejection (including immigrant rejection). Whether theoretically based on ethnocentrism, authoritarianism, or social dominance (to mention the main current constructs), the core concern is for why some people harbor a deep-seated, generalized rejection of "the other," beyond variations in attitudes to, and stereotypes about, specific groups. One characteristic is now clear: Ethnic prejudice is universal (i.e., all groups and all individuals evidence it), but it is highly variable across groups and individuals (i.e., there are large group and individual differences). The task is thus to explain both its universality and its variability (Duckitt, 2000).

As a counterpart to acculturation attitudes (on the left of Figure 1) there is the construct of *multicultural ideology* (introduced by Berry et al., 1977). This concept attempts to encompass the general and fundamental view that cultural diversity is good for a society and its individual members (i.e., high value on cultural maintenance) and that such diversity should be shared and accommodated in an equitable

way (i.e., high value on contact and participation). In various studies, this ideology has been assessed using a scale that loaded integration items positively and assimilation, segregation, and marginalization 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 patently related to policy options for managing intergroup relations in culturally plural immigrant societies.

Also closely related to this attitude-ideology cluster is the idea that has been referred to as the *multicultural assumption* (Berry et al., 1977). Drawn from the Canadian multiculturalism policy (Government of Canada, 1971; see also Berry, 1984), it asserts that only when people are secure in their own cultural identity will they be able to accept those who differ from themselves. Numerous concepts have been proposed, and empirical studies have now been carried out, that establish the essential validity of this assumption (e.g., Stephan, Stephan, & Gudykunst, 1999). Whether the relationship is phrased in positive terms (security is a prerequisite for tolerance 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 (cf. the need for the study of mutual or reciprocal attitudes noted above).

Finally, overt acts of discrimination are usually what have the greatest impact on immigrants and others who live in nondominant communities (Taylor, Wright, & Porter, 1994).

Policy and Program Implications

Research on the acculturation of immigrants, and on intergroup relations among them and their descendents, has amassed a large empirical basis for policy development and program action. Unfortunately, those who develop policy and take action do not often attend to the research findings. Instead, personal preferences (possibly prejudices) and political pressures seem to dominate the field. However, the claim being made (at the bottom of Figure 1) is that all the knowledge rooted in the two research approaches can inform policy and program development. Specifically, these approaches can help to shape human relations so that they avoid intergroup conflict and acculturative stress and approach those that are characterized by mutual accommodation and positive adaptation (Berry, 1999a). A case has been made for integration as the most positive individual and group acculturation strategy and for multiculturalism as the most positive public policy (Berry, 1997). This entails the acceptance of cultural diversity by, and the equitable participation of, all groups in the larger society. Space prohibits the detailing of this case here; however, the alternatives (of assimilation, involving loss; of segregation,

involving rejection; and of marginalization, involving both) appear to have no support either in the research literature or indeed in real life (Berry, 2000).

The Articles in Relation to the Framework

The three groups of articles in this issue map onto the framework (in Figure 1) rather neatly: the first group focuses on orientations in the larger society; the second on adaptations of immigrants; and the third on various interactions between the two. In some of the articles, various antecedents in cognate social sciences are made explicit, whereas in others, policy issues are made salient.

Considering articles in the first section, the existing literature on orientations to immigration in the receiving society clearly supports both the role of contextual factors (top of Figure 1) and psychological factors (Duckitt, 2000). For example, Palmer (1996) shows that attitudes in Canada toward the numbers of immigrants closely tracks the unemployment rate, year after year from 1975 to 1995. In addition to this economic factor, political factors also play a role: Immigrants from politically allied countries (and refugees from politically despised countries) are often preferred over others. In this pair of observations about contextual influences lies the root of a psychological distinction: views about immigration per se (e.g., the need for and level of immigration) and the *kinds* of people to be allowed in. Although there is crossover between these two aspects, the former often corresponds closely to contextual factors, such as demographic and economic issues (e.g., desired population level, unemployment) and historical/policy ones (e.g., the role of immigration in nation-building). The latter often corresponds more to psychological factors, such as prejudice and security (threat).

