Assimilation and multiculturalism are two contrasting policies for managing pluralistic societies. The first aims to achieve cultural homogeneity, and the second cultural diversity. While assimilation and multiculturalism are associated primarily with immigrant receiving countries, such as the United States and Canada, it is argued that these policies are relevant to all pluralistic societies. Underlying assimilation are the similarity-attraction and contact hypotheses, while multiculturalism assumes that feelings of security in the ingroup will lead to the acceptance of others. We examine the validity of these assumptions, and assess the relative merits of assimilation and multiculturalism in an international context. Finally, we propose the concept of "balanced multiculturalism" as an improvement on current models.

"Balanced Multiculturalism" and the Challenge of Peaceful Coexistence in Pluralistic Societies

FATHALI M. MOGHADDAM

Georgetown University, Washington D. C.

ELIZABETH A. SOLLIDAY

Georgetown University, Washington D. C.

"We often think of racial prejudice as being a special problem of the white race in relations with other races, but it actually pervades the world" (Reischauer, 1988, p. 396).

The objective of this paper is to assess the potential contributions of assimilation and multiculturalism to the challenge of managing pluralistic societies. Assimilation and multiculturalism represent two contrasting approaches to intergroup relations. Assimilation involves the abandonment of heritage cultures by minority groups, toward the goal of achieving a more homogeneous society through increased similarity. Multiculturalism, on the other hand, involves the maintenance of heritage cultures by all groups, and the evolution of a cultural mosaic in society.

In the literature of Western social sciences, assimilation and multi-culturalism are associated, respectively, with the US "melting pot" and the Canadian "celebration of diversity" traditions (Berry, 1984; Lambert & Taylor, 1990). The relevance of these policies, however, is by no means limited to North America. We propose that a con-sideration of assimilation and multiculturalism policies is directly relevant to the challenges faced by all pluralistic societies, including those of the Third World.

While the United States, Canada, Australia and other immigrant receiving countries have made formal commitments to the imple-mentation of assimilation or multiculturalism, many Third World and Communist bloc countries have also made such commitments, although often at an informal level. Just as racial prejudice and inter-group conflict are worldwide phenomena, the attempt to tackle these problems through assimilation and/or multiculturalism is also fairly universal. Both developed and developing nations share the psycho-logical assumptions underlying assimilation and multiculturalism. In reviewing these assumptions, we shall point to some of their shortcomings.

In the first part of this paper, we shall briefly discuss assimilation and multiculturalism, with a focus on the Third World and Communist bloc nations. We will argue that, for the most part, Third World and Communist regimes have attempted to implement assimi-lation as their national policy. In the second and third sections, we shall assess the psychological assumptions underlying the policies of assimilation and multiculturalism, respectively. We propose that multiculturalism is the more practical and humane policy. There are however, major shortcomings with this policy as it is presently conceived. In part four, we shall consider assimilation and multi-culturalism in the global context. Finally, in part five, we shall make some suggestions for extending and improving the current models of multiculturalism.

Assimilation and Multiculturalism in
Third World and Communist Bloc Nations

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followed very similar policies with respect to ethnic minorities, with the assimilation of these minorities as their general objective. Both Third World and Communist bloc countries view ethnicity as an obstacle in the path of "progress".

Third World countries generally have assumed that the establish- ment of strong, centrally governed nation-states stands as a prerequisite for modernisation. In order to achieve this nation-state ideal, a country must, among other things, foster a strong sense of national identity. Such an identity would grant the central government the authority to carry out "national policies", an authority made possible by the loyalty of the population to national interests. Third World govern- ments have perceived local languages, tribal loyalties, religious dif- ferences, and almost anything "ethnic" as a threat to the "national identity," a threat which must be abandoned in the name of national progress. For example, the leaders who convened the First All-African Peoples Conference (1958) condemned tribalism, religious separatism, and traditional institutions, perceiving these as major obstacles on the road to national development. Three decades ago Sklar (1966, p. 290) wrote, "Tribalism is the red devil of contemporary Africa", a negative assessment which is true of the African governments of today.

Central governments in the Third World have often encouraged ethnic diversity, but in a form appropriately packaged to meet the demands of Western tourists. It is not uncommon to find traditional ethnic dances and costumes on display in the luxury hotels of major Third World cities, to be seen and admired by Western tourists. Despite this somewhat superficial display of ethnic diversity, many Third World governments have worked toward the erosion of traditional cultures in an attempt to establish one national language and a uniform, often Westernised, culture.

The tendency of Western social science to portray ethnicity as something problematic, particularly in the Third World context (for example, see Boucher, Landis, & Clark, 1987), strengthens this "anti- ethnic" trend. Like the central governments of Third World countries, social scientists tend to perceive ethnicity as something "primitive", an "immature stage" that societies need "grow out of," a view which helps to justify these governments' anti-ethnic standpoint. For example, Stagner (1987) presents such an image of ethnicity when he states,

> I see instructive parallels between the development of a child and
> the development of a nation or other large social entity...the child

does not abandon egocentric thinking until pressure from parents and other adults requires accommodation to "reality" as perceived by societal norms. Similarly, Freud emphasized that infantile narcissism and living by the pleasure principle will persist until conflicts with the adult world require some shift to delayed gratification or the "reality principle." It can be plausibly argued that ethnic conflicts over equal rights for all individuals, irrespective of ethnic membership, have similarly led to maturation in the functioning of the society (p. 8.).

For reasons similar to those listed by Stagner, Communist states have also viewed ethnicity as problematic. Both Third World countries which attempt to modernise and Communist states which pursue the establishment of socialism have perceived ethnicity as a primitive phase of societal development, a phase which must be successfully passed in order to reach more progressive stages. For Marx (Marx, 1963; Marx & Engles, 1959), social classes play a central role in social reform and the eradication of ethnicity. While such social classes have a material basis, an individual can misperceive his/her own class membership and misconceive the interests of that class. Such misconceptions form the basis for a "false consciousness", pointing to the inability of a social class to perceive itself as a distinct group with specific interests that differ from the interests of other groups.

According to Marx, the distractions occasioned by ethnic differences constitute some of the major factors leading to false consciousness. Indeed, the power that majority groups wield in society enables them to influence the ideologies of minority groups, making ethnic, rather than class distinctions salient. Once minority groups see past this ethnic smokescreen, they are able to develop ideologies that accurately reflect their material conditions, becoming "groups-for-themselves" (Billig, 1976, p. 263). This view of intergroup relations has led Communist states to seek the eradication of ethnic differences, in the hope of fostering the evolution of class consciousness. Inevitably, such a societal view supports a policy of assimilation rather one of multiculturalism.

Despite the pressure to assimilate that governments exert on ethnic minorities, ethnicity still seems to be an influential factor shaping events in the USSR and other Communist bloc nations. Studies of

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ethnic relations in Communist societies (e.g., Karklins, 1986) clearly indicate that ethnicity plays a major role in the citizens' social lives. Ethnic clashes in the central and southern parts of the Soviet Union during the early 1990's provide clear examples of the solidarity felt by many groups towards their ethnicity. These events suggest that ethnicity will not be "set aside" so easily. Whether the attempt to force assimilation stems from a Third World government's desire to "modernise", or from a Communist government's desire to comply to the Marxist model of social class progression, ethnicity seems to be firmly rooted in the foundations of social life, making assimilation difficult.

Ironically, the policy of assimilation has met with a similar fate in "capitalistic" North America. In the next section, we consider some of the psychological assumptions underlying this policy, and discuss possible reasons for its ineffectiveness.

Assimilation

The term assimilation has become synonymous with that of "melting pot". Both these terms are associated with an approach to intergroup relations that, historically, has been popular in the United States. Although assimilation is a widely used term, it is associated with not one, but several meanings. In fact, in some of its usages, the term assimilation actually contradicts the concept of a "melting pot."

One interpretation of assimilation is cultural, emphasising the common sentiments, memories, attitudes and values that people acquire over time by living in the same society. Shared experiences and history gradually lead to a common culture shared by people who may have come from very different backgrounds. This is the interpretation of assimilation adopted by the so-called "Chicago school" of sociology. This group of researchers, led by Robert Park at the University of Chicago, formalised the theory of assimilation (Park, 1928, Park & Burgess, 1921).

From the perspective of the Chicago school, society consists at the cultural level of a common set of beliefs, values, and attitudes which emerges from social interaction and contact. Modern transportation and communication systems facilitate such social interaction, as does high geographical mobility. The modern urban economy requires workers to move outside their neighbourhoods and ethnic communities

for work. The decline and rise of various regional industries also forces workers to move from one part of the country to another. These trends increase contact and interactions across ethnic boundaries. As a consequence, an initially multi-ethnic society becomes increasingly interactional, creating the context in which generally accepted social norms are developed through the assimilation process.