The articles in the first section deal minimally with these background contextual factors. Their strength lies in the analysis and interpretation of psychological facets. The first article after the introduction and overview article (Esses, Dovidio, Jackson, & Armstrong) highlights the immigration dilemma: On the one hand, many people pride themselves on their openness, equity, and tolerance; on the other, they fear immigrants because of their perceived threat to the economic well-being and social cohesion of their society. Esses and her colleagues propose that such perceived threat is rooted in a general "zero-sum" view of life (especially of limited resources) and that this results in an increased sense of competition for these limited resources. The resources, however, vary: For some immigrants social services are used, and there are perceived tax costs to the resident population; for others, jobs are obtained, and there are perceived losses of employment opportunities for those already in the workforce. Because in both cases the resources are seen as limited, it is this zero-sum view (along with other factors) that underpins anti-immigrant attitudes. There is now considerable evidence for such a complex network of relationships. For example, in a national survey in Canada (Berry et al., 1977), ethnocentrism, authoritarianism, and willingness to discriminate against

immigrants were strongly intercorrelated and were all related to negative perceived consequences (mainly economic) of immigration and to the rejection of various kinds of immigrants; moreover (related to the first article), multicultural ideology was a core element in this network: that is, lack of perceived a threat from, and willingness to accept, immigrants were predicted by integrationist/multicultural views.

The next article (Pratto & Lemieux) similarly focuses on the duality of immigration and shows that different approaches are needed for different people in order to increase support for immigration policies. On the one hand, it is very likely that an inclusive and low ethnocentric orientation can serve to enhance the acceptance of immigration policies by appealing to one's humanitarian view of society. On the other hand (and less self-evident), those who feel threatened by immigration can be approached successfully by appealing to their need to control and dominate immigrants. It would be interesting to assess these two groups' multicultural ideology to reveal their views about how immigrants should live following their settlement. It is likely that once immigrants are "in," with such differential strategies having been used to appeal to the two groups to facilitate their admission, assimilationist (or segregationist) views among those high on social dominance would clash with the more integrationist views of those low in dominance, as well as with the preferences of immigrants themselves. There is preliminary evidence (Berry, Bourhis, & Kalin, 1999) that these relationships and contrasts do indeed exist and may enhance stress and conflict between the groups.

The article by Jackson, Brown, Brown, and Marks addresses the question of what accounts for immigration attitudes in Europe. Using concepts and measures derived largely from research in the United States, Jackson et al. found support for many of the expected factors, especially perceived threat (a sense of encroachment) and self-reported racism (cf. the multicultural assumption). In this research, however, the predicted variable (attitudes toward immigration) was limited to one aspect: willingness to send immigrants back to their country of origin, which is an extreme form of exclusion. Beyond this one aspect, there are other orientations to immigration, both positive (integration) and negative (segregation and assimilation), that tap important views about immigration and settlement issues and deserve attention. Moreover, there are other dimensions to immigration attitudes beyond these orientations: immigration per se (allowing immigrants into the country at all, rather than seeking their deportation), acceptable levels of immigration (from zero to unlimited), and the kinds of people who are acceptable or unacceptable. An important question to address in future studies is whether the predictors used in this study work in trying to account for immigration attitudes when attitudes are conceived and assessed in a more comprehensive way.

The article by Mullen uses a number of immigrant group characteristics to account for ethnophaulisms (ethnic slurs). Mullen notes that such features of the group are less often studied in intergroup relations research than characteristics of the perceiver. To some extent, this imbalance may be due to the wish to avoid the

implication that there is “something about them” that leads others to dislike them (cf. “blaming the victim”). Decades of anthropological research, however, have revealed that groups of people (“cultures”) actually do have a shared set of characteristic customs and attributes. And Campbell (1967) has reminded us that the greater these “real differences” are between two groups, the greater the likelihood that each will appear in the other’s stereotypes. So social psychology should not be shy about accepting the existence of such differences and asking whether they contribute to intergroup relations. Previous studies have considered how familiarity, perceived similarity, and actual group size (e.g., Kalin, 1996) may relate to intergroup attitudes and stereotypes. Beyond these variables, Mullen has considered specific group features (such as language and complexion) that are essentially derived from the disciplines identified at the top of Figure 1. Others, such as religion, gender relations, and parent-child relations, could also serve as salient group features.