To Park (1928) and the other members of the Chicago school, assimilation means the adoption of the majority culture by the minority groups. Consequently, it is apt to rename their view "minority assimilation". According to this viewpoint, the assimilation process preserves the majority culture, while abandoning the elements which compose the minority culture. Consequently, the culture of the dominant group is preserved and strengthened through its adoption by minorities.

Other researchers suggest an alternative view of assimilation (Lieberson & Waters, 1987), proposing that all groups, including the majority group, contribute to a common culture. This perspective is more in line with the concept of the "melting pot", particularly as it was originally popularised by the New York play entitled The Melting Pot (Zangwill, 1914). This perspective suggests that through a "melting away" process, all ethnicities act as the ingredients which finally combine to yield the "American stew". Ultimately, this process leads all groups, including the majority group, to be transformed into a new type of people, "The Americans". Consequently, we shall hereafter refer to this form of assimilation as "melting pot assimilation".

While both "minority assimilation" of the Chicago school and the alternative "melting pot assimilation" focus on cultural transformation, they neglect the issue of phenotype. These two interpretations suggest that cultural differences constitute the only important differences between groups, implying, by omission, that phenotype has no relevance to the issue of ethnic relations. The practical experience of everyday life in pluralistic societies leads us to reject such an omission. The racist individual identifies the target outgroup member first and foremost by phenotype, and takes action towards "that weird looking person" based on his/her visual assessment. The racist rarely checks the outgroup member's values and attitudes to see if they match his/her own. Even if, objectively, "that weird looking person" did share the values and attitudes of the majority group,

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Psychological Assumptions Underlying Assimilation

The failure of assimilation models to consider the role of pheno-
type in ethnic relations becomes particularly problematic when
we consider that the similarity-attraction hypothesis, forms a
cornerstone for these models. According to this hypothesis,
individuals are attracted toward others who are similar to them-
selves (Byrne, 1971). A broad array of theories and experimental
studies support the proposition that individuals will be positively
biased toward outgroup members who are similar to themselves (see
Brown, 1984, for a review of this literature). According to this
hypothesis, the more similar the members of a society feel to each
other, the more positively disposed they will be toward each other.
Hypothetically, this positive disposition will lead to a heightened
acceptance of others, ultimately resulting in a more cohesive and
peaceful society.

The "minority assimilation" model proposed by the Chicago school
and the alternative "melting pot assimilation" model both assume
that cultural similarity establishes the context for the develop-
ment of social cohesion. Fundamental limits to this assumption
become clear through a careful reading of the similarity-attraction
literature. There is evidence, for example, that similarity can also
lead to a negative, rather than to a positive disposition toward
outgroup members (see Moghaddam & Stringer, 1988). This evidence
coincides with the prediction of the social identity theory (Tajfel &
Turner, 1986), which emphasises the individual's need for a positive
and *distinct* identity. Outgroup members who resemble ingroup
members could pose a threat to the distinctiveness of the ingroup.
Consequently, outgroup similarity to the ingroup can lead to inter-
group differentiation and repulsion under some conditions, rather
than to attraction.

The series of studies conducted on the minimal criterion necessary
for intergroup discrimination (Tajfel, 1978) poses another challenge to
the assimilation models. These "minimal group" studies demonstrate
that, under certain conditions, group formation and intergroup

discrimination can occur in the absence of all traditional determinants of attraction. Tajfel and his associates have shown that even in a condition where individuals are placed into groups "X" and "Y" on a "minimal" basis, without any possibility of face-to-face interaction between group members or personal material gain, discrimination against outgroup members can still develop. Subsequent research suggests that a seemingly "trivial" basis for intergroup differences can be as strong an impetus for intergroup discrimination as an "important" basis. Moghaddam and Stringer (1988) have noted that,

> Many examples of social categorization... have a basis that can be perceived as trivial from an objective standpoint, but that nonetheless has a powerful effect on intergroup behavior. For example, soccer might be viewed as "just a game" and the fact that Jack and John support different soccer teams might have little or no implications for their behavior in the work setting. When they meet in another context, however, what was a trivial basis for social categorization in the office can have powerful effects in the soccer stadium, as was demonstrated so tragically by the violence involving British and Italian soccer supporters in Brussels in June, 1985 (p. 346).

The minimal group studies suggest that almost any characteristic can form the basis for social categorisation and intergroup discrimination. No matter how far assimilation succeeds to eradicate ethnic differences, some differences, no matter how slight, may remain to potentially serve as the basis for intergroup hostilities.

Researchers propose the similarity-attraction hypothesis as a reason why assimilation *should* occur. That is, since similarity leads to attraction between individuals, assimilation *should* occur in order to increase the level of similarity in society. On the other hand, some researchers propose the contact hypothesis as a reason why assimilation *can* occur. Through social interactions and contact, members of different ethnic groups become better acquainted, and therefore are more likely to share experiences, attitudes, values, and sentiments. This interaction will ultimately reduce intergroup tensions (Amir, 1969). However, the proponents of the assimilationist models seem to have overlooked an important limitation of the contact hypothesis: contact will have this positive outcome only under conditions of equal status

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In summary, although the term assimilation is widely used, the concept itself is poorly defined. We have distinguished between "minority assimilation" and "melting pot assimilation": the former refers to the assimilation of minority groups to a majority culture, while the latter refers to the formation of a new culture from the "melting" together of all minority and majority groups. The recommendation to adopt an assimilationist policy stems, in part, from the assumption that a society of like individuals will be a more cohesive one. Such similarity and attraction is assumed to evolve through inter-ethnic contact. Like the definition of assimilation itself, the role that phenotypic differences play in the assimilative process is also ambiguous. Does "melting away" mean the disappearance of phenotypic, as well as cultural differences, resulting from many generations of inter-marriage? Does the same definition of "melting away" apply to all pluralistic societies? Such questions, in conjuction with the limitations of the similarity-attraction and contact hypotheses, have fueled a search for alternative policies for managing intergroup relations in pluralistic societies.

Multiculturalism

The term "multiculturalism" is probably even more poorly defined than "assimilation" (Isajiw, 1983). Various meanings have been ascribed to this term, some of which seem contradictory. Some researchers use the term to describe cultural diversity within a population, while others use the term to describe an ideal toward which society should strive.

At a purely descriptive level, multiculturalism has come to mean simply a society in which cultural diverstiy exists. In this sense, all societies that have more than one cultural group qualify as "multi-cultural". According to this description, any Western city which has labelled neighbourhoods, such as "Little Italy" or "Chinatown", qualifies as multicultural. This term takes on a more dynamic meaning when it refers to an ideal toward which societal development *should*

strive. This interpretation of the term implies that all important sectors of society, including educational and political, should enforce policies designed to help create a multicultural society. In keeping with this more dynamic usage of the term, "multiculturalism" has come to describe a set of policies developed in order to help a society become multicultural.

Multiculturalism as an idealised goal for society can also be subdivided into at least two interpretations. One perspective avows that in a multicultural society, majority groups merely *permit* ethnic minorities to retain their heritage cultures. This implies a *laissez-faire* attitude on the part of majority groups, who would not force unwilling minorities to assimilate. In an alternative perspective, minorities are *actively encouraged* by majority groups to retain their heritage cultures. This alternative perspective implies active intervention by majority groups in order to ensure that minorities have access to the opportunities and facilities necessary for the maintenance of their heritage cultures. In this interpretation of multiculturalism, it is not clear what the majority's role should be if ethnic minorities are not motivated to retain their heritage cultures.

In 1972, Canada officially adopted a policy of multiculturalism, which corresponds to this latter "dynamic" definition. Australia soon followed suit (see Poole, De Lacy, & Randhawa, 1985, for a discussion of the Australian context). As Canadian Prime Minister Trudeau proposed this policy to the Canadian House of Commons in 1971, he introduced a model of intergroup relations which stood distinct from both assimilationism and a more passive form of multiculturalism. By encouraging ethnic minorities to retain their heritage cultures, Trudeau argued, an official policy of multiculturalism would foster an internal sense of ethnic security which, in turn, should result in more open and accepting attitudes toward other groups (Government of Canada, 1971).
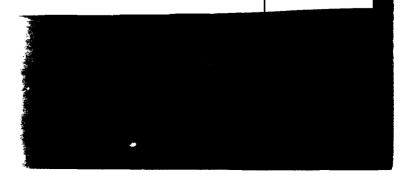
At least two distinct features of Canada's multiculturalism policy helped to shape its development. First, the policy assumes that ethnic minorities are positively motivated to retain their heritage cultures. Second, the policy assumes that if the ingroup can achieve security in its own identity, then the ingroup will also entertain a more accepting attitude towards other groups.