In the second set of articles in the issue, the focus switches to the left-hand side of Figure 1: How do people decide to migrate, how do they settle, how do they think of themselves, and what kinds of experiences do they have following migration? These characteristics of migrants themselves have usually received more attention from sociologists than from psychologists. The first article of this section (Boneva & Frieze) goes beyond economic factors to consider the values and other motivations of individuals who want to emigrate. Based on their own and other research, Boneva and Frieze suggest that individuals who want to emigrate possess a specific constellation of personality characteristics. In particular, those who want to emigrate are higher in work centrality and are higher in achievement and power motivation compared to those who do not want to emigrate, who tend to be higher in family centrality and affiliation motivation. The emigration and immigration of individuals with specific personality characteristics has obvious implications for both the sending and receiving society.

Possibly because so much immigration has been rooted in sociopolitical conflicts (which have usually been studied by sociology and psychiatry), the literature has overemphasized the problematic nature of the migration experience. In contrast to this usual orientation, some researchers are now focusing on the more positive aspects: After all, most immigrants settle well, find jobs, feel good about themselves, and speak positively about the experience. In keeping with the newer orientation, the ICSEY¹ study (see Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind, & Vedder) has been turning up evidence that immigrant youth are doing rather well in the 10 countries involved in that study. Drawing on the traditions of research on cultural identity and acculturation attitudes, the ICSEY study asks the question: Which

¹For truth in advertising, the author declares his participation (and hence, self-interest) in the ICSEY study.

cultural orientations are more supportive of adolescents (psychologically and academically) as they arrange their lives between the heritage culture of their parents and the national (often multinational) culture(s) of their peers? Using the two-dimensional conception (e.g., as portrayed in Figure 2), the ICSEY project has assessed both cultural identity and acculturation attitudes, as well as adaptation outcomes. With respect to identity, Phinney et al. found that the two dimensions of identity were indeed generally independent (uncorrelated) but varied by society and particular immigrant group; they attributed these variations to policies and practices in the receiving society as well as to the unique history of each group. With respect to adaptation, bicultural identities and integrationist attitudes predicted better psychological adaptation and school adjustment, with separated and marginalized identities being associated with least favorable outcomes. This pattern is now so widely found in the literature (reviewed by Berry, 1997) that it can plausibly form a basis for policy development supporting bicultural identities, integrationist attitudes, and, more generally, multicultural institutions in plural societies (Berry, 2000).

In an examination of gender and adaptation in immigrant families, Karen Dion and Kenneth Dion discuss findings demonstrating the importance of gender in understanding immigrants' experiences of immigration and adaptation in the receiving society. For example, social structural factors and values pertaining to family relationships may lead to very different experiences for men and women. In the process of immigration and adaptation to a new society, expectations and responsibilities related to family roles may be renegotiated. One interesting issue raised is how ethnic identity may differ between women and men because of such factors as gender-related socialization pressures.

Although "discrimination" appears on the intergroup relations side of Figure 1, it is clear that the "perception of discrimination" is a characteristic of immigrant and acculturating groups and affects their adaptation (Noh, Besier, Kaspar, Hou, & Rummens, 1999). There is an important link, however, between the two: When variations in ethnic attitudes toward, and willingness to discriminate against, various groups correspond to variations in the perception of such negative treatment, then we can claim a degree of cross-validation. For example, in a previous study by Kenneth Dion (Dion & Kawakami, 1996) the ordering of perceived employment discrimination by groups in Toronto closely paralleled the rank attitudes toward the same ethnic groups in a national survey in Canada (Berry & Kalin, 1995).

In addition to employment, discrimination in housing has become a serious barrier to positive settlement. In the last article in this section, Kenneth Dion examines how three immigrant groups in Toronto experience general discrimination and specific discrimination in their "housing careers" (the movement over time—up, down, or laterally in costs—in owning or renting housing). Evidence of both personal discrimination in a number of areas (e.g., income, accent, religion) and discrimination against the participants' immigrant group was sought; both were

reported to be higher by the two “visible minority” groups. For housing discrimination, a similar result was obtained. This raises the possibility that there is a “generic rejection” across a broad front and/or that there is a “generic perception” of discrimination regardless of the interaction domain. The first possibility is bolstered by the observation (made above) that perceived discrimination and public attitudes tend to correspond and hence validate each other; there may well be such a generic rejection of groups, with variability that establishes a relatively stable hierarchy in plural societies. The second possibility is bolstered by the findings (also mentioned above) that intergroup perceptions and attitudes tend to be *reciprocated*; thus a negative symbiotic relationship may become self-sustaining.