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Although the United States' official policy is one of assimilation, many aspects of American society closely resemble those found in Canada. The "celebration of differences" and "unity in diversity" that hallmarked Canadian multiculturalism during the 1970's and much of the 1980's today plays an integral role in intergroup relations in many regions of the United States as well.

Before we critically discuss the psychological underpinnings of multiculturalism, we must note that this policy evolved first and foremost out of political pressures from minority groups. The following passage describes this evolution in Australia, but it is also an apt description of what took place in Canada:

> A significant feature of the late 1960's and early 1970's... was the increasing consciousness among immigrant and ethnic groups of their powerlessness but also of their potential political muscle. Migrant and ethnic interests and claims soon entered the political agenda and were championed with some vigor by political parties. These developments culminated in tentative moves by policy-makers toward a new social and political philosophy whose broad aims and scope were expressed in the slogan of multiculturalism and a growing demand for ethnic rights, collectively or individually (National Advisory and Coordinating Committee on Multicultural Education, 1987, p.8).

Consequently, Canadian and Australian multiculturalism should be viewed as policies which have been developed by majority groups in the face of social and political demands made by ethnic minorities. However, these demands were not necessarily meant to force the adoption of a multiculturalism policy, either in its present form or in any other form. In essence, this policy represents nothing more than what the majority group has been willing to adopt in order to nurture the evolution of a more just society. One of the short-comings of the policy is that it fails to tailor its strategy to the needs of the majority or minority group in question. This is one of the critical points we raise in the next section.

Psychological Assumptions Underlying Multiculturalism

Motivation Toward Heritage Culture Retention. A number of studies in Canada have investigated the assumption that individuals are positively motivated toward the maintenance of their heritage

culture. The most extensive of such studies found that across Canada, majority groups have positive attitudes towards the maintenance of their own culture (Berry, Kalin, & Taylor, 1977), while another national study found that minority groups have fairly positive attitudes toward heritage language retention (O'Bryan, Reitz, & Kuplowska, 1975). Studies on "non-visible" immigrant groups, such as the Greeks, for example (Lambert, Mermegis, & Taylor, 1986), have shown that these groups also have highly favourable attitudes toward heritage culture retention.

On the other hand, when "visible" minority groups become the focus of the study, a different attitude towards heritage culture retention emerges. Members of such groups (e.g., Chinese, Haitians, South Americans, South Asians) have exhibited lower levels of support for heritage culture maintenance (Moghaddam, in press A; Moghaddam & Taylor, 1987; Moghaddam, Taylor, & Lalonde, 1987, 1989). In a study of South Asian women, for example, Moghaddam and Taylor (1987) found that respondents showed uncertainty, often wavering between acceptance and rejection of the heritage culture maintenance option. Moghaddam and Taylor (1987) suggested that this psychological ambivalence occurs when individuals sense a "no-win" situation: if they allow their heritage culture and language to be forgotten they feel a genuine loss, yet simultaneously, they realise that the retention of these ethnic "riches" makes them even more visible, and therefore, a clearer target for racial discrimination. This contradiction leads to a feeling of inner conflict caused by a lack of viable means to assert their ethnicity.

In order to resolve this feeling of inner conflict, some visible minorities adopt assimilation as an integration strategy. This option can have serious psychological repercussions, however. For example, visible minority immigrant women who attempt to abandon their heritage culture in order to assimilate into mainstream society, experience higher psychological stress levels. In part, this stress results from an increased exposure to racial discrimination due to the increased interaction with minority group members (Moghaddam, Ditto, & Taylor, 1990).

How does the policy of multiculturalism attempt to deal with visible minorities' psychological ambivalence toward the maintenance of their heritage cultures? According to the theoretical tenets of this policy, people will want to preserve their heritage culture if they are made to feel secure in their own ethnic identity. From this security should stem a more open and accepting attitude towards others.