Such interactions are explicitly examined in the issue’s third group of articles. Zick, Wagner, van Dick, and Petzel study the acculturation attitudes (actually the acculturation *expectations* or multicultural ideology) and the ethnic attitudes of members of the dominant society in a country (Germany) that has no official immigration policy. As in earlier studies with multicultural ideology in Canada, integrationist items tend to stand in psychological contrast to the three attitudinal alternatives and to correlate substantially with measures of ethnic prejudice (e.g., Berry et al., 1977; Berry & Kalin, 1995). They further found that such a network of attitudes predicts behavioral intentions to discriminate, with integrationist views most strongly (and negatively) related to discrimination. These findings in a country that differs so much in immigration experience from Canada suggest that transnational generalization may be warranted: Multicultural policy can be successful only when ethnic prejudice and discrimination are low and multicultural ideology (integration vs. assimilation and segregation) is high.

Clément, Noels, and Deneault focus on communication between ethnocultural groups and the larger Canadian society and how this contributes to identity and adaptation. Essentially, their article reveals a complex set of relationships that are more context-dependent than had been previously thought. This trend toward increased complexity should not be surprising, given that the situation in Canada involves multiple dimensions of difference: official versus heritage languages (giving rise to differential language status), traditional versus “visible” immigrant groups (giving rise to more opportunity for those who are prejudiced to exhibit it), and variation in regional patterns of settlement (with intergroup and acculturation dynamics in a few metropolises that are vastly different from those found elsewhere).

The final article (Reitz) moves the discourse away from the psychological level up to the social and economic context variables portrayed at the top of Figure 1. Using census data over a 20-year period, Reitz finds evidence for social structural variables that limit the employment opportunity of immigrants in the “knowledge economy.” In contrast to the benefits that one might expect to be reaped from the high technical and educational qualifications of immigrants, neither the immigrants themselves nor the larger society seem to find a structural match that allows immigrants to contribute and gain from their expertise. One possible reason for this

problem, however, is dismissed: Ethnic prejudice and discrimination are seen as unlikely; rather, Reitz identifies the structure of economic institutions, which is predisposed to exclude immigrant qualifications in this area of employment. In a sense, this article brings us full circle, drawing our attention to the fundamental importance of those social contextual factors that set the stage for psychological factors to play their role.

Conclusion

Articles in this issue appear to form a coherent set of empirical findings when placed in a framework that seeks to comprehend a “psychology of immigration.” Rather than being disparate studies of unrelated aspects of immigration, they come together to illustrate a central role for psychology in this burgeoning field. Although rooted in a variety of concepts, these studies converge on some key issues, particularly the acculturation and identity strategies employed by immigrants and their counterparts in the receiving society (especially attitudes toward immigrants and toward the resultant cultural diversity).

Although significant first steps have been taken here, much remains to be done. Future research could draw together, within a single project, the key elements identified in Figures 1 and 2. Such research should include both contextual and psychological variables, examined in both immigrant and receiving society populations, and be carried out across a number of countries. Only in this way will we be able to link behavior to the broader setting in which it develops and occurs, understand the reciprocal nature of attitudes and behaviors that characterize immigrant and receiving societies, and increase our awareness of the limits to generalizability that constrain the policy implications of our work. If this issue stimulates such further research and application in the psychology of immigration, then those following may well identify it as the starting point of their own journeys across disciplinary borders and into unknown territories.