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The Multiculturalism Hypothesis. The proposal that a sense of security in the ethnic ingroup will lead to a more accepting attitude toward others has been termed *the multiculturalism hypothesis.* This hypothesis represents a deviation from the long established "ethnocentrism" view, a view which claims that the more an individual values his/her own group, the less he/she will value outgroups. A long line of research and social psychological theory, from the classic study of the authoritarian personality (Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswick, Levinson, & Sanford, 1950) to more recent theories on intergroup relations (see LeVine & Campbell, 1972; Taylor & Moghaddam, 1987) tends to support this "ethnocentric" view.

Despite the wealth of support for the ethnocentric view, it is possible that the multiculturalism hypothesis may be valid *under certain conditions,* a possiblility that has fueled some thoughtful research (Berry *et al.,* 1977; Lambert *et al.,* 1986). However, there seems to be a major inconsistency between the results of the research and the implementation of the policy. Experience shows that visible minorities are usually the targets of discrimination, while majority groups are often the source of it. While it is the majority groups who, according to the multiculturalism hypothesis, need to feel more secure about their ingroups, governmental policies which foster the development of pride in heritage cultures are directed toward the visible minority groups. In light of this apparent inconsistency, perhaps policy-makers need to rethink the relevance and proper applications of the multiculturalism hypothesis.

Assimilation and Multiculturalism in a Global Context

We propose that the two contrasting theories of assimilation and multiculturalism are relevant to every pluralistic society's search for intergroup *and* international peace. So far, our discussion has focused on intergroup relations *within* societies. However, in order to understand the present emphasis on assimilation in the Third World, we feel an analysis of relations *between* societies would suit our purpose well. We take this approach in the light of attempts made by many Third World governments not only to create a national culture and language through assimilation, but also to push the nation towards greater Westernisation.

Third World nations have been characterised as "dualistic" societies in which the modern and traditional sectors successfully function side-by-side (see Moghaddam & Taylor, 1985). The modern sector incorporates the powerful, Westernised elites who often depend on the military, scientific, and cultural support of developed nations. These Third World elites, having assimilated into Western society, often have more in common with affluent Westerners than they do with the people from their own societies who have maintained cultural allegiance. The ideals and values of these Third World elites often lead them to perceive "progress" to be synonymous with "Westernisation". Thus, for them, ideal national development would involve assimilation into the Western culture.

The attempt to foster assimilation at this international level raises the same types of problems as the attempt to foster intergroup assimilation within a society. For example, just as visible minorities in a pluralistic society can never assimilate enough to become truly mainstream (to what extent can a black person become a "WASP?"), neither can Third World society members assimilate enough to become truly Westernised (to what extent can an Indian become an Englishman?). For some groups the attempt to assimilate inevitably fails, leaving them ripe to develop feelings of inferiority. Ultimately, this feeling leads to a dissatisfaction with the identity of the ingroup.

The experiences of Iranian society during the 1960's and 1970's provide an excellent example of this process. During the post-World War II era, Iran developed as a dualist society, with a modern sector spearheaded by the Shah's regime. The Shah followed an assimilationist policy on two fronts: first. national minorities were to be assimilated into the Farsi-speaking majority culture; and second, Iranian society was to emulate Western nations and adopt Western culture with a minimum of delay. With the support of a strong oil economy, Westernisation "advanced" at a fairly rapid pace (Katouzian, 1980; Saikal, 1980).

But no matter how quickly this Westernisation proceeded, Iranian society could still only *approximate* a Western society. Since the Iranian elite pushed traditional Iranians to become something which they could never be—"more British than the British" or "more American than the Americans"—they effectively created a scenario in which the traditional Iranian—or any minority population—could never succeed. Within the average Iranian, this constant failure seemed to reinforce a negative view of Iranian identity (Stempel,

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1981). This phenomenon of "never measuring up" is shared in varying degrees by all populations which attempt assimilation into an "ideal", yet unattainable, culture.

As feelings of frustration and negative self-worth develop within a people, the desire to eradicate the perceived source of those feelings also seems to emerge. In the case of Iran, the pressure to assimilate fueled this desire. The Iranian revolution of 1978 was, first, a violent reaction against assimilation and, second, an attempt to re-establish the traditional minority cultures which had been discarded in the name of "Westernisation". The Shah encouraged the Iranian people to imitate and emulate the Swiss, for example, effectively sending the message that Iranians are "second rate". Ayotollah Khomeini, on the other hand, urged the Iranians to emulate the ideal *Islamic* society, emphasising that they were the "best" in the eyes of God. Each of these messages has a fundamentally different psychological effect. In exaggerated terms, these two opposing approaches reflect both the fatal flaw of assimilation and the idealistic attraction of heritage culture retention.