References

- About, F., & Levy, S. (Eds.). (1999). Reducing racial prejudice, discrimination and stereotyping: Translating research into programs. *Journal of Social Issues*, 55(4), 621–803.
- Banton, M. (2000). What foundations for the management of cultural pluralism? In J. Dacyl & C. Westin (Eds.), *Governance of cultural diversity* (pp. 253–277). Stockholm: Centre for Research in International Migration and Ethnic Relations.
- Berry, J. W. (1974). Psychological aspects of cultural pluralism. *Culture Learning*, 2, 17–22.
- Berry, J. W. (1980). Social and cultural change. In H. C. Triandis & R. Brislin (Eds.), *Handbook of cross-cultural psychology: Vol. 5. Social* (pp. 211–279). Boston: Allyn & Bacon.
- Berry, J. W. (1984). Multicultural policy in Canada: A social psychological analysis. *Canadian Journal of Behavioural Science*, 16, 353–370.
- Berry, J. W. (1990a). The role of psychology in ethnic studies. *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, 22, 8–21.

- Berry, J. W. (1990b). Psychology of acculturation. In J. Berman (Ed.), *Cross-cultural perspectives* (Nebraska Symposium on Motivation, Vol. 37, pp. 201–234). Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press.
- Berry, J. W. (1997). Immigration, acculturation and adaptation. *Applied Psychology*, 46, 5–68.
- Berry, J. W. (1999a). Intercultural relations in plural societies. *Canadian Psychology*, 40, 1–9.
- Berry, J. W. (1999b). Aboriginal cultural identity. *Canadian Journal of Native Studies*, 19, 1–36.
- Berry, J. W. (2000). Sociopsychological costs and benefits of multiculturalism. In J. Dacyl & C. Westin (Eds.), *Governance of cultural diversity* (pp. 297–354). Stockholm: Centre for Research in International Migration and Ethnic Relations.
- Berry, J. W., Bourhis, R., & Kalin, R. (1999, November). *International study of attitudes towards immigration and settlement* (ISATIS). Workshop presented at Metropolis Conference, Washington, DC.
- Berry, J. W., & Kalin, R. (1979). Reciprocity of inter-ethnic attitudes in a multicultural society. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 3, 99–112.
- Berry, J. W., & Kalin, R. (1995). Multicultural and ethnic attitudes in Canada: Overview of the 1991 survey. *Canadian Journal of Behavioural Science*, 27, 301–320.
- Berry, J. W., & Kalin, R. (2000). Multicultural policy and social psychology: The Canadian experience. In S. Renshon & J. Duckitt (Eds.), *Political psychology in cross-cultural perspective* (pp. 263–284). New York: Macmillan.
- Berry, J. W., Kalin, R., & Taylor, D. (1977). *Multiculturalism and ethnic attitudes in Canada*. Ottawa, Ontario, Canada: Supply and Services.
- Berry, J. W., Kim, U., Power, S., Young, M., & Bujaki, M. (1989). Acculturation attitudes in plural societies. *Applied Psychology*, 38, 185–206.
- Bourhis, R. (1994). Ethnic and language attitudes in Québec. In J. W. Berry & J. Laponce (Eds.), *Ethnicity and culture in Canada: That research landscape* (pp. 322–360). Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Bourhis, R., Moise, C., Perreault, S., & Senecal, S. (1997). Towards an interactive acculturation model: A social psychological approach. *International Journal of Psychology*, 32, 369–386.
- Brewer, M., & Brown, R. (1998). Intergroup relations. In D. Gilbert, S. Fiske, & G. Lindzey (Eds.), *Handbook of social psychology* (Vol 2, pp. 554–594). New York: Oxford University Press.
- Brewer, M., & Campbell, D. T. (1976). *Ethnocentrism and intergroup attitudes*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
- Brown, R., & Gaertner, S. (Eds.). (2001). *Blackwell handbook of social psychology: Vol. 3. Intergroup processes*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Campbell, D. T. (1967). Stereotypes and the perception of group differences. *American Psychologist*, 22, 812–829.
- Clément, R., & Noels, K. (1992). Towards a situated approach to ethnolinguistic identity. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology*, 11, 202–232.
- Dion, K. L., & Kawakami, K. (1996). Ethnicity and perceived discrimination in Toronto. *Canadian Journal of Behavioural Science*, 28, 203–213.
- Duckitt, J. (2000). Culture, personality, and prejudice. In S. Renshon & J. Duckitt (Eds.), *Political psychology: Cultural and cross-cultural foundations* (pp. 89–107). London: Macmillan.
- Government of Canada. (1971). *Multicultural policy: Statement to House of Commons*. Ottawa, Ontario, Canada: Hansard.
- Graves, T. (1967). Psychological acculturation in a tri-ethnic community. *South-Western Journal of Anthropology*, 23, 337–350.
- Kalin, R. (1996). Ethnic attitudes as a function of ethnic presence. *Canadian Journal of Behavioral Science*, 28, 171–179.
- Kalin, R., & Berry, J. W. (1995). Ethnic and civic self-identity in Canada: Analyses of 1974 and 1991 national surveys. *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, 27, 1–15.
- Kalin, R., & Berry, J. W. (1996). Interethnic attitudes in Canada: Ethnocentrism, consensual hierarchy and reciprocity. *Canadian Journal of Behavioural Science*, 28, 253–261.
- Kymlicka, W. (1998). *Finding our way: Rethinking ethnocultural relations in Canada*. Toronto, Ontario, Canada: Oxford University Press.
- Liebkind, K. (2000). Acculturation. In R. Brown & S. Gaertner (Eds.), *Blackwell handbook of social psychology: Vol. 3. Intergroup processes* (pp. 386–404). Oxford: Blackwell.