Toward Balanced Multiculturalism

We have argued that all pluralistic societies, irrespective of whether they are part of the developed or developing world, are confronted by the challenge of how to cope with cultural diversity. On the one hand, a society might attempt to assimilate all groups in the hope of emerging with a unified culture. On the other hand, a policy might be followed which supports the distinct cultures of different groups, strengthening diversity within society. Both developed and developing societies tend to follow a predominantly assimilationist path.

In studying developed *and* developing societies, one sees a clear tendency to push toward cultural homogeneity, in part because it has been seen as a necessary precursor to a cohesive and peaceful nation. Theorists assume that through intergroup contact, members of different ethnic groups will become more similar to each other in terms of attitudes, values, sentiments, and collective memories. In turn, this increased similarity would lead to greater attraction between members of different groups, resulting in a more cohesive society. In addition, central governments in Third World societies have viewed assimi-

lation as a mechanism for increasing central control over a seemingly unwieldy array of peoples, each with their own tribal, religious, and linguistic traditions.

At the international level, Third World nations have been attempting to practice what we have termed "minority assimilation" by fostering the development of a Westernised culture. This Westernisation has been spearheaded by a powerful Third World elite, who often depend on the prestige of their own position as well as on the support of developed world powers. Using their influence, such elites have often propagated the view that progress is synonymous with assimilation into Western cultures.

But we have argued, and practical experience has demonstrated, that assimilation is not an effective policy for intergroup relations, either within one society or at the international level. Since "minority assimilation" involves the emulation of one majority group culture by one or more minority groups, the minority groups that "succeed" in their emulation can, at best, become "good copies" of the original. Visible minorities that attempt assimilation will always remain outsiders, even if this "exclusion" occurs only on the basis of phenotypic characteristics. At a fundamental level, assimilation will always leave minority groups in a disadvantaged position, always looking to the majority group to establish what culture should be.

The policy of multiculturalism evolved in part as an alternative to the assimilation model. One might view multiculturalism policy as a "divide and rule" strategy used by the majority groups. The retention of heritage cultures, it may be argued, will keep ethnic minorites divided, and thus less powerful than they would be if they united against the white majority. While it may be true that multiculturalism emphasises ethnic differences, it would be too simplistic to attribute such Machiavellian intentions to the Canadian and Australian politicians who formally introduced this policy in their respective countries. The shortcomings of multiculturalism lie not in the intentions of its proponents but, rather, in the simplistic psychological assumptions with which this policy has been "supported".

The multiculturalism hypothesis seems to pay insufficient attention to the feelings of ingroup pride and security that are frequently associated with ethnocentrism. To take an extreme example, the Nazis seemed to have feelings of pride and security in their own cultural group, but were hardly accepting toward minority groups. By focusing on strengthening an ingroup's feelings of security and

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pride, multiculturalism may be relying too heavily on these two factors as determinants of a group's openness toward others. A more positive, "balanced", outcome might be achieved by placing an equal emphasis on "self-based" and "other-based" pride.

This "pride in others" approach has evolved to some extent already, as reflected in the slogan "celebrate diversity". The move to "celebrate our differences" serves to focus pride not just on the ingroup, but also on the diversity of outgroups as well. Thus, pride stems from not only ingroup appreciation, but also from an appreciation of some aspect of the total society (i.e., cultural diversity).

The development of what we have termed "balanced multiculturalism" would involve the nurturance of a sense of pride and security in the culture of the ingroup, while simultaneously emphasising the growth of pride in others. The objective of such a policy would be to maintain a balance between a group's pride in the ingroup culture and its pride in the outgroup cultures.

In order to achieve its goals, a "balanced multiculturalism" policy would be needed in order to develop different strategies to cater to the needs of both majority and minority groups. A sense of "pride in others", for example, could be more readily evoked among minority groups than among majority groups, by virtue of the majority group's higher status. In this instance, there will be a diminished need for an intrusive governmental policy. Other strategies would need to be implemented in order to encourage majority groups to develop outgroup pride.