- Masgoret, A. M., & Gardner, R. C. (1999). A causal model of Spanish immigrant adaptation in Canada. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development, 20*, 216–236.
- Mummendey, A., & Wenzel, M. (1999). Social discrimination and tolerance in intergroup relations: Reactions to intergroup difference. *Personality and Social Psychology Review, 3*, 158–174.
- Noh, S., Beiser, M., Kaspar, V., Hou, F., & Rummens, J. (1999). Perceived racial discrimination, depression and coping. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior, 40*, 193–207.
- Palmer, D. (1996). Determinants of Canadian attitudes toward immigration: More than just racism? *Canadian Journal of Behavioural Science, 28*, 180–192.
- Phinney, J. (1990). Ethnic identity in adolescents and adults: A review of research. *Psychological Bulletin, 108*, 499–514.
- Piontkowski, U., Florack, A., Hoelker, P., & Obdrzalek, P. (2000). Predicting acculturation attitudes of dominant and non-dominant groups. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 24*, 1–26.
- Portes, A. (1997). Immigration theory for a new century: Some problems and opportunities. *International Migration Review, 31*, 799–825.
- Redfield, R., Linton, R., & Herskovits, M. (1936). Memorandum on the study of acculturation. *American Anthropologist, 38*, 149–152.
- Ryder, A., Alden, L., & Paulus, D. (2000). Is acculturation unidimensional or bidimensional? *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 79*, 49–65.
- Stephan, W., Stephan, C., & Gudykunst, W. (1999). Anxiety in intergroup relations. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 23*, 613–828.
- Taylor, D. M., Wright, S., & Porter, L. (1994). Dimensions of perceived discrimination. In M. P. Zanna & J. M. Olson (Eds.), *The psychology of prejudice: The Ontario symposium* (Vol. 7, pp. 233–255). Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Van de Vijver, F., Helms-Lorenz, M., & Feltzer, M. (1999). Acculturation and cognitive performance of migrant children in the Netherlands. *International Journal of Psychology, 34*, 149–162.
- Ward, C. (1996). Acculturation. In D. Landis & R. Bhagat (Eds.), *Handbook of intercultural training* (2nd ed., pp. 124–147). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

JOHN BERRY is professor emeritus of psychology at Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario. He received his BA from Sir George Williams University (Montreal) in 1963 and his PhD from the University of Edinburgh in 1966. He has been a lecturer at the University of Sydney for three years, a fellow of Netherlands Institute for Advanced Study and a visiting professor at the Université de Nice and the Université de Genève. He is a past president of the International Association for Cross-Cultural Psychology and has been an associate editor of the *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*. He is the author or editor of more than 20 books in the areas of cross-cultural, social, and cognitive psychology and is particularly interested in the application of cross-cultural psychology to public policy and programs in the areas of acculturation, multiculturalism, immigration, health, and education. He is the 1998 winner of the D. O. Hebb Award from the Canadian Psychological Association for contributions to psychology as a science, and he has been awarded Doctor Honoris Causa from the University of Athens and from the University of Geneva in 2001.