But apart from finding different strategies for dealing with majority and minority group members, a balanced multiculturalism policy would face the challenge of successfully encouraging groups to embrace a "pride in others". Social psychologists might initially react to such a challenge by falling back on the contact hypothesis, and proposing that more opportunities for intergroup contact should be created in a society. But, as we saw in our earlier discussion on assimilation, increased contact will lead to more harmonious intergroup relations only under certain conditions. In many pluralistic societies, the establishment of such conditions seems unlikely, at least in the near future.

But the focus of contact literature has been on *direct* intergroup contact, and we propose that this focus may be misleading. Negative dispositions of the members of the ingroup toward the members of an outgroup often arise through indirect, rather than direct,

contact. The negative attitudes of an American toward an Arab, for example, may simply stem from interactions with secondary sources of knowledge, such as seeing films with Arab characters, reading about Arabs in newspapers, and hearing stories about Arabs. Such an American may never have direct contact with an Arab, yet he/she may hold very strong anti-Arab sentiments. Since the source of such sentiments is not direct contact, why should we rely on direct contact to alter such negative intergroup sentiments? Indeed, it seems that direct contact could be the least feasible route to take, when attempting to change such sentiments, particularly when one considers the conditions that must be met before contact can influence intergroup dispositions positively.

Thus, we have pointed to what we believe to be a flaw in the idea of using direct contact as a means by which to improve intergroup relations. This concept is flawed because we have little or no control over the conditions in which direct contact takes place in the daily lives of people in pluralistic societies. However, we have a much higher potential for controlling the nature of the day-to-day indirect contact that takes place between groups: the stories which appear in newspapers and television, the images of each group which are presented in books and music. Consequently, it would seem to us more logical to start by focusing on contact at the indirect level.

Indeed, most contact between groups *is* at the indirect level in pluralistic societies. The survival and growth of ethnic neighbour-hoods in Western societies (Moghaddam, 1990) indicates a trend which is comprised of two major facets: first, ethnicity is *not* disappearing in modern societies; and second, individuals continue to interact with members of the ethnic ingroup more often than with those of the outgroup. In recent decades, the arrival of new waves of immigrants, such as the arrival of Cubans in Florida, has strengthened this trend and established new and more powerful ethnic economic enclaves (Wilson & Martin, 1982). Such economic enclaves influence ethnic groups to become more inwardly focused. The knowledge which individual members of such ethnic groups possess about outgroups very often is derived from indirect, rather than direct, contact.

In conclusion, while multiculturalism represents a promising new approach to intergroup relations, this policy has a number of short-comings as it is presently conceived. We feel that the principle shortcoming of the multiculturalism policy lies in its limited focus

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on fostering feelings of ingroup security and pride, to the neglect of
encouraging feelings of pride in outgroup cultures and cultural diversity.
We see a need for a more balanced approach and so have formulated
the concept of "balanced multiculturalism" to address this need.

Concluding Comment

The dominant approach to managing pluralism in both developed
and developing nations has been assimilation. However, assimi-
lation has met with meagre success in most contexts. The policy of
multiculturalism, which stands in sharp contrast to both assimi-
lation and to some assumptions that are central to the Western social
sciences, offers a promising new perspective to intergroup relations.
For both theoretical and applied reasons, therefore, multiculturalism
deserves serious attention from students of intergroup relations.

This paper attempts to expand the current model of multicultura-
lism by introducing the concept of "balanced multiculturalism". We
propose that the application of "balanced multiculturalism" could
prove fruitful for both developed and developing societies. The
challenge remains, however, to achieve a genuine international dia-
logue, so that the potentialities and limitations of assimilation and
multiculturalism can be examined more fully. Traditionally, social
science knowledge has been exported from developed to developing
nations (Moghaddam, 1987; Moghaddam & Taylor, 1987; Moghad-
dam, in press B). In the area of pluralism Third World societies have
as much if not more experience than the industrialised societies. A
genuine *exchange* of knowledge between developed and developing
societies would be particularly useful toward the goal of peaceful
coexistence.

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Fathali M. Moghaddam is a social psychologist who teaches at Georgetown University. Previously he taught at McGill University, Canada, and Tehran University, Iran. He is the co-author of Theories of Intergroup Relations: International Social Psychological Perspectives, *and* Understanding Social Psychology: A Crosscultural Perspective *which reflect his interest in cultural diversity and international psychology.*

Elizabeth A. Solliday is a student of psychology at Georgetown University. Her primary research interests include social factors in mental health with particular emphasis on intergroup relations across cultures.

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